

The American Historical Review

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

"SAY! I'M FLYIN' THIS KITE!"



BEDFORD/ST. MARTIN'S

More ways into the past

The Making of the West Peoples and Cultures

Second Edition

Lynn Hunt, *University of California, Los Angeles*

Thomas R. Martin, *College of the Holy Cross*

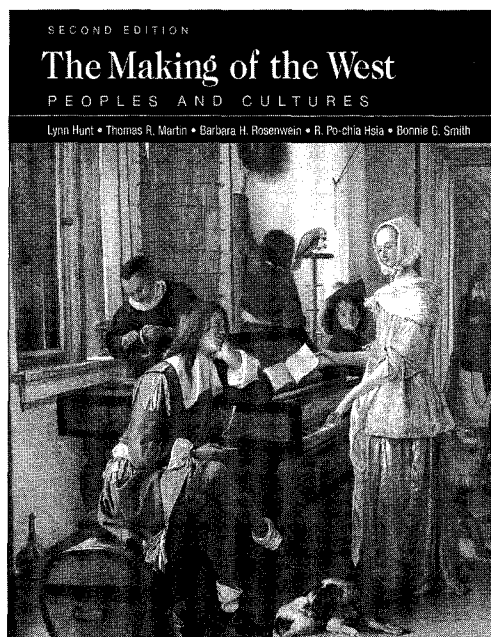
Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Loyola University, Chicago*

R. Po-chia Hsia, *Pennsylvania State University*

Bonnie G. Smith, *Rutgers University*

"The authors' efforts to reconsider the traditional narrative of Western Civilization pay significant dividends: an organic, cohesive, and competent representation of the people and cultures of the West."

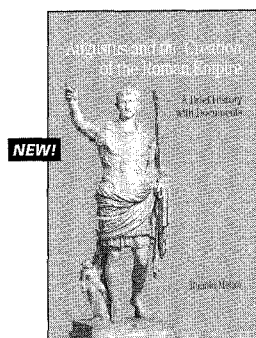
— John Krapp, *Hofstra University*



Combined volume: 2005/cloth/1192 pages
Volume I (To 1740): 2005/paper/682 pages
Volume II (Since 1500): 2005/paper/668 pages
Volume A (To 1500): 2005/paper/523 pages
Volume B (1320–1830): 2005/paper/352 pages
Volume C (Since 1740): 2005/paper/508 pages
bedfordstmartins.com/hunt

BEDFORD SERIES IN HISTORY AND CULTURE

Advisory Editors: **Lynn Hunt**, *University of California, Los Angeles*; **David W. Blight**, *Yale University*; **Natalie Zemon Davis**, *Princeton University*; and **Ernest R. May**, *Harvard University*



June 2005/paper/208 pages



September 2005/paper/200 pages



February 2006/paper/200 pages

For more information: bedfordstmartins.com

The American Historical Review

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889.

Elected Officers

President: JAMES J. SHEEHAN, *Stanford University*

President-Elect: LINDA K. KERBER, *University of Iowa*

Vice-Presidents: ANTHONY T. GRAFTON, *Princeton University, Professional Division*

ROY A. ROSENZWEIG, *George Mason University, Research Division*

PATRICK MANNING, *Northeastern University, Teaching Division*

Appointed Officers

Executive Director: ARNITA A. JONES

AHR Editor: ROBERT A. SCHNEIDER, *Indiana University, Bloomington*

Controller: RANDY NORELL

Elected Council Members

JONATHAN D. SPENCE

Yale University

Immediate Past President

MYRNA IVONNE WALLACE FUENTES

Duke University

ART GÓMEZ
*National Park
Service*

KEVIN REILLY
*Raritan Valley
Community College*

MRINALINI SINHA
*Penn State
University*

PAMELA H. SMITH
Pomona College

QUINTARD TAYLOR, JR.
University of Washington

Cover Illustration: In the *AHR* Forum in this issue, a group of legal historians debate a series of changes in U.S. constitutional jurisprudence that occurred during the 1930s. The reasons for these changes are now a matter of controversy among scholars, but at the time they were popularly attributed to Franklin D. Roosevelt's so-called "Court-packing plan," which much of the public viewed as an attempt by the president to shift the ideological balance of the Supreme Court. The perceived threat to the Constitution inspired political cartoons such as the one on our cover this month. "Say! I'm Flyin' This Kite!" was drawn by an unknown artist and originally appeared in the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* on March 11, 1937. It is reproduced here courtesy of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

The *American Historical Review* is published in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. It is the official publication of the American Historical Association, 400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003 (phone 202-544-2422), and is printed and mailed by Cadmus Professional Communications, 2901 Byrdhill Road, Richmond, VA 23228. Our editorial offices are located at Indiana University: American Historical Review, 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, IN 47401. Phone: 812-855-7609; fax: 812-855-5827; e-mail: ahr@indiana.edu.

The *AHR* is sent to members of the American Historical Association and to institutions holding subscriptions. Membership dues: Contributing Member, \$173 annually; for incomes over \$70,000, \$138; over \$55,000, \$114; over \$45,000, \$102; over \$35,000, \$87; over \$20,000, \$75; under \$20,000, \$41; for students, \$36; for teachers of K-12 (AHA/OHT/SHE) without the *AHR*, \$62; for K-12 with the *AHR*, \$90; for joint members or spouse/partners, \$41; for emeritus and retired historians, \$51; for associate members (nonhistorians), \$51. A life membership is \$2,600. Non-U.S. members add \$20 for postage. For a JSTOR subscription, add \$15. The proportion of dues allocated to the *AHR* is \$17. Institutional subscription rates: Class I, Type 1, \$250; Type 2, \$325. Class II, Type 1, \$275; Type 2, \$350. Further information on membership, subscriptions, and the procedure for ordering back issues is available on the AHA web site, <http://www.historians.org/>, or at the back of the journal, on pages 1(a) and 2(a), immediately preceding the advertisements.

GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscripts may be submitted by e-mail attachment to ahr@indiana.edu. We prefer to receive them in either Microsoft Word or Rich Text Format/RTF; if you use another program, however, we can probably convert it. (Please check with our Production Manager at ahr@indiana.edu or by phone at 812-855-7609.) Manuscripts submitted by postal or courier service should be addressed to Editor, American Historical Review, 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, IN 47401; please send two paper copies along with an electronic file. The printouts should be double-spaced throughout, with generous margins. The editors prefer to work with manuscripts that are no more than 8,000 words in length, not counting notes, tables, and charts. Please include your full contact information, including your e-mail address, in all correspondence.

No manuscript will be considered for publication if it is concurrently under consideration by another journal or press or if it has been published or is soon to be published elsewhere. Both restrictions apply to the substance as well as to the exact wording of the manuscript. If the manuscript is accepted, the editors expect that its appearance in the *AHR* will precede republication of the essay, or any significant part thereof, in another work.

Other guidelines for the preparation of manuscripts for submission to and publication in the *AHR* will be sent upon request. Articles will be edited to conform to *AHR* style in matters of punctuation, capitalization, and the like. The editors may suggest other changes in the interest of clarity and economy of expression; such changes are not made without consultation with authors. The editors are the final arbiters of length, grammar, and usage.

Unsolicited book reviews are not accepted.

Visit our web site at www.historycooperative.org/ahr/ for policies regarding articles, book reviews, and film reviews and to explore our online journal.

Postmaster: Please send notification (Form 3579) regarding undelivered journals to: American Historical Association, 400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003. Publication identification number: *American Historical Review* (ISSN 0002-8762).

The *AHR* disclaims responsibility for statements, of either fact or opinion, made by contributors.

© AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION 2005

All rights reserved

FOR PERMISSION TO REPRINT: Contact Sharon K. Tune, Assistant Director, Administration, American Historical Association, 400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003. Phone: 202-544-2422; fax: 202-544-8307; e-mail: aha@historians.org.

FOR INQUIRIES ABOUT ADVERTISING: Contact Kelly Elmore, Advertising Manager, American Historical Association, 400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003. Phone: 202-544-2422; fax: 202-544-8307; e-mail: aha@historians.org.

Periodicals postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices.

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The American Historical Review

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Editor: ROBERT A. SCHNEIDER

Associate Editor: MARIA BUCUR

Assistant Editors: MOUREEN COULTER
JANE LYLE

Office Manager: MARY ANNE THACKER

Production Manager: PATTI TORP

Editorial Assistants: ELIZABETH CAFER DU PLESSIS,
MELISSA CAKARS, KEVIN P. COLEMAN, CHRISTOPHER J. FERGUSON,
P. C. ROWLEY, JENNIFER SOVDE, M. BENJAMIN THORNE

Advertising Manager: KELLY ELMORE

Board of Editors

KATHLEEN CANNING
University of Michigan

JANET J. EWALD
Duke University

LEILA FAWAZ
Tufts University

GARY GERSTLE
University of Maryland

JAN LEWIS
Rutgers University

NORMAN M. NAIMARK
Stanford University

ROBERT A. NYE
Oregon State University

VANESSA R. SCHWARTZ
*University of
Southern California*

WILLIAM B. TAYLOR
*University of
California, Berkeley*

JOHN VAN ENGEN
*University of
Notre Dame*

MERRY E. WIESNER-HANKS
University of Wisconsin

R. BIN WONG
*University of
California, Irvine*

Contents

VOLUME 110 • NUMBER 4 • OCTOBER 2005

In This Issue

xiii

Articles

Two Shrines of the Cristo Renovado: Religion and Peasant Politics in Late Colonial Mexico

BY WILLIAM B. TAYLOR

945

Top Down or Bottom Up? Nationalist Mobilization Reconsidered, with Special Reference to Guinea (French West Africa)

BY ELIZABETH SCHMIDT

975

Beyond Words

BY LEORA AUSLANDER

1015

AHR Forum:

The Debate over the Constitutional Revolution of 1937

Introduction

BY ALAN BRINKLEY

1046

The Constitution, the Supreme Court, and the New Deal

BY LAURA KALMAN

1052

Comment on Laura Kalman's Article

BY WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG

1081

Constitutional Change and the New Deal

BY G. EDWARD WHITE

1094

Reviews of Books and Films

METHODS/THEORY

MARSHALL SAHLINS. *Apologies to Thucydides: Understanding History as Culture and Vice Versa.*
By William G. Thalmann

1116

CATHERINE EMERSON. *Olivier de La Marche and the Rhetoric of Fifteenth-Century Historiography.*
By Felice Lifshitz

1117

- DAVID N. MYERS. *Resisting History: Historicism and Its Discontents in German-Jewish Thought.*
By Susannah Heschel 1118
- CAROLYN J. DEAN. *The Fragility of Empathy after the Holocaust.*
By Berel Lang 1119
- LLOYD E. AMBROSIUS, editor. *Writing Biography: Historians and Their Craft.*
By Richard W. Etulain 1120
- THOMAS DACOSTA KAUFMANN. *Toward a Geography of Art.*
By Denis Cosgrove 1120

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

- DAVID BIALE, editor. *Cultures of the Jews: A New History.*
By Shmuel Feiner 1121
- ROSS BRANN and ADAM SUTCLIFFE, editors. *Renewing the Past, Reconfiguring Jewish Culture: From al-Andalus to the Haskalah.*
By Ronald Schechter 1123
- MICHAEL STANISLAWSKI. *Autobiographical Jews: Essays in Jewish Self-Fashioning.*
By Harriet Murav 1124
- PATRICIA CRONE. *God's Rule: Government and Islam.*
By Jamsheed K. Choksy 1125
- JOSEPH A. AMATO. *On Foot: A History of Walking.*
By Harvey Green 1126
- JOHN C. WEAVER. *The Great Land Rush and the Making of the Modern World, 1650–1900.*
By John D. W. Guice 1127
- STUART B. SCHWARTZ, editor. *Tropical Babels: Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450–1680.*
By Alan L. Karras 1128
- MICHAEL A. MORRISON and MELINDA ZOOK, editors. *Revolutionary Currents: Nation Building in the Transatlantic World.*
By Jack A. Goldstone 1129
- PHILIP OTTERNESS. *Becoming German: The 1709 Palatine Migration to New York.*
By Aaron Spencer Fogleman 1130
- RICHARD CONNORS and ANDREW COLIN GOW, editors. *Anglo-American Millennialism, from Milton to the Millerites.*
By Aviuh Zakai 1131
- TAL GOLAN. *Laws of Men and Laws of Nature: The History of Scientific Expert Testimony in England and America.*
By Ian A. Burney 1132
- ANDREA A. RUSNOCK. *Vital Accounts: Quantifying Health and Population in Eighteenth-Century England and France.*
By Paul-André Rosental 1133
- GIULIA GUAZZALOCA. *Fine secolo: Gli intellettuali italiani e inglesi e la crisi tra Otto e Novecento.*
By James Martin 1134
- ZINE MAGUBANE. *Bringing the Empire Home: Race, Class, and Gender in Britain and Colonial South Africa.*
By Elizabeth Elbourne 1135
- ROBERT BICKERS. *Empire Made Me: An Englishman Adrift in Shanghai.*
By Philippa Levine 1136
- HOMO SAPIENS 1900. Directed by Peter Cohen.
By Richard Weikart 1137

- MICHAEL MANN. *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing.*
By Eric D. Weitz 1138
- COREY ROBIN. *Fear: The History of a Political Idea.*
By Margot A. Henriksen 1139
- LARRY R. GERLACH, editor. *The Winter Olympics: From Chamonix to Salt Lake City.*
By Allen Guttman 1140
- HARVEY LEVENSTEIN. *We'll Always Have Paris: American Tourists in France Since 1930.*
By Robert J. Young 1141

ASIA

- KAI-WING CHOW. *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China.*
By Christopher A. Reed 1142
- ERIC REINDERS. *Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies: Christian Missionaries Imagine Chinese Religion.*
By Kathleen L. Lodwick 1143
- FRANK DIKÖTTER, LARS LAAMANN, and ZHOU XUN. *Narcotic Culture: A History of Drugs in China.*
By Christian Henriot 1144
- ANDREW D. MORRIS. *Marrow of the Nation: A History of Sport and Physical Culture in Republican China.*
By James H. Mills 1144
- CHRISTIAN HENRIOT and WEN-HSIN YEH, editors. *In the Shadow of the Rising Sun: Shanghai under Japanese Occupation.*
By John H. Boyle 1145
- MICHAEL R. AUSLIN. *Negotiating with Imperialism: The Unequal Treaties and the Culture of Japanese Diplomacy.*
By Stefan Tanaka 1146
- ALEXIS DUDDEN. *Japan's Colonization of Korea: Discourse and Power.*
By James L. Huffman 1147
- INDRANI CHATTERJEE, editor. *Unfamiliar Relations: Family and History in South Asia.*
By Malavika Kasturi 1148
- ELIZA F. KENT. *Converting Women: Gender and Protestant Christianity in Colonial South India.*
By Sudhir Chandra 1150
- YASMIN SAIKIA. *Fragmented Memories: Struggling to be Tai-Ahom in India.*
By Sanjib Baruah 1150
- RAVI KALIA. *Gandhinagar: Building National Identity in Postcolonial India.*
By Jim Masselos 1151
- MICHAEL L. LEWIS. *Inventing Global Ecology: Tracking the Biodiversity Ideal in India, 1947–1997.*
By K. Sivaramakrishnan 1152

OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

- A. DIRK MOSES, editor. *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History.*
By Andrew Markus 1153

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

- RICHARD W. VAUDRY. *Anglicans and the Atlantic World: High Churchmen, Evangelicals, and the Quebec Connection.*
By Michael Gauvreau 1154

- RICHARD HARRIS. *Creeping Conformity: How Canada Became Suburban, 1900–1960.*
By John R. Miron 1155
- PAUL STARR. *The Creation of The Media: Political Origins of Modern Communications.*
By James W. Cortada 1156
- JONATHAN LURIE. *Military Justice in America: The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Armed Forces, 1775–1980.*
By Michael A. Newton 1157
- VIRGINIA DEJOHN ANDERSON. *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America.*
By Alfred W. Crosby 1158
- APRIL LEE HATFIELD. *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century.*
By Anthony S. Parent Jr. 1159
- JAMES A. SANDOS. *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions.*
By Bonnie Sue Lewis 1160
- KRISTINA BROSS. *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons: Praying Indians in Colonial America.*
By David J. Silverman 1161
- THOMAS S. KIDD. *The Protestant Interest: New England after Puritanism.*
By Richard P. Gildrie 1161
- RICHARD R. BEEMAN. *The Varieties of Political Experience in Eighteenth-Century America.*
By Robert E. Shalhope 1162
- JOHN DEMOS. *Circles and Lines: The Shape of Life in Early America.*
By Alexis McCrossen 1163
- MICHAEL KAMMEN. *A Time to Every Purpose: The Four Seasons in American Culture.*
By Elizabeth Blackmar 1164
- CAROLINE COX. *A Proper Sense of Honor: Service and Sacrifice in George Washington's Army.*
By Mark Edward Lender 1165
- ANDREW S. TREES. *The Founding Fathers and the Politics of Character.*
By Edward G. Gray 1166
- TIM MATTHEWSON. *A Proslavery Foreign Policy: Haitian-American Relations during the Early Republic.*
By Laurent Dubois 1167
- SCOTT C. MARTIN, editor. *Cultural Change and the Market Revolution in America, 1789–1860.*
By Stuart M. Blumin 1168
- CARL OSTROWSKI. *Books, Maps, and Politics: A Cultural History of the Library of Congress, 1783–1861.*
By Louise S. Robbins 1169
- MARK DOUGLAS MCGARVIE. *One Nation Under Law: America's Early National Struggles to Separate Church and State.*
By Timothy L. Hall 1170
- DAVID PAUL NORD. *Faith in Reading: Religious Publishing and the Birth of Mass Media in America.*
By R. Laurence Moore 1171
- CLYDE R. FORSBERG, JR. *Equal Rites: The Book of Mormon, Masonry, Gender, and American Culture.*
By D. Michael Quinn 1172
- KARIN E. GEDGE. *Without Benefit of Clergy: Women and the Pastoral Relationship in Nineteenth-Century American Culture.*
By Susan Juster 1173
- STEVEN CONN. *History's Shadow: Native Americans and Historical Consciousness in the Nineteenth Century.*
By Ellen Fitzpatrick 1174
- MICHAEL SAPPOL. *A Traffic of Dead Bodies: Anatomy and Embodied Social Identity in Nineteenth-Century America.*
By Robert V. Wells 1175
- ANTHONY CAVENDER. *Folk Medicine in Southern Appalachia.*
By Richard A. Straw 1175
- RICHARD A. STRAW and H. TYLER BLETHEN, editors. *High Mountains Rising: Appalachia in Time and Place.*
By Robert J. Higgs 1176
- VICTOR GREENE. *A Singing Ambivalence: American Immigrants between Old World and New, 1830–1930.*
By Robert R. Grimes 1177
- JOSHUA D. ROTHMAN. *Notorious in the Neighborhood: Sex and Families across the Color Line in Virginia, 1787–1861.*
By Kirsten E. Wood 1178
- JONATHAN H. EARLE. *Jacksonian Antislavery and the Politics of Free Soil, 1824–1854.*
By Michael D. Pierson 1179
- CARL A. BRASSEAU and KEITH P. FONTENOT. *Steamboats on Louisiana's Bayous: A History and Directory.*
By Thomas C. Buchanan 1180
- ROBERT D. SAMPSON. *John L. O'Sullivan and His Times.*
By Jeffrey L. Pasley 1180
- RICHARD FRANKLIN BENSEL. *The American Ballot Box in the Mid-Nineteenth Century.*
By Mark Voss-Hubbard 1182
- TUNDE ADELEKE. *Without Regard to Race: The Other Martin Robinson Delany.*
By John R. McKivigan 1183
- JEAN M. HUMEZ. *Harriet Tubman: The Life and the Life Stories.*
By Lynn M. Hudson 1184
- KIRSTEN E. WOOD. *Masterful Women: Slaveholding Widows from the American Revolution through the Civil War.*
By Stephanie Cole 1185
- ALLEN C. GUELZO. *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery in America.*
By Kenneth J. Winkle 1186
- C. WYATT EVANS. *The Legend of John Wilkes Booth: Myth, Memory, and a Mummy.*
By Thomas R. Turner 1187
- SHIRLEY SAMUELS. *Facing America: Iconography and the Civil War.*
By Stephen Berry 1188
- ROBERT R. MACKAY. *The Uncivil War: Irregular Warfare in the Upper South, 1861–1865.*
By Stephen V. Ash 1188
- WILLIAM A. DOBAK and THOMAS D. PHILLIPS. *The Black Regulars, 1866–1898.*
By Ted Tunnell 1189
- CLARE V. MCKANNA, JR. *The Trial of "Indian Joe": Race and Justice in the Nineteenth-Century West.*
By Sidney L. Harring 1190
- BONNIE LYNN-SHEROW. *Red Earth: Race and Agriculture in Oklahoma Territory.*
By Thomas D. Isern 1191
- ALLISON DORSEY. *To Build Our Lives Together: Community Formation in Black Atlanta, 1875–1906.*
By John C. Inscoe 1192

- ROBIN F. BACHIN. *Building the South Side: Urban Space and Civic Culture in Chicago, 1890–1919*.
By Maureen A. Flanagan 1193
- MARK TEBEAU. *Eating Smoke: Fire in Urban America, 1800–1950*.
By Karen Sawislak 1193
- FRANK TOBIAS HIGBIE. *Indispensable Outcasts: Hobo Workers and Community in the American Midwest, 1880–1930*.
By Timothy R. Mahoney 1194
- ILEEN A. DeVULT. *United Apart: Gender and the Rise of Craft Unionism*.
By Wendy M. Gordon 1195
- VINCENT J. CIRILLO. *Bullets and Bacilli: The Spanish-American War and Military Medicine*.
By Carol R. Byerly 1196
- CHARLES H. HARRIS III and LOUIS R. SADLER. *The Texas Rangers and the Mexican Revolution: The Bloodiest Decade, 1910–1920*.
By Elliott Young 1197
- MARTIN SUMMERS. *Manliness and its Discontents: The Black Middle Class and the Transformation of Masculinity, 1900–1930*.
By Gerald R. Butters, Jr. 1198
- PETER BOAG. *Same-Sex Affairs: Constructing and Controlling Homosexuality in the Pacific Northwest*.
By Robert D. Johnston 1199
- LIETTE GIDLOW. *The Big Vote: Gender, Consumer Culture, and the Politics of Exclusion, 1890s–1920s*.
By Nikki Mandell 1200
- MARI YOSHIHARA. *Embracing the East: White Women and American Orientalism*.
By Karen J. Leong 1201
- MARGARET A. LOWE. *Looking Good: College Women and Body Image, 1875–1930*.
By Linda Eisenmann 1202
- DAVID TYACK. *Seeking Common Ground: Public Schools in a Diverse Society*.
By Liping Bu 1203
- CHARLES A. ISRAEL. *Before Scopes: Evangelicalism, Education, and Evolution in Tennessee, 1870–1925*.
By Ronald L. Numbers 1203
- SUSAN M. STERETT. *Public Pensions: Gender and Civic Service in the States, 1850–1937*.
By Anna R. Igra 1204
- ANN-MARIE E. SZYMANSKI. *Pathways to Prohibition: Radicals, Moderates, and Social Movement Outcomes*.
By Madelon Powers 1205
- KEN I. KERSCH. *Constructing Civil Liberties: Discontinuities in the Development of American Constitutional Law*.
By David E. Bernstein 1206
- KEVIN J. MCMAHON. *Reconsidering Roosevelt on Race: How the Presidency Paved the Road to Brown*.
By Robert F. Burk 1207
- CHRISTINA S. JARVIS. *The Male Body at War: American Masculinity During World War II*.
By Bill Osgerby 1208
- MEGAN TAYLOR SHOCKLEY. *"We, Too, Are Americans": African American Women in Detroit and Richmond, 1940–54*.
By Peter B. Levy 1209
- GLENN C. ALTSCHULER. *All Shook Up: How Rock 'n' Roll Changed America*.
By Richard Aquila 1210
- ROBERT M. LICHTMAN and RONALD D. COHEN. *Deadly Farce: Harvey Matusow and the Informer System in the McCarthy Era*.
By Michal R. Belknap 1210
- GEOFFREY KABASERVICE. *The Guardians: Kingman Brewster, His Circle, and the Rise of the Liberal Establishment*.
By Hamilton Cravens 1211
- DOMINIC SANDBROOK. *Eugene McCarthy: The Rise and Fall of Postwar American Liberalism*.
By Jennifer Delton 1212
- JEREMY VARON. *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies*.
By Todd Gitlin 1213
- STEPHEN BOGENER. *Ditches Across the Desert: Irrigation in the Lower Pecos Valley*.
By Mark Fiege 1214
- THOMAS S. BREMER. *Blessed with Tourists: The Borderlands of Religion and Tourism in San Antonio*.
By Michael P. Carroll 1215
- RICHARD GRUSIN. *Culture, Technology, and the Creation of America's National Parks*.
By James Pritchard 1215
- ANNIE GILBERT COLEMAN. *Ski Style: Sport and Culture in the Rockies*.
By Cindy S. Aron 1216
- HENRY D. FETTER. *Taking on the Yankees: Winning and Losing in the Business of Baseball, 1903–2003*.
By Jules Tygiel 1217
- JOHN A. JAKLE and KEITH A. SCULLE. *Lots of Parking: Land Use in a Car Culture*.
By Richard Longstreth 1218
- DAVID WITWER. *Corruption and Reform in the Teamsters Union*.
By Stephen H. Norwood 1219
- ANDREW R. HEINZE. *Jews and the American Soul: Human Nature in the Twentieth Century*.
By Robert C. Fuller 1220

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

- GEORGE REID ANDREWS. *Afro-Latin America, 1800–2000*.
By Nancy P. Appelbaum 1221
- DIANA PATON. *No Bond but the Law: Punishment, Race, and Gender in Jamaican State Formation, 1780–1870*.
By B. W. Higman 1222
- STEEVE O. BUCKRIDGE. *The Language of Dress: Resistance and Accommodation in Jamaica, 1760–1890*.
By Gad Heuman 1222
- DANIEL NEWCOMER. *Reconciling Modernity: Urban State Formation in 1940s León, Mexico*.
By Jennie Purnell 1223
- MARGARET M. OLSEN. *Slavery and Salvation in Colonial Cartagena de Indias*.
By Ignacio Gallup-Díaz 1224
- ROBERT H. HOLDEN. *Armies without Nations: Public Violence and State Formation in Central America, 1821–1960*.
By Stephen Webre 1225
- ZEPHYR L. FRANK. *Dutra's World: Wealth and Family in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro*.
By Linda Lewin 1226

- ERICKA KIM VERBA. *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile, 1910–1917: The Liga de Damas Chilenas*. By Michael Monteón 1227
- STEFAN RINKE. *Begegnungen mit dem Yankee: Nordamerikanisierung und soziokultureller Wandel in Chile (1898–1990)*. By Friedrich E. Schuler 1228
- PETER WINN, editor. *Victims of the Chilean Miracle: Workers and Neoliberalism in the Pinochet Era, 1973–2002*. By John Lear 1229
- STEVE J. STERN. *Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London 1998*. By Thomas Miller Klubock 1230
- EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL
- NATHAN ROSENSTEIN. *Rome at War: Farms, Families, and Death in the Middle Republic*. By Neville Morley 1231
- THOMAS A. J. MCGINN. *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World: A Study of Social History and the Brothel*. By Amy Richlin 1232
- MICHELE MURRAY. *Playing a Jewish Game: Gentile Christian Judaizing in the First and Second Centuries CE*. By Shaye J. D. Cohen 1233
- MICHAEL KULIKOWSKI. *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*. By Evan W. Haley 1234
- JEREMY COHEN. *Sanctifying the Name of God: Jewish Martyrs and Jewish Memories of the First Crusade*. By Michael Toch 1234
- KINGDOM OF HEAVEN. Directed by Ridley Scott. By John Aberth 1235
- KEVIN L. SHIRLEY. *The Secular Jurisdiction of Monasteries in Anglo-Norman and Angevin England*. By Frank Barlow 1236
- J. L. LAYNESMITH. *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445–1503*. By Lois L. Huneycutt 1237
- CAROLINE M. BARRON. *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People, 1200–1500*. By David Nicholas 1238
- PATRICK NOLD. *Pope John XXII and his Franciscan Cardinal: Bertrand de la Tour and the Apostolic Poverty Controversy*. By Kenneth Pennington 1239
- EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN
- NICHOLAS HOWE, editor. *Home and Homelessness in the Medieval and Renaissance World*. By Louis Haas 1240
- HARALD KLEINSCHMIDT. *People on the Move: Attitudes toward and Perceptions of Migration in Medieval and Modern Europe*. By Dudley Baines 1241
- LISA Z. SIGEL, editor. *International Exposure: Perspectives on Modern European Pornography, 1800–2000*. By Angus McLaren 1241
- JOHN BROAD. *Transforming English Rural Society: The Verneys and the Claydons, 1600–1820*. By James Rosenheim 1243
- M. F. SNAPE. *The Church of England in Industrialising Society: The Lancashire Parish of Whalley in the Eighteenth Century*. By Donald Spaeth 1243
- RICHARD DALE. *The First Crash: Lessons from the South Sea Bubble*. By Bruce G. Carruthers 1244
- ANDREW T. HARRIS. *Policing the City: Crime and Legal Authority in London, 1780–1840*. By Stanley H. Palmer 1245
- MICHAEL FREEMAN. *Victorians and the Prehistoric: Tracks to a Lost World*. By Mott T. Greene 1246
- ROBERT COLLS. *Identity of England*. By Chris Williams 1247
- MARC BRODIE. *The Politics of the Poor: The East End of London, 1885–1914*. By Mike Savage 1248
- ADRIAN BINGHAM. *Gender, Modernity, and the Popular Press in Inter-War Britain*. By Susan Kingsley Kent 1249
- ROBERT CALDER. *Beware the British Serpent: The Role of Writers in British Propaganda in the United States 1939–1945*. By Nicholas J. Cull 1249
- MARY JO NYE. *Blackett: Physics, War, and Politics in the Twentieth Century*. By Robert Bud 1250
- THOMAS BARTLETT et al. *1798: A Bicentenary Perspective*. By Sean Farrell 1251
- ALVIN JACKSON. *Home Rule: An Irish History, 1800–2000*. By R. V. Comerford 1252
- LOUISE FULLER. *Irish Catholicism since 1950: The Undoing of a Culture*. By David W. Miller 1253
- SOPHIE LIGNON-DARMAILLAC. *Les grandes maisons du vignoble de Jerez (1834–1992)*. By Joseph Harrison 1254
- JOTHAM PARSONS. *The Church in the Republic: Gallicanism and Political Ideology in Renaissance France*. By Michael Wolfe 1254
- ALAN JAMES. *The Navy and Government in Early Modern France, 1572–1661*. By Gayle K. Brunelle 1255
- HUBERT CARRIER. *Le Labyrinthe de l'État: Essai sur le débat politique en France au temps de la Fronde (1648–1653)*. By Sharon Kettering 1256
- DAVID GARRIOCH. *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*. By Johnson Kent Wright 1257
- NICHOLAS PAPAYANIS. *Planning Paris before Haussmann*. By David P. Jordan 1259
- MARY GLUCK. *Popular Bohemia: Modernism and Urban Culture in Nineteenth-Century Paris*. By Richard D. Sonn 1260
- DAVID SKUY. *Assassination, Politics, and Miracles: France and the Royalist Reaction of 1820*. By Thomas Beck 1261
- SUDHIR HAZAREESINGH. *The Saint-Napoleon: Celebrations of Sovereignty in Nineteenth-Century France*. By Robert Bezucha 1261
- SUZANNE K. KAUFMAN. *Consuming Visions: Mass Culture and the Lourdes Shrine*. By Katrin Schultheiss 1262
- JAMES SMITH ALLEN. *Poignant Relations: Three Modern French Women*. By Whitney Walton 1263

- GONZALO J. SÁNCHEZ, JR. *Pity in Fin-de-Siècle French Culture: Liberté, Egalité, Pitié.*
By Thomas Kselman 1264
- MICHAEL SEIDMAN. *The Imaginary Revolution: Parisian Students and Workers in 1968.*
By Tyler Stovall 1265
- MARJO-RIITA ANTIKAINEN. *Sääty, sukupuoli, uskonto: Mathilda Wrede ja yhteiskunnan muutos 1883–1913.*
By Laura Kolbe 1266
- JOHANNA VALENIUS. *Undressing the Maid: Gender, Sexuality and the Body in the Construction of the Finnish Nation.*
By Birgitte Sølund 1266
- MIKKO MAJANDER. *Pohjoismaa vai kansandemokratia? Sosiaalidemokraatit, kommunistit ja Suomen kansainvälinen asema 1944–51.*
By David Kirby 1267
- JOHN EDWARD TOEWS. *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Berlin.*
By Susan A. Crane 1268
- ISABEL V. HULL. *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany.*
By V. R. Berghahn 1269
- TERENCE ZUBER. *Inventing the Schlieffen Plan: German War Planning, 1871–1914.*
By David G. Herrmann 1270
- WERNER ABELSHAUSER et al. *German History and Global Enterprise, BASF: The History of a Company.*
By Alfred C. Mierzejewski 1271
- PETER HAYES. *From Cooperation to Complicity: Degussa in the Third Reich.*
By Jonathan Steinberg 1272
- HAROLD JAMES. *The Nazi Dictatorship and the Deutsche Bank.*
By H. A. Turner 1273
- GRETCHEN E. SCHAFFT. *From Racism to Genocide: Anthropology in the Third Reich.*
By Andrew Zimmerman 1273
- MATHIAS BEER and GERHARD SEEWANN, editors. *Südostforschung im Schatten des Dritten Reiches: Institutionen, Inhalte, Personen.*
By Keith Hitchins 1274
- BEN SHEPHERD. *War in the Wild East: The German Army and Soviet Partisans.*
By Karel C. Berkhoff 1275
- MICHAEL H. KATER. *Hitler Youth.*
By Lawrence D. Walker 1276
- KIMBERLEY A. REDDING. *Growing Up in Hitler's Shadow: Remembering Youth in Postwar Berlin.*
By Alan L. Nothnagle 1277
- Y. MICHAL BODEMANN. *A Jewish Family in Germany Today: An Intimate Portrait; TANGLED ROOTS: STRUGGLING WITH A LEGACY OF WAR.* Directed by Heidi Schmidt Emberling.
By Lynn Rapaport 1278
- F. W. KENT. *Lorenzo de' Medici and the Art of Magnificence.*
By Melissa Meriam Bullard 1279
- GEORGE W. MCCLURE. *The Culture of Profession in Late Renaissance Italy.*
By Rudolph M. Bell 1280
- DAVID B. RUDERMAN and GIUSEPPE VELTRI, editors. *Cultural Intermediaries: Jewish Intellectuals in Early Modern Italy.*
By Hava Tirosh-Samuelson 1281
- DANIELA RANDO. *Dai margini la memoria: Johannes Hinderbach (1418–1486).*
By Christopher S. Celenza 1283
- JANE BURBANK. *Russian Peasants Go to Court: Legal Culture in the Countryside, 1905–1917.*
By Gregory L. Freeze 1284
- KEES BOTERBLOEM. *The Life and Times of Andrei Zhdanov, 1896–1948.*
By Werner G. Hahn 1284
- SERHY YEKELCHYK. *Stalin's Empire of Memory: Russian-Ukrainian Relations in the Soviet Historical Imagination.*
By Timothy Snyder 1285
- LEONA TOKER. *Return from the Archipelago: Narratives of Gulag Survivors.*
By Vieda Skultans 1286
- ### MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA
- FRANÇOISE DUNAND and CHRISTIANE ZIVIE-COCHE. *Gods and Men in Egypt: 3000 BCE 395 CE.*
By David Frankfurter 1287
- JOHN T. CHALCRAFT. *The Striking Cabbies of Cairo and Other Stories: Crafts and Guilds in Egypt, 1863–1914.*
By Arthur Goldschmidt, Jr. 1288
- S. ILAN TROEN. *Imagining Zion: Dreams, Designs, and Realities in a Century of Jewish Settlement.*
By Michael R. Fischbach 1289
- MICHAEL R. FISCHBACH. *Records of Dispossession: Palestinian Refugee Property and the Arab-Israeli Conflict.*
By Ylana N. Miller 1290
- HERVÉ PENNEC. *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Prêtre Jean (Éthiopie): Stratégies, rencontres et tentatives d'implantation; 1495–1633.*
By Malyn Newitt 1290
- ### SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA
- JOHN ILIFFE. *Honour in African History.*
By Toyin Falola 1291
- TOYIN FALOLA. *The Power of African Cultures.*
By Kennell A. Jackson, Jr. 1292
- WILLIAM BEINART and JOANN MCGREGOR, editors. *Social History and African Environments.*
By Christopher Conte 1293
- RUTH WATSON. *Civil Disorder is the Disease of Ibadan: Chieftaincy and Civic Culture in a Yoruba City.*
By Felix K. Ekechi 1294
- DAVID ANDERSON. *Histories of the Hanged: The Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire; CAROLINE ELKINS. Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya.*
By Timothy Parsons 1295
- AMY KALER. *Running After Pills: Politics, Gender, and Contraception in Colonial Zimbabwe.*
By Elizabeth Schmidt 1297
- ANNIE E. COOMBES. *History After Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa.*
By Jennifer Cole 1298

Collected Essays

METHODS/THEORY

DOLORES JANIEWSKI and LOIS W. BANNER, editors.
Reading Benedict/Reading Mead: Feminism, Race, and Imperial Visions. 1300

JULIA ADAMS, ELISABETH S. CLEMENS, and ANN SHOLA ORLOFF, editors. *Remaking Modernity: Politics, History, and Sociology.* 1300

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

DOUGLAS HAY and PAUL CRAVEN, editors. *Masters, Servants, and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562–1955.* 1300

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

DENNIS B. BLANTON and JULIA A. KING, editors. *Indian and European Contact in Context: The Mid-Atlantic Region.* 1301

CORNELIS A. VAN MINNEN and SYLVIA L. HILTON, editors. *Frontiers and Boundaries in U.S. History.* 1301

J. EMMETT WINN and SUSAN L. BRINSON, editors. *Transmitting the Past: Historical and Cultural Perspectives in Broadcasting.* 1301

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

GÁBOR KLANICZAY, editor. *Procès de canonization au Moyen Âge: Aspects juridiques et religieux/Medieval Canonization Processes: Legal and Religious Aspects.* 1301

L. J. ANDREW VILLALON and DONALD J. KAGAY, editors. *The Hundred Years War: A Wider Focus.* 1302

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

MICHAEL COLE and MARY PARDO, editors. *Inventions of the Studio: Renaissance to Romanticism.* 1302

MARY JO MAYNES, BIRGITTE SØLAND, and CHRISTINA BENNINGHAUS, editors. *Secret Gardens, Satanic Mills: Placing Girls in European History, 1750–1960.* 1302

JEFFERY M. DIEFENDORF, editor. *Lessons and Legacies VI: New Currents in Holocaust Research.* 1302

DAVID EDWARDS, editor. *Regions and Rulers in Ireland, 1100–1650: Essays for Kenneth Nicholls.* 1303

CIARAN BRADY and JANE OHLMEYER, editors. *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland.* 1303

LOUISE RYAN and MARGARET WARD, editors. *Irish Women and Nationalism: Soldiers, New Women and Wicked Hags.* 1303

JOACHIM KUROPKA, editor. *Geistliche und Gestapo: Klerus zwischen Staatsallmacht und kirchlicher Hierarchie.* 1303

Collected Essays	1300	Communications	1318
Documents and Bibliographies	1305	Index	1326
Other Books Received	1307	Index of Advertisers	56(a)

Topical Table of Contents

Administration

1217, 1236, 1284

Agriculture

1158, 1191, 1214, 1231, 1243, 1254, 1293

Anthropology/Archaeology

1116, 1246, 1273, 1287

Art/Architecture

1120, 1151, 1164, 1188, 1201, 1215, 1218, 1279, 1298

Biography

1117, 1120, 1124, 1136, 1166, 1180, 1184, 1210, 1212, 1250, 1259, 1278, 1279, 1284

Body

1137, 1175, 1202, 1208, 1266

Business/Finance

1142, 1171, 1193, 1214, 1217, 1244, 1254, 1271, 1272, 1273

Career/Professions

1280

Childhood/Youth

1276, 1277

Class

1135, 1148, 1165, 1168, 1185, 1192, 1194, 1195, 1199, 1200, 1221, 1223, 1226, 1227, 1248, 1280, 1291

Colonial/Postcolonial

1130, 1131, 1135, 1136, 1145, 1147, 1148, 1150, 1151, 1153, 1154, 1158, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1162,

- 1174, 1222, 1224, 1226, 1288, 1290, 1293, 1294, 1295, 1297
- Comparative
1116, 1127, 1129, 1132, 1133, 1137, 1138, 1230
- Constitutional
1157, 1170, 1186, 1206, Crime 1241
- Crime/Violence
1138, 1144, 1190, 1213, 1225, 1245, 1269, 1275, 1284, 1286
- Cultural
1119, 1120, 1121, 1123, 1141, 1163, 1164, 1168, 1169, 1175, 1182, 1185, 1187, 1193, 1199, 1205, 1208, 1210, 1216, 1218, 1223, 1228, 1240, 1241, 1246, 1247, 1249, 1260, 1261, 1262, 1263, 1264, 1268, 1280, 1281, 1291, 1292, 1294
- Demography
1133, 1241
- Diasporas
1121, 1292
- Economic
1159, 1168, 1226, 1229, 1232, 1244, 1271, 1273, 1288
- Education/Students
1202, 1203, 1206, 1265
- Elites
1162, 1172, 1227, 1237, 1243, 1279
- Empire
1127, 1128, 1135, 1136, 1145, 1146, 1147, 1153, 1234, 1251, 1285, 1295
- Environment/Landscape
1152, 1158, 1164, 1191, 1214, 1215, 1293
- Ethnicity
1121, 1123, 1124, 1130, 1138, 1150, 1177, 1191, 1220, 1233, 1274, 1281, 1285
- Exploration/Travel
1141, 1143
- Family
1148, 1178, 1226, 1240, 1243, 1278
- Film/Photography
1137, 1235, 1278
- Folklore
1175
- Food
1128, 1202, 1254
- Foreign Relations/Diplomatic
1146, 1147, 1167, 1225, 1228, 1249, 1290, 1127, 1187, 1189, 1190, 1191, 1197, 1215, 1234
- Gay/Lesbian
1199
- Gender
1135, 1140, 1148, 1150, 1173, 1185, 1195, 1198, 1200, 1201, 1204, 1208, 1222, 1241, 1249, 1263, 1266, 1297
- Genocide
1119, 1138, 1153, 1269, 1272, 1273, 1275, 1278, 1295
- Health/Disease
1133, 1137, 1175, 1175, 1196, 1202
- Historiography
1116, 1117, 1118, 1119, 1120, 1174, 1268
- Identity
1121, 1130, 1141, 1175, 1199, 1210, 1228, 1247, 1285
- Ideology
1119, 1138, 1139, 1166, 1179, 1188, 1203, 1211, 1212, 1252, 1272, 1274, 1287, 1291
- Immigration/Migration
1130, 1177, 1194, 1240, 1241, 1289, 1290
- Indigenous Peoples
1150, 1153, 1158, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1174, 1190, 1191
- Industry
1168, 1194, 1271, 1272
- Institutions
1125, 1132, 1146, 1152, 1154, 1157, 1160, 1169, 1170, 1203, 1211, 1219, 1238, 1243, 1253, 1255, 1269, 1273, 1284, 1290
- Intellectual
1123, 1124, 1131, 1134, 1139, 1152, 1166, 1172, 1174, 1183, 1211, 1220, 1227, 1233, 1246, 1250, 1254, 1256, 1260, 1263, 1264, 1274, 1281
- Journalism
1249
- Labor
1194, 1195, 1206, 1219, 1229, 1265, 1288
- Language/Linguistics
1292
- Legal/Legislative
1127, 1132, 1147, 1157, 1170, 1182, 1186, 1204, 1205, 1206, 1207, 1210, 1222, 1236, 1238, 1245, 1252, 1254, 1284
- Leisure/Entertainment
1144, 1215, 1216
- Literature
1117, 1124, 1142, 1161, 1180, 1184, 1224, 1241, 1249, 1260, 1263, 1286
- Local/Regional
1125, 1150, 1161, 1162, 1175, 1176, 1188, 1192, 1199, 1214, 1243, 1248, 1254
- Maritime
1180, 1255
- Material Culture
1155, 1201, 1210, 1218, 1222, 1262, 1294, 1298
- Media/Communications
1156, 1180

- Medicine
1144, 1175, 1176, 1196, 1297
- Memory
1187, 1215, 1230, 1234, 1268, 1277, 1278, 1298
- Methods/Theory
1116, 1117, 1118, 1120, 1139
- Military
1145, 1157, 1165, 1188, 1189, 1196, 1197, 1225,
1255, 1269, 1270, 1275, 1276
- Music
1177, 1210
- National Histories
1150, 1203, 1247, 1251, 1252, 1253, 1285, 1289
- Nationalism
1129, 1138, 1188, 1208, 1247, 1273
- Nobility
1236, 1237, 1254
- Oral History
1230, 1277
- Peace
1213, 1266
- Peasants
1284
- Political
1125, 1134, 1156, 1162, 1166, 1169, 1179, 1182,
1200, 1207, 1210, 1211, 1212, 1221, 1228, 1229,
1230, 1245, 1248, 1251, 1252, 1256, 1257, 1261,
1267, 1276, 1283, 1284, 1288, 1290, 1292
- Print/Print Culture
1142, 1156, 1169, 1171, 1180, 1241, 1249, 1256,
1280
- Psychology/Psychiatry
1220
- Public History
1298
- Race/Racism
1135, 1167, 1178, 1183, 1186, 1189, 1190, 1192,
1198, 1201, 1207, 1209, 1221, 1273
- Radicalism
1205
- Reform
1193, 1200, 1284
- Religion
1118, 1121, 1123, 1125, 1131, 1143, 1150, 1154,
1160, 1161, 1170, 1171, 1172, 1173, 1203, 1212,
1215, 1220, 1223, 1224, 1233, 1234, 1235, 1236,
1239, 1243, 1253, 1254, 1262, 1266, 1281, 1283,
1287, 1290
- Revolution
1129, 1165, 1167, 1197, 1251, 1257, 1265, 1295
- Rhetoric/Propaganda
1188, 1227, 1274, 1285
- Ritual/Celebration
1126, 1140, 1163, 1164, 1177, 1261, 1262, 1287
- Rural
1176, 1243
- Science/Technology
1126, 1132, 1133, 1137, 1152, 1180, 1193, 1203,
1215, 1246, 1250
- Sexuality
1119, 1173, 1178, 1232, 1266, 1297
- Slavery
1159, 1167, 1178, 1179, 1183, 1184, 1185, 1186,
1222, 1224
- Social
1243
- Social History
1133, 1141, 1163, 1182, 1195, 1226, 1231, 1236,
1238, 1241, 1244, 1248, 1255, 1256, 1293
- Social Movements/Resistance
1155, 1183, 1198, 1205, 1209, 1213, 1219, 1265,
1275, 1289, 1294
- Social Policy
1203, 1204, 1207, 1222, 1259
- Space/Place
1155, 1193, 1218, 1240, 1290
- Sports
1126, 1140, 1144, 1216, 1217
- State-Building/States
1129, 1144, 1151, 1223, 1225, 1285, 1289
- Terrorism/Espionage
1139, 1188, 1213
- Tourism
1141, 1215, 1216
- Trade
1128, 1180
- Transportation
1126, 1180
- Urban
1126, 1155, 1192, 1193, 1209, 1223, 1234, 1238,
1245, 1257, 1259, 1260
- Wars
1145, 1165, 1188, 1189, 1196, 1197, 1208, 1209,
1231, 1234, 1235, 1249, 1269, 1270, 1273, 1275,
1277
- Women
1150, 1173, 1184, 1185, 1201, 1202, 1209, 1227,
1263, 1266
- World
1128

In This Issue

This issue contains three articles and an *AHR* Forum. The articles are about the politics of faith in Colonial Mexico, nationalism in West Africa, and the utility of material culture as a source for historians. The Forum brings four scholars together to assess the nature of the “Constitutional Revolution of 1937.” In addition, the issue includes our usual array of book and film reviews.

Articles

William B. Taylor gives an account of rural devotion in late colonial Mexico. It revolves around a loss later remembered by rural devotees in ways that made the place of a miracle of a self-restoring crucifix more important than the relic itself. More broadly, it is about the politics of faith and the importance of place expressed in the direction and redirection of an official story. Based on several unusually well-documented episodes of dispute and religious practice, the article takes on the difficult issue of how cultural practices are reenacted and appropriated—what Michel de Certeau called “the secondary production hidden in the process of utilization.” It attempts to reach beyond the ideas of center-periphery and a hierarchy of shrines; to address elusive questions of religion and the negotiation of colonial circumstances by Indian villagers; and to contribute to the ongoing interest of Latin Americanists in South Asian scholarship on colonial and postcolonial experiences.

Elizabeth Schmidt examines the post–World War II nationalist movement in Guinea, French West Africa, drawing conclusions with broad ramifications for the non-Western world. The Guinean case demonstrates that anticolonial nationalisms’ embrace of heterogeneous populations belonged to a progressive political tradition of “inclusive nationalism.” Western-educated elites often led these nationalist movements, but they did not initiate them. Rather, elites found support among popular groups already engaged in movements against the state by identifying issues that had mass appeal and including them in the nationalist agenda. Indeed, elites and nonelites alike shaped the ideas, objectives, strategies, and methods of the nationalist movements. While elites contributed European ideas and models of nationalism, the nonliterate majority brought elements of indigenous culture to the movement. This case study in nationalist mobilization shows us *how* people were

mobilized. While some indigenous cultural practices and images were co-opted by elites, the people themselves brought others to the movement. The Guinean case thus provides a new framework for understanding the dynamics of anticolonial nationalism in many parts of the world.

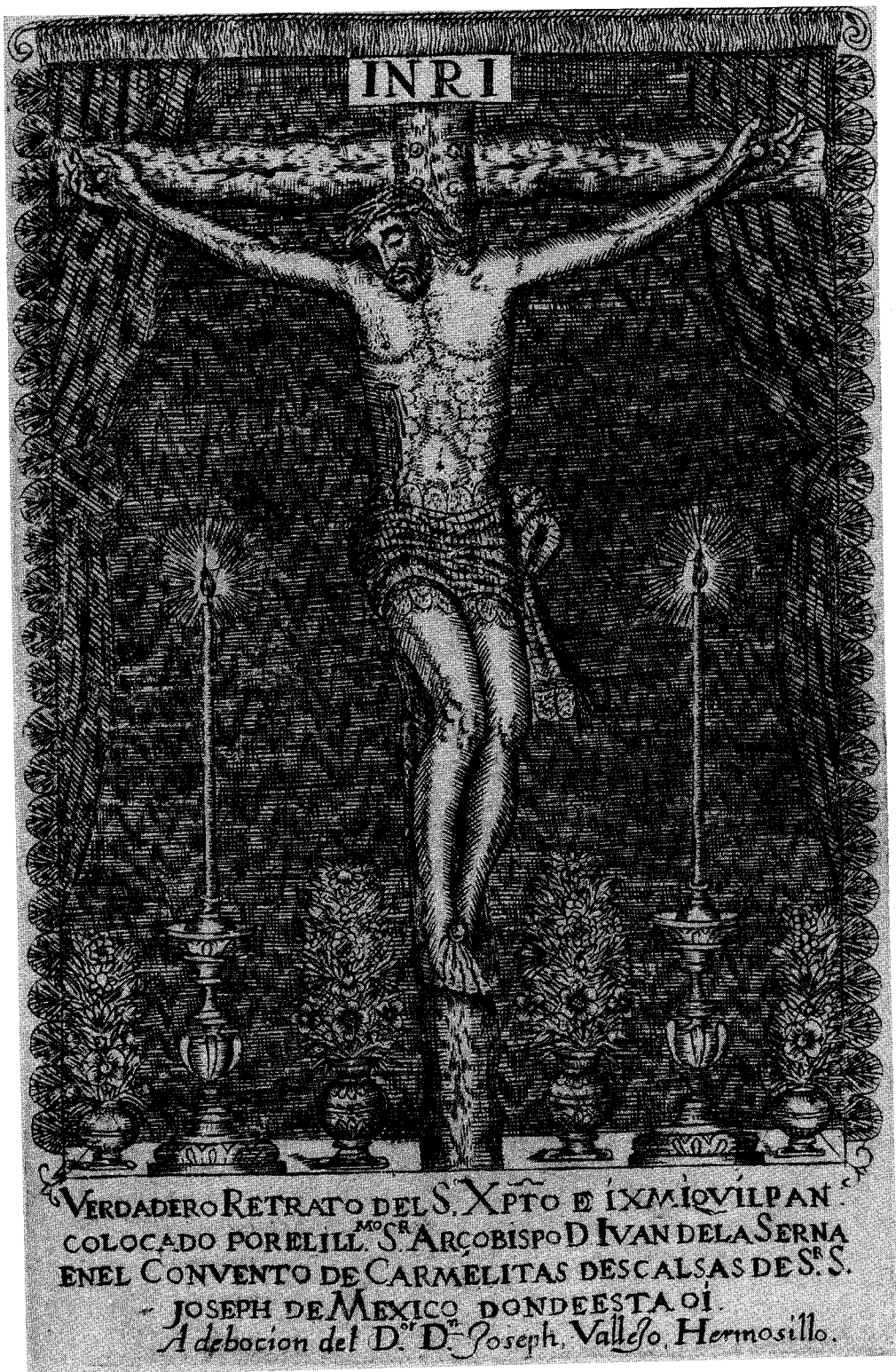
Laura Auslander argues for the utility of material culture as a source for historians in both their research and pedagogical practices. Her argument is based on phenomenological, psychoanalytic, and psychological theories, which together demonstrate the importance of objects in people's communicative and expressive practices. But how people use objects differs from their use of language, images, music, or other expressive forms, and thus the study of material culture calls for specific approaches and methodologies. If historians wish to grasp the human past in all its complexity and richness, however, they will have to include the examination of material culture and other nonlinguistic sources. After a theoretical introduction, the article briefly sketches both the ways in which historians may productively borrow from other disciplines' expertise in the analysis of material culture and history's particular analytical contribution to that task. It concludes with two examples, one from the French Revolution and the other from the post-WWII period, to illustrate the power of this approach.

AHR Forum

The Forum examines from different perspectives the shift in the orientation of the Supreme Court in 1937, in what has been called a "constitutional revolution." **Alan Brinkley** introduces the Forum by providing a context for the three longer pieces that follow. He summarizes the scholarly debate reflected in these essays—a debate between those who believe that changes in constitutional jurisprudence have been primarily a product of political and social pressures on the judiciary, and those who conclude that such changes are primarily the result of internal doctrinal changes within the judicial world itself. Brinkley argues that this scholarly debate reflects a real political struggle that has run through much of American history between those who believe that the courts should reflect the will of the people (and the legislatures) and those who hold that they should respect the judiciary's own traditions and standards. **Laura Kalman** continues the discussion by exploring the two sides of the debate as outlined by Brinkley. In particular, she asks whether the "constitutional revolution" of 1937 reflected the Court's capitulation to political pressures, such as Franklin D. Roosevelt's Court-packing plan, or whether it was the end result of doctrinal changes within the law that began well before 1937. She turns to the historiography of the recent debate over the Court's behavior, paying particular attention to how disciplinary affiliations have affected the explanations of historians, law professors, and political scientists. She maintains that instead of framing the question as one between "law and politics," we should recognize their interrelationship, at least in the context of "1937." **William E. Leuchtenburg** offers a comment on Kalman's analysis, and in the process restates his own view that a constitutional "revolution" did indeed take place in 1937. He disputes the assertion

that earlier decisions were more decisive, that the dramatic changes in the 1930s were the final stage in a slowly evolving paradigm shift. By scrutinizing dissenting opinions, the attitudes of contemporary legal scholars, several lesser-known rulings of the era, and such external forces as the 1936 election and Roosevelt's Court-packing attempt, he affirms that the greatest change in jurisprudence in the twentieth century came not gradually but abruptly. The Forum concludes with a contribution by **G. Edward White**, who argues that this debate goes well beyond the historiography of the New Deal period. It raises questions about what causal variables best explain decisions of the Supreme Court, especially those that revise earlier decisions. White describes the current debate between "internalist" and "externalist" constitutional historians of the New Deal and explores the historiographical implications of this controversy.

This Forum was commissioned by Michael Grossberg, a legal historian, whose tenure as Editor of the *AHR* ended on July 31. It is a fitting farewell tribute to Mike and to all that he brought to this journal during his ten years in the Editor's chair. In the light of the prominence of the Supreme Court in current affairs, the timing of these articles might seem purely fortuitous—but Mike would insist that he planned it that way.



FRONTISPIECE: Depiction of the Cristo Renovado de Ixmiquilpan/Cristo Renovado de Santa Teresa in the first edition of Alfonso Alberto de Velasco's *Exaltacion de la Divina Misericordia en la milagrosa renovacion de la soberana Imagen de Christo Señor N. Crucificado que se venera en la Iglesia del Convento de San Joseph de Carmelitas Descalzas de esta ciudad de México* (Mexico, 1699).

Two Shrines of the Cristo Renovado: Religion and Peasant Politics in Late Colonial Mexico

WILLIAM B. TAYLOR

WHETHER IN APOLOGETIC LITERATURE OR SCHOLARSHIP, the Virgin Mary appears to dominate Mexico's devotional landscape, especially in the guise of Our Lady of Guadalupe. "Mexico can pride itself on the glorious title of 'Marian land,'" wrote Father Rubén Vargas Ugarte in *Historia del culto de María en Ibero-América y de sus imágenes y santuarios más celebrados*, his monumental survey of the Virgin Mary in Latin America.¹ To Victor and Edith Turner, the Virgin of Guadalupe is Mexico's "dominant symbol," presiding over "the total symbolic system"—situated at the apex of pilgrimage routes and a hierarchy of shrines and images.² It is a surprise, then, to find a murmur of dissent in the last pages of Francisco Javier Lazcano's 1760 celebratory biography of his fellow Jesuit and Marian devotee Juan Antonio de Oviedo. After praising Oviedo's extensive revision and publication in 1755 of Francisco de Florencia's forgotten manuscript *Zodiaco mariano*—the first survey of Marian shrines in Mexico—Lazcano remarked:

May Heaven one day awaken a pen equal to that of Father Oviedo so that another great work of history worthy of the Christian World's acclamation will describe in detail the prodigious crosses and miraculous images of Jesus Christ, Our Lord, that make this kingdom famous in innumerable magnificent shrines throughout its vast dioceses. This kingdom is no less favored by the Son of God, Jesus Christ, Our Lord, in his infinite mercy than by the most beloved Mother of a God who is her son.³

I am not the one to write Lazcano's imagined chronicle, but, like him, I have noticed that local and regional devotion to particular images of Christ often exceeded the popularity of celebrated images of the Virgin Mary during the colonial period, and I have wondered what drew devotees to them. (Of course, the two are often intimately related and complementary, as in the Madonna and Child, or Our

I am indebted to Inga Clendinnen, Brian Connaughton, Susan Deans-Smith, Walter Hauser, Nancy Mann, Kenneth Mills, Leslie Peirce, Yuri Slezkine, Allen Wells, and Wen-hsin Yeh for their good advice and encouragement; to the *AHR*'s anonymous readers; to Karen Melvin and José Refugio de la Torre Curiel for timely references; to Darin Jensen and Christine Eduok for the maps; and to Jack von Euw and Susan Snyder of the Bancroft Library and Michael Hironymous of the Benson Collection at the University of Texas at Austin for help with the images.

¹ *Historia del culto de María en Ibero-América y de sus imágenes y santuarios más celebrados*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1956), 2: 163.

² Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York, 1978), 245.

³ Francisco Javier Lazcano, *Vida exemplar y virtudes heroicas del venerable padre Juan Antonio de Oviedo de la Compañía de Jesús* (Mexico, 1760), 341.

Lady of Sorrows and the Crucifixion.) Of about 480 Mexican shrines to miraculous images that have attracted followers from beyond their immediate vicinity since the sixteenth century, 219 are dedicated to images of the Virgin Mary and 261 to images of Christ.⁴ True, the Christs are more likely than the Marys to have become famous during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but at least 156 of the shrines to images of Christ developed during the colonial period.⁵ Most of them were confined to district-wide or regional followings, but the Lord of Chalma, the Cristo Renovado de Santa Teresa, the Stone Cross of Querétaro, Guatemala's Lord of Esquipulas, and a dozen others were more widely venerated.

Christocentric devotion in New Spain (the colonial administrative territory that encompassed modern Mexico plus much of Central America and the Spanish borderlands that are now part of the United States) was closely related to European practices at the time, and rooted in medieval traditions. It came to the fore in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries with Catholic reforms following the Council of Trent's promotion of the liturgy of the Eucharist, commemoration of Christ's Passion during Holy Week, and the feasts of the Holy Cross and Corpus Christi. Two-thirds or more of the colonial Mexican Christ shrines were dedicated to crucifixes.⁶ As in Europe, some of these crucifixes famously showed signs of life—sweating, bleeding, and groaning—in ways that recalled Christ's suffering, sacrifice, and promise of eternal life. Some images of Mary showed signs of life, too, but less often. In both Europe and Mexico, dilapidated images of Christ spontaneously *restored* themselves to fine condition, recalling Christ's resurrection and the promise of eternal salvation of the soul, while Marian images were more often said to have *remained* in preternaturally fine condition when they should have decomposed or been damaged, in the spirit of Mary's perpetual virginity.⁷

In short, in New Spain and the future Mexico, there was not just one dominant symbol presiding over a hierarchy of sacred places and images; nor did images of Mary overshadow all others. While the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe had become the most widely known object of faith in New Spain by the late eighteenth century, Tepeyac—the legendary site of the Virgin Mary's apparitions to Juan Diego in 1531 and where her miraculous image appeared mysteriously on his cloak—was not much more appealing beyond its own vicinity before the mid-nineteenth century than were eight or nine shrines to other miraculous images, not

⁴ These figures come from tabulating individual cases documented in various manuscript and printed sources, plus several compendiums, especially Francisco de Florencia and Antonio de Oviedo, *Zodiaco mariano* (Mexico, 1755); Luis Mario Schneider, *Cristos, santos y vírgenes: Santuarios y devociones de México* (Mexico, 1995); and *La ruta de los santuarios en México* (Mexico, 1994), which identifies 89 Cristo shrines and 78 Marian shrines.

⁵ I have no information about when 69 of the remaining 105 shrines began.

⁶ A total of 104 of 157, plus 21 miraculous crosses. This proportion holds true for more recent times, although since the early nineteenth century some images of the infant Jesus have gained a large and loyal following.

⁷ On the other hand, there were several striking transatlantic differences. In Spain, many miraculous images of Mary were discovered under unusual circumstances in caves, trees, or shallow burials and on hilltops, after the Christian recovery of an area from the Moors. In New Spain, it was mostly images of Christ that were discovered, and they were frequently *of* nature—formed in trees, marked on rocks, associated with the color green—as well as found *in* nature, and without the scent of holy war. These various associations point to Christ's resurrection and eternal life, but they are also signs of His active, protective presence on earth, a theme that may have been less common in Spain after the seventeenth century.

to mention the hundreds of shrines to yet other images of Mary and Christ that were regarded as essential to the well-being of people living nearby. Little in the way of an interlocking system of pilgrimage routes ending at Tepeyac developed—even with the advent of railroads in the late nineteenth century, when great streams of visitors to the shrine began to arrive from distant places—and there were about as many shrines to miraculous images in 1900 as in 1700. With so many shrines and images in play, the subject reaches far beyond Our Lady of Guadalupe and a Wal-Mart-style history in which other shrines fell away in the face of the irresistible attraction and relentless promotion of one dominant symbol.⁸

A self-restoring crucifix in central Mexico that stirred interest in two separate shrines during the eighteenth century offers an opportunity to reach beyond the idea of a hierarchy of shrines and the claim that written records generated by colonial institutions yield little more than the intentions of colonial elites and the operation of those institutions. It enables us to study Christocentric devotion in particular places and to consider what Michel de Certeau called “the secondary production hidden in the process of utilization.”⁹ The story in this essay revolves around a loss later remembered by rural devotees in ways that made the place of the miracle of self-restoration more important than the relic itself. More broadly, it is about the politics of faith in two places through the direction and redirection of an official story, and about how historians might reckon with elusive questions of religion and the negotiation of colonial circumstances by Indian villagers. “Indian” here means the descendants of indigenous Americans, who recognized themselves by, among other names, this one that Spanish authorities applied to them, but the other India also has a place in my reckoning with the bi-local developments at hand, as readers will see in the last section of the essay.

UNTIL RECENTLY, I KNEW THE STORY OF THE CRISTO RENOVADO only from various editions of a small book with a long title, *Exaltacion de la Divina Misericordia en la milagrosa renovacion de la soberana Imagen de Christo Señor N. Crucificado, que se venera en la Iglesia del Convento de San Ioseph de Carmelitas Descalzas de esta ciudad de México*. It amounts to the providential biography of a celebrated crucifix in Mexico City, presented in an omniscient narrator’s voice, published first in the late seventeenth century to encourage devotion and sanctify a struggling convent of Discalced Carmelite nuns founded a few years before the crucifix was brought to them. It is a story of God’s grace in the world from the pen of Dr. Alfonso Alberto de Velasco, a learned metropolitan priest who served as chaplain to these nuns—a finished, official story that might well be said to colonize knowledge and silence or marginalize other voices. By itself, Velasco’s text could not bring me close to devotees and other possible histories of the image. But now I have three clusters of eighteenth-century records and a sprinkling of other references that complicate Father Velasco’s seamless, linear story. The host Carmelite nuns remain offstage in both Velasco’s text and the administrative record of the shrine in Mexico City, and

⁸ Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, chaps. 1 and 2 and Appendix A.

⁹ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), xiii.

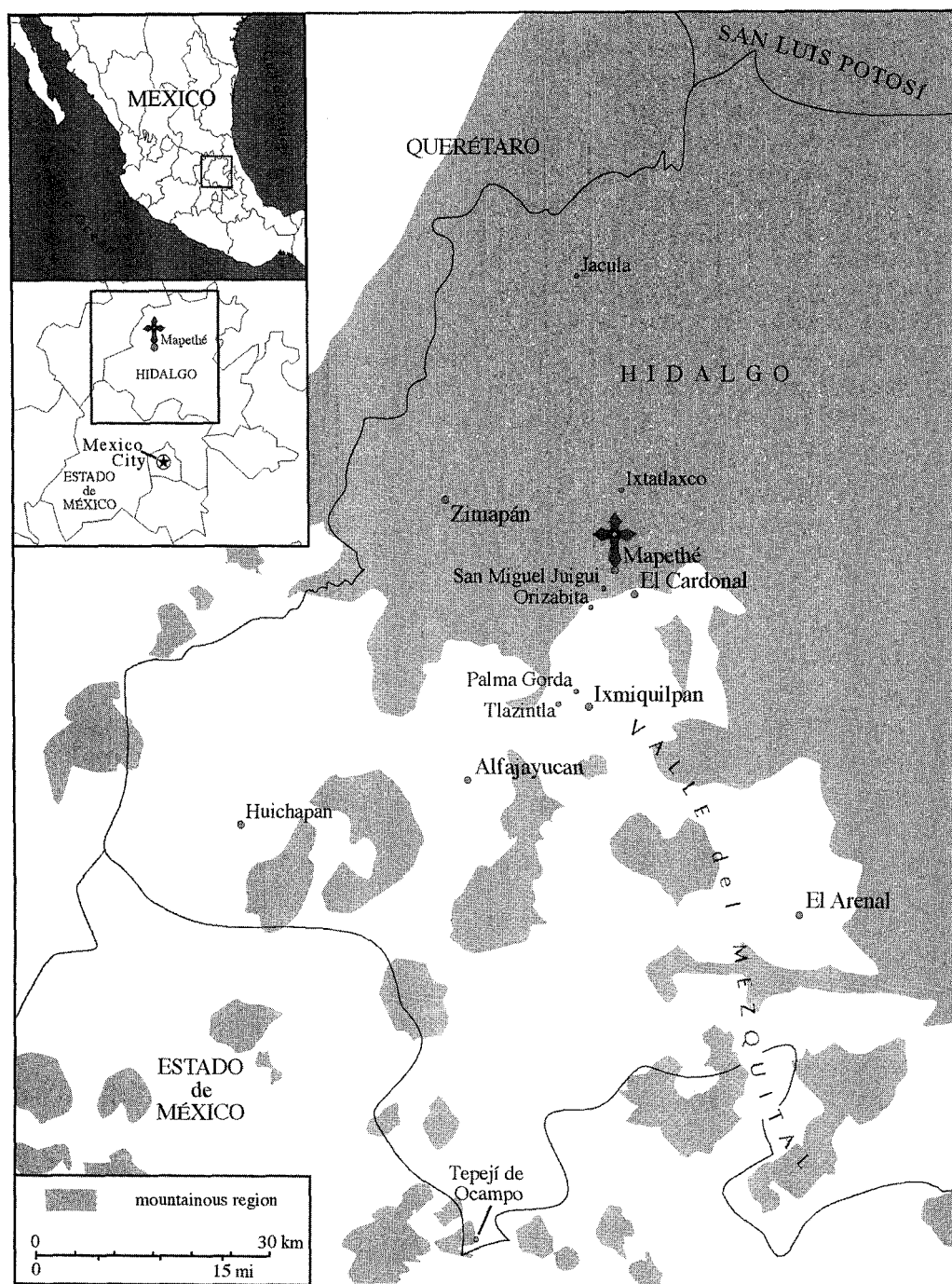
there is little to say about their devotion to the crucifix. This is not surprising. They did not directly administer the shrine, and with their emphasis on silent prayer, individual work, poverty, privacy, and the solitude of the cell, the reformed Carmelites called for an unusual measure of austerity and discipline, which kept these nuns largely out of the public record. Theirs eventually became the most prestigious convent in Mexico City, attracting local women from white, elite families to a particularly arduous, self-abnegating life, but even their assistance to the needy is little documented, and they seem to have escaped the kinds of troubles that could bring the activities of cloistered life into view for strangers.¹⁰

First, here is the view from Mexico City through Father Velasco's story of the image, and a sketch of the devotion there during the colonial period. Known variously as the Señor de Santa Teresa, the Cristo Renovado de Ixmiquilpan, the Cristo de El Cardonal, or simply the Cristo Renovado, it is a nearly life-size crucifix that was removed to Mexico City in 1623 from the small mining community of Mapethé just north of El Cardonal in the western hills of modern Hidalgo State.¹¹ (See Map 1.) Velasco wrote in the 1680s that the crucifix had been brought to Mapethé by a Spanish miner in 1545 and was housed in a modest chapel, attracting more attention from hungry insects than from devotees. The image became so dilapidated that in 1615 the archbishop ordered it to be broken apart and buried with the next adult to die in the parish. For nearly six years thereafter, however, no one died, and mysterious groans and celestial music drifted from the chapel late at night. In 1621, the image began to perspire and twitch on the cross, and during a fierce storm it floated free and was restored to fine condition before becoming reattached. The image continued to show signs of life, occasionally opening its eyes, perspiring, and spurring blood. Marvelous healings of local people and an abundant crop of maize followed. Later that year, the archbishop ordered the image brought to Mexico City for safekeeping, because the miner's chapel had virtually collapsed. Velasco mentioned that local Indians and Spaniards struggled against the removal of their now-prodigious image before it was taken to the capital, where it was received with great rejoicing.

I know of just one earlier reference to the image and devotion. Gil González Dávila's survey of the history of the Archdiocese of Mexico from a European perspective, published in Madrid in 1649, mentioned that the image sweated, trembled, and performed other miracles in 1621 and was moved to the Carmelite convent in Mexico City on orders of the archbishop, who wanted it rescued from its

¹⁰ New Spain's Carmelite nuns have been studied by Manuel Ramos Medina in *Místicas y descalzas: Fundaciones femeninas carmelitas en la Nueva España* (Mexico, 1997). See especially xxiii, 113–117, 197–198. Ramos Medina found only one wave of public record for this convent. In the mid-seventeenth century, the nuns appealed to Spain to be removed from the jurisdiction of secular ecclesiastical authorities and placed under the supervision of Carmelite prelates, 152–163.

¹¹ The word "Mapethé" has no obvious sacred connotation in the Otomí language. Pedro Martín Godínez Salas translated it as "place of the mineral washing basins (*deslavaderos*)."*Abandono y recuperación de la tierra en Santuario de Mapethé, Hidalgo* (Mexico, 1982), 53–54. Velasco's first publication about the Cristo Renovado reported that the image was known locally as "the Santo Cristo de Zimapán, del Cardonal, etc., and also as the Santo Cristo de las minas del Plomo pobre and de las minas de Guerrero, for its original owner, . . . but most commonly as the Santo Cristo de Yxmiquilpa, which is the headtown of the district." *Renovacion por sí misma* . . . (Mexico, 1688), fol. 6v. These various names point to tensions between shared devotion and local proprietary claims discussed later in the essay.



MAP 1: The Shrine of Mapethé and Surroundings

precarious location near the Chichimec frontier.¹² González Dávila did not mention the act of self-renovation that is central to Velasco's story; nor did he mention the crumbling chapel. He offered the classic *furta sacra* ("holy theft") story, familiar in

¹² Gil González Dávila, *Teatro eclesiástico de la Santa Iglesia de México* (Madrid, 1649–1655), 59. The image, he wrote, had sweated three times on February 17, 1621—forty days before the death of King Philip III—and trembled on the cross five months later.

medieval European hagiography, of relics rescued from danger or neglect and moved by their new owners to another location.¹³ The shrine of the Cristo Renovado in Mexico City apparently did not become important until the end of the seventeenth century; Fr. Isidro de la Asunción, the Spanish Carmelite inspector who resided in central Mexico from 1673 to 1678, did not mention it in the chapter on shrines of his *Itinerario a Indias*.¹⁴

The first version of Velasco's account of the image, published in 1688 as *Renovacion por si misma de la soberana imagen de Christo Señor Nuestro crucificado, que llaman de Ytzimiquilpan (vulgarmente Ysmiquilpa, y Esmiquilpa): colocada en la iglesia del convento de San Joseph, de religiosas Carmelitas descalça desta imperial ciudad de Mexico. Narracion historica, qve la refiere, con fundamentos de hecho, y derecho, para que se declare por Milagrosa, y los demàs sucessos*, reads like a digest of one of the extended legal reports called *informaciones jurídicas* that were prepared for episcopal courts in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Mexico to evaluate cases for beatification of a holy person or recognition of a miraculous image.¹⁵ Composed for a campaign to establish the authenticity of miracles associated with the image, it bristles with testimony and references to various documents, witnesses, and experts, and is organized into a long series of numbered paragraphs rather than chapters that develop a story line. The year after *Renovacion por si misma* appeared, Archbishop Francisco Aguiar y Seixas examined a full set of depositions supporting the tradition of supernatural restoration and declared it to be an authentic miracle.¹⁶ It is not clear whether the archbishop fully supported Velasco's dramatic extension of the origin story told by González Dávila, who may have garbled or radically simplified the tradition that reached him from Mexico.

With the archbishop's official endorsement of a miraculous restoration and a buzz of public excitement after the image was believed to have brought relief to the city from an epidemic in 1697, the devotion took off. That year, Italian visitor Juan Gemelli Carreri called the chapel of the Cristo Renovado one of the Valley of Mexico's three great shrines (among more than sixty celebrated miraculous images by my count). The first edition of Velasco's apologetic book, revised for a general readership from his 1688 publication, appeared in 1699 along with a printed program of prayers and other devotions for an annual novena in the church of Santa Teresa. A second novena booklet appeared in 1715, followed in 1724 by a reprinting of Velasco's 1699 text and a new book for devotees of the image by the Jesuit Domingo de Quiroga. Then in 1731, a lengthy sermon inspired by the image was delivered and published by one of the capital's leading preachers, Manuel Folgar. In all, there have been twelve editions of Velasco's devotional history, published without revisions to his text. They were printed in four clusters: 1699 and 1724;

¹³ Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J., 1978).

¹⁴ *Itinerario a Indias (1673–1678)* (Mexico, 1992), 103–109.

¹⁵ José Toribio Medina, the great nineteenth-century bibliographer and historian, identified the 1688 publication as “un informe historial jurídico” (a historical-juridical report) rather than a devotional history. *La imprenta en México (1539–1810), edición facsimilar*, 8 vols. (Mexico, 1989), 3: 222–224. It may have circulated in manuscript a few years earlier, perhaps as early as 1684, when Archbishop Aguiar y Seixas blessed Mexico City's newly finished Carmelite church of Santa Teresa. In his preface-*aprobación* for *Renovacion por si misma*, Francisco de Florencia wrote that he had read Velasco's manuscript in 1685.

¹⁶ Antonio de Robles, *Diario de sucesos notables (1665–1703)*, 3 vols. (Mexico, 1946), 2: 72.

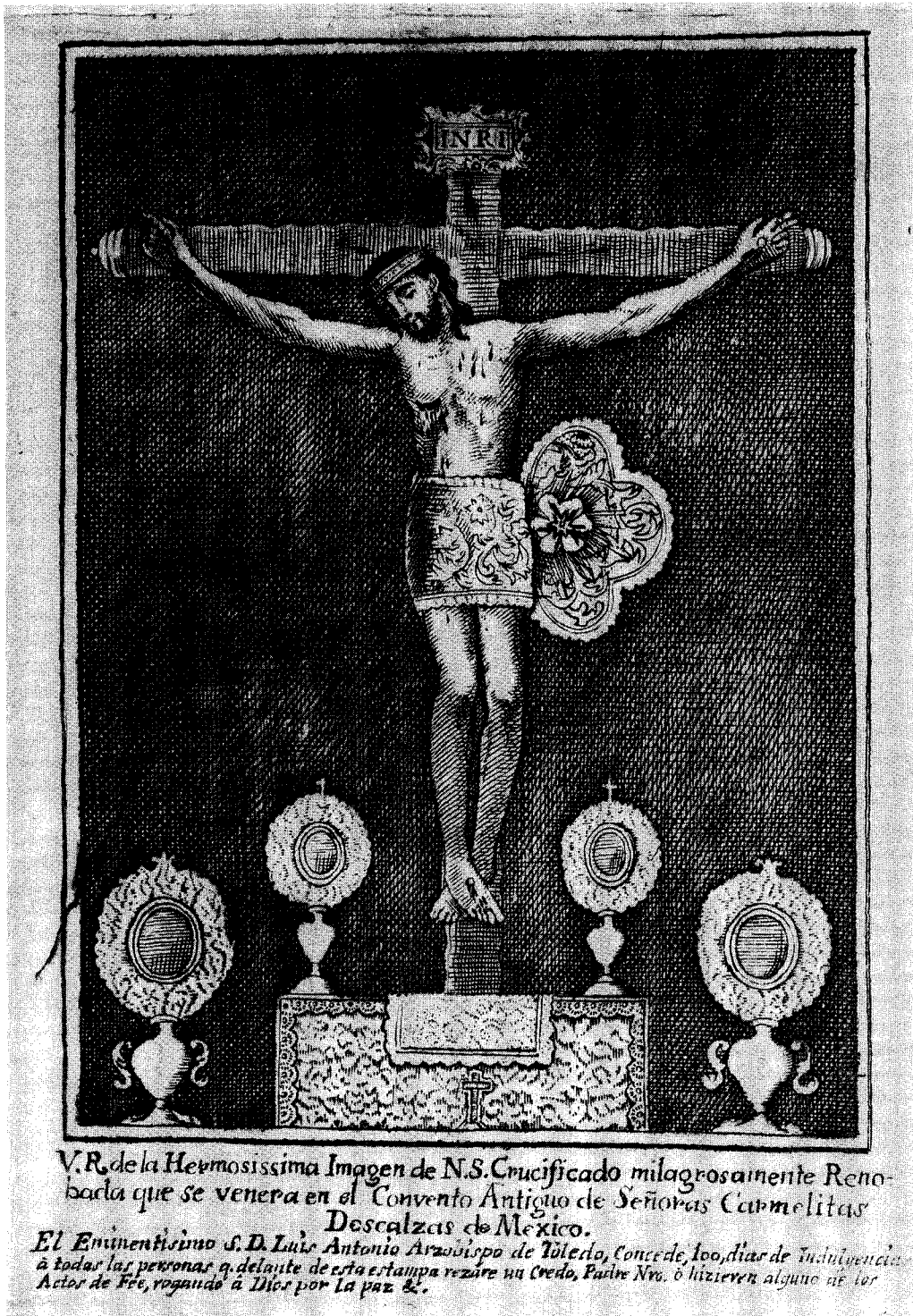


FIGURE 1: Velasco's written text was not revised in its various editions, but the prints of the Cristo Renovado that embellished them did change. The crucified Christ in the 1699 print (see Frontispiece) hangs heavy on the cross, with the ravaged torso accentuated and the figure blending into a busy, textured background set off by two lighted candles and other decorations. This 1807 print is very similar to the others that appeared in the editions after 1776. Here Christ's body is less tortured and seems to float on the cross. The background is plainer and begins to recede.

1776, 1790, 1807, 1810, and 1820; 1845 and 1858; and facsimiles in 1945, 1951, and 1996. The silence between 1858 and the facsimile editions coincided with a long decline in popular and official interest in the image in Mexico City. The gaps in publication during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries seem to have less to do with declining interest than with the history of promotion by archiepiscopal authorities.¹⁷ Publications and descriptions of popular devotion to the Cristo Renovado were less conspicuous during the period of concerted official promotion of Our Lady of Guadalupe in the 1740s and 1750s, but chroniclers in the 1760s and 1770s continued to single out this crucifix as one of the great miraculous images favoring New Spain, and private bequests were accumulating.¹⁸ Between 1724 and 1776, there is ample evidence of growing devotion in Mexico City. Enthusiasm for the Cristo Renovado as a processional image and “celestial physician” (*celestial médico*) in times of illness seems to have taken firm hold during the great epidemic of 1737, when many thousands of people accompanied the image to Mexico City’s cathedral and crowded in for a novena of public prayers and masses.¹⁹ It would be taken in procession to the cathedral for novenas during other epidemics in 1761, 1779, 1784, 1797, and 1833.²⁰

Paintings of the celebrated crucifix made for devotees in Mexico City and the provincial city of Querétaro during the eighteenth century trace a similar pattern of promotion and devotion. Most were painted in Mexico City during the 1730s, when the Cristo Renovado was featured in penitential processions.²¹ At least three were done by José de Ibarra, an especially popular Mexico City painter of the time, and several found their way to Spain. One that advertised itself as having “touched the original” went to a Carmelite convent in Málaga, Spain, in the 1740s, attracting an ardent following among the nuns there. They eventually received from the Mexico City shrine two of the original nails from the cross of the Cristo Renovado in exchange for three gold-plated, diamond-studded replacements.²² These eighteenth-century paintings and publications kept the focus on the image and Mexico

¹⁷ The publication history of Velasco’s text during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries more often points toward promotion. The 1724 edition was sponsored by the nuns of the Santa Teresa la Antigua convent—“a devoción de la madre priora y religiosas”—for whom the image had been brought to Mexico City in the first place. The 1996 facsimile edition of Velasco also resulted from the desire of the Discalced Carmelite nuns of Mexico City to promote the devotion. Writing in 1997, Manuel Ramos Medina observed that “very few know its history in spite of the efforts of the nuns to promote the devotion. Recently these Carmelites commemorated the 375th anniversary of the renovation of the Christ of Ixmiquilpan and reprinted Velasco’s book.” *Místicas y descalzas*, 136.

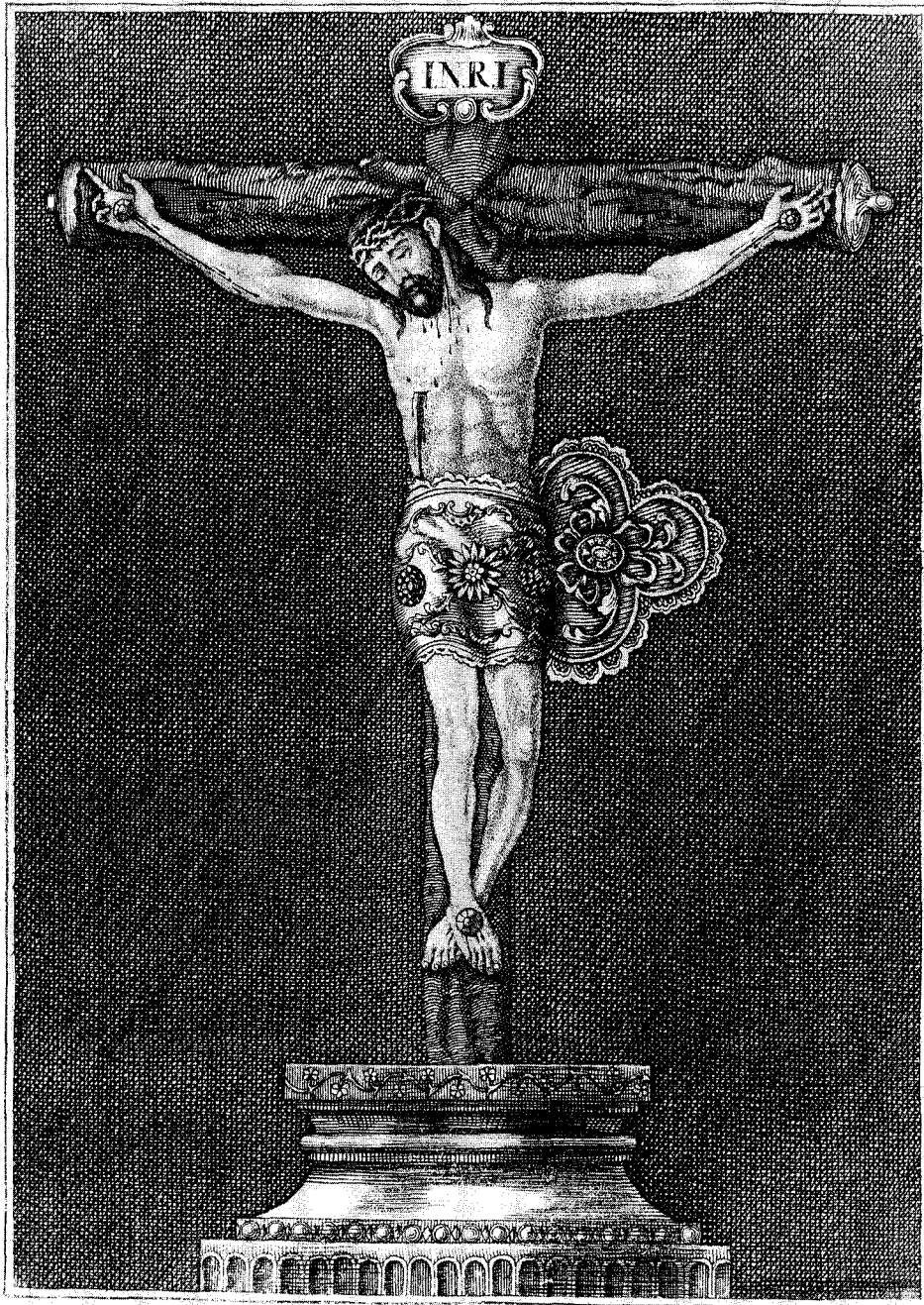
¹⁸ Francisco de Ajofrín, *Diario del viaje que hizo a la América en el siglo XVIII el P. Fray Francisco de Ajofrín*, 2 vols. (1764; repr., Mexico, 1964), 1: 106; Agustín Francisco Esquivel y Vargas, *El fénix del amor* (1764; repr., Zamora, 1990), 109; Francisco Javier Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España*, 3 vols. (ca. 1767; repr., Mexico, 1841–1842), 2: 125–128; Lazcano, *Vida exemplar*, 341; Juan de Viera, *Compendiosa narración de la ciudad de México (1777)* (Mexico, 1952), 56. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico (hereafter AGN) Bienes Nacionales 1210, exp. 7, *dotación de novena* by Doña María Teresa de Borja: a 2,000 pesos lien on a house in Mexico City.

¹⁹ *Gaceta de México*, April 28, 1737, reported a great procession to the cathedral for prayers to restore the city to health.

²⁰ *Gaceta de México*, November 29, 1797, note appended to an article on the 1797 procession to the cathedral.

²¹ Cayetano Cabrera y Quintero, *Escudo de armas de México . . .* (Mexico, 1746), 450–456.

²² On other paintings of the Cristo Renovado, especially those by Ibarra, see Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, “José de Ibarra,” in Donna Pierce, Rogelio Ruiz Gomar, and Clara Bargellini, eds., *Painting a New World: Mexican Art and Life, 1521–1821* (Denver, Colo., 2004), 201–202.



VR. DE LA MILAG. IMAGDEL SSIMO. CRISTO. RENOV. DE SANTA TERE.

Concedidos 180. días de Indulgencias a todas las personas que rezaren en Cristo por las necesidades de Nuestra Madre la Iglesia.

Barros, Grabador Dedicado a N. S. J. C.

FIGURE 2: This 1820 print accentuates the figure of Christ and extends neoclassical motifs of dignified simplicity and Christ's perfection in its large but spare fluted base, the unobtrusive background, and the refinement of the body. It is more about the figure of Christ, but less about his agony. If these differences are signs of changing religious sensibilities in Mexico City, there is little to suggest that devotees of the shrine at Mapethé were catching the new spirit.

City as especially favored by the original miracle of self-restoration, and devotional fervor to the Cristo Renovado intensified during times of crisis, as the surge of interest during epidemics suggests.

The years immediately before and during the War of Independence (1810–1821), when a new and grander chapel for the Cristo Renovado was under construction in the Carmelite church, represent the period of greatest official promotion, wealth, and popularity of this shrine after the 1690s. In April 1809, the image was taken to the cathedral for a novena to appeal for the safety of the king of Spain and the defeat of “French heretics”—apparently the first time the image had left the convent church of Santa Teresa except for penitential processions during epidemics. In his late 1810 diatribe against the insurrection led by Miguel Hidalgo and plea for “union and brotherhood” across New Spain’s regions and social classes, Agustín Pomposo Fernández de San Salvador invoked the “Cristo de Santa Teresa la Antigua” along with the Virgin of Guadalupe and the Virgin of Los Remedios as the symbols of national unity.²³ A wealthy confraternity dedicated to the Cristo Renovado was active at the shrine then, and in 1814 the shrine’s treasury boasted bequests and chaplaincies that produced about 20,000 pesos in annual interest.²⁴ This sum was augmented by the usual alms collections, and in 1813 a popular raffle was instituted (the “Lotería del Ssmo Cristo de Santa Teresa la Antigua”) during the final months of construction of the new chapel. The raffle netted the shrine 894 pesos on gross ticket sales of 2,340 pesos during its first thirty-two months.²⁵

Although the popularity of the raffle had run its course by 1823, the shrine’s stock of capital continued to produce a steady income,²⁶ and devotion peaked again during the cholera epidemic of 1833 with another procession and novena in the cathedral.²⁷ Carlos María Bustamante celebrated the image’s continuing power and popularity when he wrote in the early 1840s: “This surprising rejuvenation of the Lord of Santa Teresa not only has been a matter of belief by all Mexicans up to the present, but it has been confirmed in singular marvels, including its exalted protection in every public calamity, most recently in the terrible cholera epidemic, which began to recede as soon as the image was displayed in a magnificent procession.”²⁸

The new chapel collapsed in an earthquake in 1845, shattering the image. There was enough money in the shrine’s treasury and enough interest among devotees both to print updated editions of Velasco’s *Exaltacion de la Divina Misericordia* for

²³ *Memoria Cristiano-política sobre lo mucho que la Nueva España debe temer de su desunión en partidos, y las grandes ventajas que puede esperar de su unión y confraternidad* (Mexico, 1810). Ignacio Carrillo y Pérez, the late-colonial hagiographer of miraculous images in the Valley of Mexico, wrote book-length devotional texts about four shrines: Our Lady of Guadalupe, Our Lady of Los Remedios, Our Lady of Los Angeles, and the Cristo Renovado. Only the first two were published, in 1797 and 1808.

²⁴ AGN Bienes Nacionales 1864, exp. 34; AGN Bienes Nacionales 800, exp. 12.

²⁵ AGN Bienes Nacionales 423, exp. 19; AGN Bienes Nacionales 466, exp. 20.

²⁶ AGN Bienes Nacionales 466, exp. 20, 1823 report of the shrine’s treasurer.

²⁷ See *Odiata al contemplar que desaparece de la Metropolitana de México . . .* (Mexico, 1833), on the occasion of the Cristo Renovado’s return from the cathedral to the Santa Teresa convent church, and Carlos María Bustamante’s *México religioso: Procesión del Señor de Santa Teresa de México a la iglesia catedral con motivo de la cholera morbus* (Mexico, 1833).

²⁸ Quoted in Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, 2: 128.

promotional purposes in 1845 and 1858 and to rebuild the chapel and artfully remake the image. Perhaps the remade image was not perceived as “the same.” In any case, the Cristo Renovado de Santa Teresa never regained its old popularity after Mexico’s reform period in the 1850s and 1860s. During the Cristero War of the late 1920s, the church of Santa Teresa la Antigua was closed by the government, and the image was moved to the cathedral; later it was returned to the Carmelite nuns, who were then residing in San Angel on the outskirts of the Valley of Mexico. Today, few people in Mexico City, much less elsewhere, know about the miraculous image of the Cristo Renovado, and the nuns have not succeeded in reviving much interest in it. Their facsimile edition in 1996 of an early edition of Velasco’s book marking the 375th anniversary of the miracle of renovation attracted some antiquarian interest, but few new devotees.²⁹

WHAT WENT ON IN THE PLACE where the great miracle of rejuvenation was said to have happened back in 1621? Had people there been telling themselves the miracle story that Velasco eventually published? Were they drawn to the shrine in Mexico City after the image was taken from them? Was Velasco’s text known to them? If so, how did they understand it? We may never know what stories local people told about the place and image during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On the other hand, nothing yet known from the seventeenth century suggests that they organized pilgrimages to visit the lost image in Mexico City or honored the site of the miracle of renovation before Velasco’s devotional history appeared in 1699.

The chapel at Mapethé remained in ruins until the 1720s; then, soon after the second edition of Velasco’s book appeared, the situation changed. From the 1720s to the early 1800s, bursts of record making and building tell of considerable regional interest in the site. The 1728 license to rebuild the chapel noted that many people—identified as non-Indians as well as Indians—were visiting Mapethé as a place of miracles.³⁰ By the late 1730s, several Otomí Indian leaders from the district of Ixmiquilpan were vying for control over the project.³¹ At the center of this first dispute was Don Agustín Morales, an Otomí *cacique* (hereditary leader) and painter by trade from El Cardonal, who was described by his followers as “the first founder” of the tradition. In the late 1720s, he reportedly crafted two crucifixes similar to the Cristo Renovado, started to build a church on the site of the original chapel, sponsored an annual novena there during Lent, and secured licenses from ecclesiastical and royal authorities to collect alms for the building project.

While no one denied that the shrine was Morales’s idea and that the first phase of construction was undertaken largely at his expense, by 1737 he was entangled in

²⁹ The only photograph of the Cristo Renovado de Santa Teresa published recently treats it as an art object rather than a devotional image. Elisa Vargas Lugo et al., *Parábola novohispana: Cristo en el arte virreinal* (Mexico, 2000).

³⁰ AGN Tierras 2155, exp. 5.

³¹ AGN Civil 1384, exp. 11; AGN Civil 2292, exp. 4. The *alcaldía mayor* district of Ixmiquilpan encompassed the two parishes of Ixmiquilpan and El Cardonal and the Indian headtowns of Ixmiquilpan, El Cardonal, Orizaba, and Tlazintla and their outliers. People known historically as Otomíes usually identify themselves today as Nāhñu.

litigation over who should be in charge of the project and the site.³² He sought and received an order from the high court in Mexico City for the parish priest of El Cardonal and other colonial authorities and Indian governors throughout the area to recognize his authority—"quasi-possession," the legal record calls it—and not to interfere with his collection of donations and management of the building project. But his authority at the sacred site was always in dispute. In 1739 and 1742, he petitioned for confirmation of his 1737 possession and an order for the officials of El Cardonal not to interfere with his collections and administration of the project. Then in 1743, he was imprisoned on orders of the priest and charged with stealing 300 pesos from the collection box. His principal alms collectors and fellow Indian notables Diego Joseph and Pedro Martín Bello seized his crucifixes and claimed to be the rightful administrators of the burgeoning devotion. Morales spent more than a year in jail until he rendered what were regarded as adequate accounts of the alms collections. Royal revenue agents and district governors got involved, accusing all the Indian leaders of embezzling funds and complaining that the shrine was creating a vagrancy problem and depriving them of tax revenue and labor for the mines of the El Cardonal district. The protracted litigation drew in dozens of witnesses who incidentally attested to a territory of devotees and conscripted construction workers that included various Otomí towns and hamlets in western Hidalgo. They testified that most devotees went to the holy site for the festivities Morales promoted during Lent, taking their village and family crucifixes with them, as if to charge them with sacred energy at the place of the miraculous renovation.

Bello served as *mayordomo* or administrator of the emerging shrine for two years, from 1746 to 1748. About a third of the construction was completed by the latter date, but the job was still far from done, and he, too, was brought down by accusations of withholding alms for his own use and not submitting full financial reports. Morales and his followers continued to lay claim to the project and gained a decisive legal victory over Bello and other rivals in 1748, as colonial officials pushed for completion of the shrine and regular administration by a parish priest and a single *mayordomo*. Bello spent that year and part of the next in jail while he and eight more self-styled "founders" of the shrine continued to appeal the verdict against his claim as rightful administrator. Morales and his followers responded with the usual vigor. The judges finally threw up their hands on December 20, 1748, and remitted the case to the archbishop's court for further consideration. There Morales was quickly confirmed as the *mayordomo*. Morales recovered his crucifixes—the one described as "the green cross" was given a place of honor in the temporary shrine at Mapethé—and new alms collectors resumed their rounds. His triumph was short-lived, however. By the fall he had died, and the church was still unfinished.

This summary of bitter, costly legal claims and counterclaims barely touches on the complex, shifting webs of local interests and the factions behind them. Morales, Diego Joseph, and Bello were all Otomí leaders from the vicinity of El Cardonal,³³

³² The following discussion of developments in 1737–1748 is based on AGN Tierras 2155, exp. 5, and AGN Tierras 2904, exp. 2.

³³ AGN Tierras 2155, exp. 5. In April 1744, both Morales and Diego Joseph were identified as *indios principales* (Indian nobles) of El Cardonal.

but the collective leadership of El Cardonal opposed Morales in the early years of this dispute, then supported him later. His most consistent supporters seem to have been people identified as Indians from the large settlements of Tlazintla and Palma Gorda, near the district capital of Ixmiquilpan. The pastors and royal governors of El Cardonal and Ixmiquilpan were suspicious of any Indian administration of this district-wide project that shifted patronage and control of finances from their offices, yet they wanted it to go forward. At one time or another, they became allies or adversaries of the several Indian partisans, while struggling with each other over jurisdiction and administration of funds. District officials and the high court in Mexico City found the mounting record of disputes and shifting divisions among Indian leaders and settlements as tangled as the would-be historian does. As early as January 1744, the *alcalde mayor* (district governor) of Ixmiquilpan marveled at “the many orders and injunctions issued in this case, some in favor of Agustín Morales and others for Diego Joseph, . . . and the endless complaints of both parties.”³⁴ The Otomí side of the case seemed endless because it had less to do with clear-cut legal issues that could be resolved by compromise or the final authority of a colonial court than with unremitting tetchiness over subordination to authority outside the local community. Even the apparent local communities were dispersed and often fractious.

Situated several miles north of the settlement of El Cardonal, the unfinished shrine was described in late 1748 as very large—roughly 150 feet long and more than 50 feet high, with walls nearly 6 feet thick and a beautiful bell tower modeled on the cathedral in Mexico City. The structure was valued at just over 10,000 pesos, and it was estimated that two years and another 14,000 pesos would be needed to finish the job. But the way to a finished shrine and settled administrative and devotional practices still was not clear. In 1755, Archbishop Manuel Rubio y Salinas’s pastoral visit report sharply criticized the shrine’s administrators and alms collectors for not completing the building and for keeping inadequate records of “the copious donations that are collected daily.”³⁵ Yet another church official seemed convinced that the alms collectors were skimming money from the collection boxes.

This first wave of records has the hallmarks of a shrine and devotion in its early stages of development. Alms-collecting missions began then, and their purpose was to pay for construction of the first substantial church at the site. Construction was the center of activity, and weekly labor receipts for late 1748 and early 1749 show a crew of twelve Indian day laborers at work under the supervision of four skilled masons. Don Agustín Morales’s two crucifixes circulated with the alms collectors and were sometimes housed at the building site, but no particular image was yet regarded as the Señor de Mapethé. The principal feast day during the week before Palm Sunday does not seem to have been well established yet.³⁶

Velasco’s story of the miracle of renovation and the transfer of the image to Mexico City may well have become local knowledge in western Hidalgo at this time,

³⁴ AGN Tierras 2155, exp. 5, fol. 92.

³⁵ Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México (hereafter AHAM), Rubio y Salinas pastoral visit book, fols. 101v–106v, February 11, 1755.

³⁶ Archbishop Rubio y Salinas refers to “la semana de San Lázaro” festivities in his 1755 pastoral visit report.

with a selective, provocative twist. According to Salvador González, a *mestizo* from Ixmiquilpan who testified before the district governor in 1743, local people knew the story of the self-renovating crucifix “as it is described in the printed book about this astonishing portent.”³⁷ And in 1748, Indians from three communities in the district boldly asserted that the image in Mexico City ought to be returned to Mapethé once their church was completed³⁸—a possibility implied by Velasco, who had described how when the archbishop’s deputies came to take the image away, it grew heavy and began to bleed and blink its eyes. When local people resisted its removal, their parish priest promised them he would request the return of the image, “God willing, if it is not properly cared for in Mexico City,” but pointed out that “at present, we have no church; it is in ruins.”³⁹ At least some local devotees in the 1740s and later seem to have taken this passage from Velasco’s book to mean that if they built a fine church for the image, it would be returned.⁴⁰

The unfinished shrine became a parish seat in 1751, and its first pastor, Bachiller Antonio Fuentes de León, actively promoted the cult during his tenure of more than twenty years, enlarging and strengthening the building and furnishing it with fine altars and paintings. The present building has the gilded altars from Father Fuentes’s time—the main altar is dated 1765⁴¹—and an antique wooden crucifix about three feet high, known as the Señor de Mapethé (perhaps one of the portable images Morales made in the 1720s; more likely a later crucifix commissioned by the people of Palma Gorda). On the side walls hang an undated oil painting of the Cristo Renovado bringing rain after seven years of drought and a set of four paintings dated 1773 that depict the miraculous renovation of the image in 1621. The last painting in the set shows Father Fuentes in the posture of a devout donor. If I did not know about Agustín Morales, Diego Joseph, Pedro Martín Bello, and the others, it would be tempting to conclude that the shrine and devotions at Mapethé began with, and largely depended on, the efforts of the assiduous Father Fuentes. In word and image, Don Agustín and his rivals are absent from the material remains of the shrine at Mapethé. But they are there in deed.

The second long wave of written records, from 1783 to 1795, mainly concerned the Zimapán area north of Mapethé. It establishes that interest in the shrine remained strong after Father Fuentes died, and spread to the north and west, mainly among Otomí people.⁴² By then, the fifth Friday of Lent, just before Palm Sunday, had become the day for the annual gathering of crucifixes from throughout the region. Participants spoke of this event as ancient practice—“de tiempo inmemorial”—as if it had always been so.⁴³ By then, one or more images displayed

³⁷ *Relaciones geográficas del Arzobispado de México, 1743*, ed. Francisco de Solano, prepared and transcribed by Catalina Romero, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1988), 1: 69.

³⁸ The three communities were Tlazintla, Palma Gorda, and Ixmiquilpan. AGN Civil 1384, exp. 11, fol. 50r.

³⁹ *Exaltacion* (1790 ed.), 33. According to Velasco, when porters attempted to take the crucifix toward Mexico City, “2,000” local Indians and some Spaniards seized the image and took it to Ixmiquilpan. Healings and other signs of Christ’s presence in the image happened there before it was eventually removed to Mexico City. No one in 1748 seems to have threatened a similar mass action for the return of the image.

⁴⁰ AGN Civil 1384, exp. 11, fols. 50–53; Velasco, *Exaltacion* (1790 ed.), 33–35.

⁴¹ *Dones y promesas: 500 años de arte ofrenda (exvotos mexicanos)* (Mexico, 1996), 96.

⁴² AGN Civil 1111, exps. 1, 12, and “991.”

⁴³ AGN Civil 1111, exp. 12.

at the shrine were recognized as the Lord of Mapethé, although not without some controversy. Many Indians were making the one-day walk from the district of Zimapán,⁴⁴ where the most productive silver mines in the region were located at that time. Indians of Zimapán, many of them transient or recently settled, reportedly left their work in the mines to visit the shrine at least once a year, confessed and took communion at Mapethé rather than at home, and sometimes hid from the local tax collector and the labor bosses when they returned. The royal officials of Zimapán were not about to lose their grip on Indian labor and local taxes without a contest in the courtroom. The result is an ample record of sharp dispute over this thirteen-year period and more testimony about the shrine.

If the conflicts of the 1740s involving the shrine at Mapethé crosscut local society in more directions than I can describe in a few pages, those of the 1780s and early 1790s are even more complex and less localized. Three kinds of conflict appear in this new documentation: (1) between Indians of the Zimapán area and their *alcalde mayor* (Spanish governor) and parish priest over fees, taxes, and where their political loyalties belonged; (2) between Zimapán's Indian governors and the Indian *mayordomo* who organized the annual nine-day pilgrimage to Mapethé over the collection of expense money;⁴⁵ and (3) between the *alcalde mayor* and parish priest of Ixmiquilpan on one side and the *alcalde mayor* and parish priest of Zimapán on the other over how and where Indians of the district of Zimapán should spend their money and receive communion. Despite the divisions, when it came time for the annual journey to Mapethé with the local crucifixes, the various Otomí rivals seem to have joined in, including the Indian governors who had complained about the *mayordomo*. Nor did higher colonial authorities interfere. Perhaps because devotees could show that they were not gone long and did not engage in unruly activity, the litigation of the 1790s did not lead to orders from the archbishop or the viceroy to suspend the processions or discourage the devotion in other ways.⁴⁶ This tacit acceptance is surprising, since official policy at the time discouraged most alms collections and large Indian gatherings, and district officials were concerned about "Indians" in El Cardonal harboring suspicions that "the Spaniards" meant to destroy them.⁴⁷ Mexico City authorities may not have in-

⁴⁴ One witness testified that the trip from the town of Zimapán to Mapethé took about five hours. AGN Civil 1111, exp. "991."

⁴⁵ The *mayordomo* had his two processional crucifixes confiscated and was charged with collecting money without a license to defray expenses, including the rental of outfits for those who went armed as Roman soldiers. Even ceremonial arming of Indians was controversial in this region. While the Indian governors and councilmen nominally chose the *mayordomo* annually, one *mayordomo* served throughout this period, while governors and councilmen came and went. He may well have become an especially powerful figure in the community.

⁴⁶ The parish priest at the shrine and the *mayordomos* of Zimapán assured authorities in Mexico City that the Indians had behaved decorously. AGN Civil 1111, exp. "991"; AGN Civil 1111, exp. 1.

⁴⁷ For example, Bancroft Library, uncatalogued 2002 acquisition, "Año de 1802, criminal contra los indios del Cardonal por tumultuarios." According to Antonio Fonseca's report of March 4, 1802, after five Indian laborers perished when the wall of a reservoir they were rebuilding caved in on them, the rumor spread that Spaniards wanted to kill Indians. In 1799, the archbishop did ban a larger procession of *cristos* in the city of Querétaro on Maundy Thursday involving as many as 8,000 Indians from neighboring communities. AGN Arzobispos y Obispos 2, fols. 308–315. In 1803, the archbishop also banned the Corpus Christi festivities in San Pedro de la Cañada, near the city of Querétaro, because of "abominable excesses." But in general he found Querétaro a pious place. AHAM L10B/32 fol. 44r (1803 pastoral visit).

terfered with the Mapethé shrine because they did not want to chance disturbances over devotional practices in a place uncomfortably close to the Sierra de Tututepec, where an Indian millenarian movement during the 1760s was still well remembered. The appeal of the Mapethé shrine does not seem to have grown much in the late eighteenth century, but it would not have been easy to suppress if colonial authorities had been inclined to try. When the *alcalde mayor* of Zimapán did forbid the annual visit to Mapethé in 1792 (before the dispute was appealed to Mexico City), local people ignored his order and went to the shrine anyway.⁴⁸

The third wave of political drama and record making, lasting for most of nine years, followed the creation of a town at the shrine, known as Pueblo Nuevo (El Santuario on modern maps). About two hundred people, most of them Otomí Indians, had taken up residence near the shrine by 1776, but the community was not formally constituted as a town until a viceregal decree to that effect was issued in 1795. The establishment of a formal town meant that the headtown of El Cardonal lost jurisdiction, and in this case also population and labor service, because most of the residents of Pueblo Nuevo came from its Guigui and Cardonalito *barrios* (a Spanish term for neighborhood, here applied to dispersed extended-family settlements, which were the common Otomí residential pattern in the area). The most contentious and enduring issue, however, was land rights. El Cardonal ceded the new settlement its townsite, a square about 550 yards on a side, but the access its residents would have to farmlands, pastures, and woodlands was unresolved. Most of the original two hundred settlers in 1776 had ancestral lands nearby; many of the roughly four hundred inhabitants in 1804 did not.⁴⁹ From 1799 to 1804, the people of Pueblo Nuevo were in constant, sometimes violent disputes over woodlands with neighboring rancheros and the Otomí town of Orizaba.⁵⁰

A separate, indirectly related dispute came to a head at the time of these land struggles.⁵¹ In late 1799, Palma Gorda, a subordinate settlement of Orizaba in the parish of Ixmiquilpan (the parish seat and district headtown for Pueblo Nuevo was the smaller El Cardonal), complained to the *alcalde mayor* of Ixmiquilpan and to the archbishop's court in Mexico City that a crucifix donated by their community, which had long occupied the place of honor on the main altar of the shrine, had been replaced with a new image belonging to Pueblo Nuevo. The attorney for Pueblo Nuevo responded that malcontents from Ixmiquilpan with unspecified ulterior motives were behind this complaint. A flurry of charges and countercharges

⁴⁸ So reported the parish priest of El Cardonal, Lic. Felipe de la Bárzena. He wrote that Indians came that year from Zimapán and throughout the district of El Cardonal. AGN Civil 1111, exp. "991."

⁴⁹ AGN Indios 70, exp. 259, reported ninety-seven tributaries in 1804. Using a multiplying factor of four inhabitants per tributary, the population would have been about 388.

⁵⁰ AGN Tierras 2152, exp. 6; AGN Indios 70, exps. 180 and 259. In the 1740s, the headtown of Orizaba with its subordinate settlements registered 945 Otomí families and 80 non-Indian families nearby, or about 4,000 people in all. José Antonio de Villaseñor y Sánchez, *Theatro Americano* (Mexico, 1746), chap. 32. El Cardonal and its outliers were said to have 215 Otomí families and 73 non-Indian families at the time. The third important Indian town and outliers in the district of Ixmiquilpan was Tlazintla, with 945 Otomí families and 50 non-Indian families.

⁵¹ The two sets of disputes pitting the people of Pueblo Nuevo against their Otomí neighbors were interlocking, at least in terms of political alliances. The people of Palma Gorda belonged to the town of Orizaba and were described as close allies. Both of these adversaries of the new pueblo belonged to the parish of Ixmiquilpan rather than El Cardonal, though all were under the spiritual direction of Augustinian pastors.

followed, leaving the archbishop's legal adviser to make sense in April 1800 of "the confusing writings of the Indians of Palma Gorda," and to separate fact from fulmination. After three years of dispute, the archbishop's adviser counted heads and recognized that the old image was "an object of particular devotion, visited by people from throughout the area." He recommended that the old image be restored to the main altar, and it was.⁵²

The original image of the Cristo Renovado was never repatriated from Mexico City, but a report on resources and conditions in the district in 1792 remarked on the well-furnished church at Mapethé, ready to welcome the original image, as promised in Velasco's account, "when the famous dispute over where it belongs is resolved."⁵³ Even in the 1860s, the animated Cristo Renovado was vividly recalled by a local chronicler, who assured his readers that sighs, groans, sobs, and the tolling of phantom bells could still be heard at Mapethé.⁵⁴ Popular devotion to the Cristo Renovado hardly exists in Mexico City today, while the shrine at Mapethé continues to attract a regional following—thanks in part to Velasco's sunlit account of providential beginnings for what he represented as a major urban shrine. But there is not a straight-line, happily-ever-after story of growth and Otomí or Indian solidarity for the rural Mapethé shrine, either. We have the eighteenth-century records that carry the history of the Cristo Renovado beyond Velasco's Mexico City story because of perennial struggles in the district of Ixmiquilpan and Zimapán, most of them struggles among Otomí groups. The main celebration at the shrine still falls on the fifth Friday of Lent, but it is overshadowed by the crowds and commerce on the same day in the nearby town of El Arenal, where another miracle-working crucifix is honored—perhaps one of those that paid its respects at Mapethé in the eighteenth century.

The history of the miraculous Cristo Renovado connects a remote rural place to the capital city without establishing a pilgrimage route or authority and subordination between them. Many other local histories in Mexico bear comparison to it. Some shrines were more popular than others, but there were no great pilgrimage routes through a landscape of secondary shrines such as those to Rome or Compostela. Before the great organized pilgrimages to Tepeyac began in the late nineteenth century, large numbers of devotees of all social ranks were going to several hundred shrines all over Mexico. They still go. Most seventeenth- and eighteenth-century visitors to shrines did not travel far or linger over the journey as a prolonged penitential quest, and many who revered a renowned image never visited its shrine. Even as popular devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe flowered in the eighteenth century, most visitors to Tepeyac were locals, and most devotees of the Virgin of Guadalupe would have encountered her only in a regional chapel or over the altar in their parish church. Except perhaps in the Valley of Mexico, the growth of *guadalupanismo* was not a zero-sum game, as home altars crowded with different images suggest. Mapethé is an unusual case of *furta sacra*, but in shifting

⁵² AGN Bienes Nacionales 1047, exp. 13.

⁵³ Lourdes M. Romero Navarrete and Felipe I. Echenique March, eds., *Relaciones geográficas de 1792* (Mexico, 1995), 43.

⁵⁴ Pío Sáenz, "El misterio del Cardonal oculto en la milagrosa renobación acaesida en ese pueblo . . . (1865)," University of Texas at Austin, Benson Library, G85.

the story away from distant travels, Marian devotion, official chroniclers, and a hierarchy of shrines, it strikes the dominant chord.

I HAVE FRAMED THIS PRESENTATION OF THE CRISTO RENOVADO around two shrines with different historical trajectories that can suggest how Indian subjects might interrupt and refashion the logic of a printed text produced in Mexico City from a metropolitan viewpoint and the logic of the wider social order to meet their expectations and circumstances. Here local knowledge seems to have taken its cue from Velasco's book, but made the place where a moldering crucifix was said to have restored itself to fine condition more important than the absent relic.⁵⁵ These two histories of one Cristo Renovado are more than self-contained stories running on parallel tracks. In the eighteenth century, they converged most immediately for colonial authorities in Mexico City, Ixmiquilpan, and El Cardonal who presided over the long-running litigation and administrative affairs of the Mapethé shrine. But they also converge in the history of growing Christocentric devotion in Spain and Spanish America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Most of the important Spanish and Mexican shrines to miraculous images of Christ originated early in the seventeenth century, and some of them—especially in Mexico—attracted even greater interest in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This trajectory of formation and growth, punctuated by ebbs and flows of interest, was also true of many Marian shrines in Europe and Mexico. William Christian and others find that the new importance of image shrines in Spain and much of western Europe from the sixteenth century is related to declining interest in relics and sacred sites in the countryside.⁵⁶ The Mexican case was bound to be somewhat different. Saints' relics were never as important in the Americas. America had few saints of its own before John Paul II's papacy, and minor European saints' relics were imported but rarely caught on as objects of popular devotion.⁵⁷ To the extent that the interest in miraculous images in Mexico was orchestrated by church leaders during the seventeenth century, it has less to do with deflecting attention from relics than with muffling stories of apparitions reported by Indian neophytes, stories that sixteenth-century Franciscans in particular had encouraged and celebrated in their American chronicles.⁵⁸ The growing importance of urban sites of marvels and image shrines was shared with Europe, but without overshadowing the countryside. The found or animated images of Christ in Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were mostly reported from rural places and small settlements.

⁵⁵ Another case of the location of a departed crucifix being venerated in the El Cardonal area—the cross of El Maye—is mentioned by Jesús Salinas Pedraza in H. Russell Bernard and Jesús Salinas Pedraza, *Native Ethnography: A Mexican Indian Describes His Culture* (Newbury Park, Calif., 1989), 549.

⁵⁶ William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, N.J., 1981), 123–124.

⁵⁷ Use of relics for healing—often said by clerical authors to be ineffectual—appears in miracle stories recounted by Francisco Javier Alegre (1729–1788) in *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, 2: 8, 42–44, 75–76. He and other chroniclers of the orders in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century New Spain mentioned the clothing and bones of especially venerable predecessors as if they were relics.

⁵⁸ For example, Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, Cien de México ed., 2 vols. (Mexico, 1997), 2: chaps. 24–26; Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, 6th ed., 3 vols. (Mexico, 1986), 3: 179, 200, 243–250; and *The Oroz Codex*, trans. and ed. Angélico Chávez (Washington D.C., 1972), 98, 162–164, 168, 187–192, 216–217, 248–252, 255–256, 268–269, 302–306.

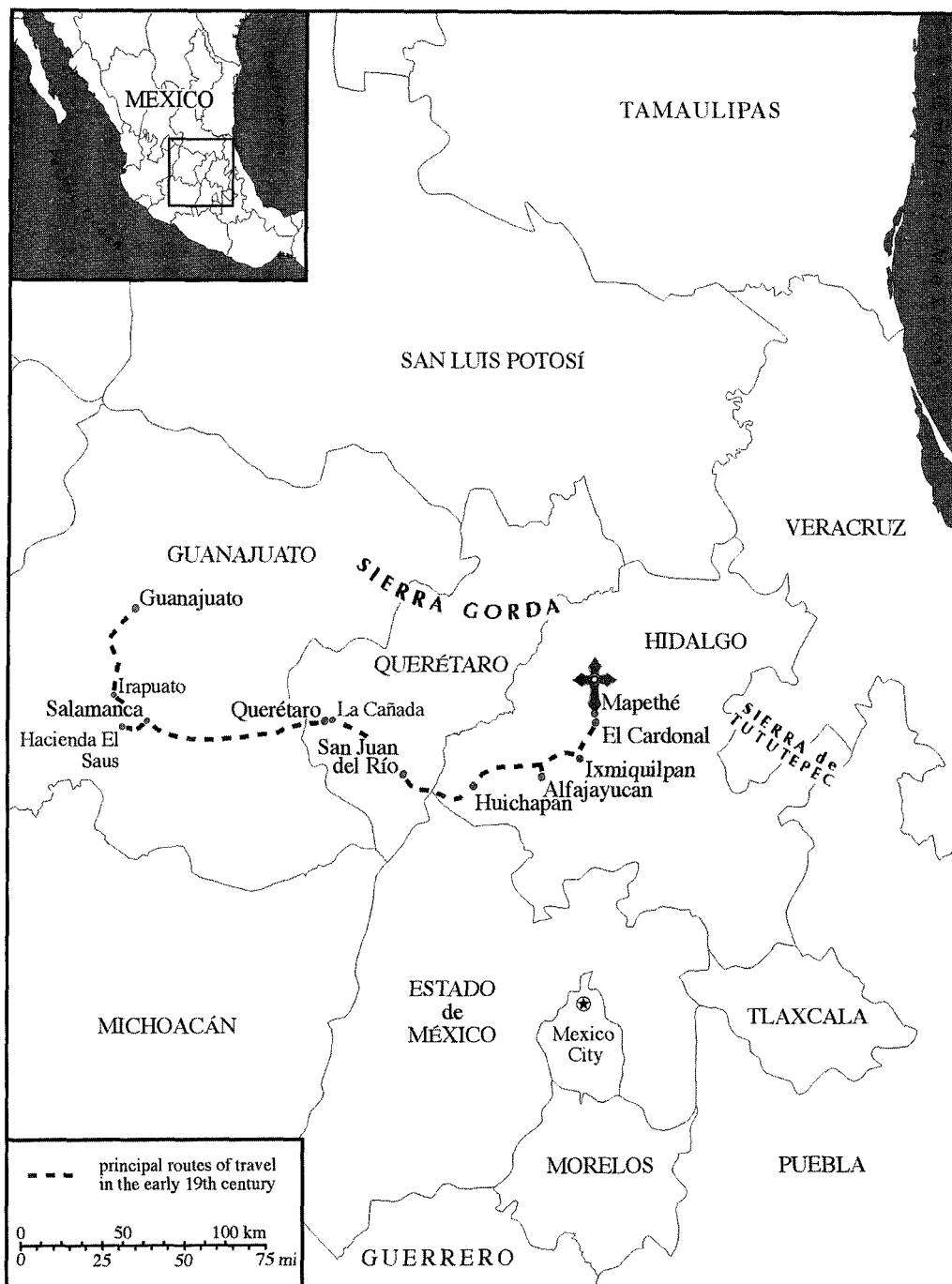
To approach the emergence of the Mapethé shrine in the eighteenth century as more than a local story in isolation calls especially for attention to the nature and reach of Otomí devotion to this Cristo Renovado and the cross as a sacred symbol. The shrine's reach was not limited to the immediate vicinity of Mapethé or the district of Ixmiquilpan, where it was centered.⁵⁹ The parish priest based at Mapethé in 1793 testified that the annual fiesta and procession of crucifixes during Lent was sponsored by the Indian pueblos of Jacala, Zimapán, Yxtatlaxco, and Tepejí (del Río), as well as Ixmiquilpan. These places form a band through western Hidalgo approximately thirty miles long from north to south, none of them more than a two-day walk from the shrine. This was the main catchment area of visitors. A larger territory of interest in the shrine can be traced in the reports submitted by alms collectors in 1748 and 1749. This area of donors reached farther west, into southern Querétaro and Guanajuato. Collectors reported in from San Juan del Río and La Cañada near the city of Querétaro, from Irapuato (Guanajuato), from settlements around Hacienda Saus near Silao (Guanajuato), and from the city of Guanajuato and vicinity. Each of them was sending back to the shrine the substantial sum of twenty to eighty silver pesos every month or six weeks. (See Maps 1 and 2.)

The travels and settlement sites of Otomí people may hold a key to this greater spiritual geography of the Mapethé shrine and growing devotion to images of Christ in Hidalgo and the Bajío. Before Spanish colonization, Otomí-speakers occupied much of modern Querétaro and Hidalgo, with pockets of settlement and migration reaching into San Luis Potosí, Michoacán, Guanajuato, México, Puebla, and Tlaxcala. Unlike the Tlaxcalans or the Tenocha-Mexica, precolonial Otomíes did not constitute a proper "kingdom," and their most important center, Xilotepec (in Hidalgo), was not an urban capital like Tenochtitlan or Tlaxcala. Rather, Otomíes evidently had many smaller, scattered pockets of settlement and authority, mirroring the organization of their local communities, in which most people lived dispersed in extended family clusters. Beyond modern Hidalgo's Mezquital Valley, their ancestral lands were high, dry, and stony, and during the colonial period they could rarely make a living from maize farming and horticulture the way their ancestors may have done, and as other groups in central Mexico continued to do. In addition to farming and gathering food, family members had long made charcoal and produced *pulque* (fermented juice of a native agave plant) and pottery vessels in which to carry it to consumers. Other Otomíes were recruited by more organized states—including, later, the Spanish colonial regime—as warriors and laborers.⁶⁰

Even as the population of Otomíes shrank during the colonial period, they were

⁵⁹ People from the town of Alfaxayuca, southwest of Ixmiquilpan, seem to have had an especially strong association with Mapethé. They regularly sent alms, and they supplied much of the stone for construction of the church in the 1740s, in addition to participating in the annual processions.

⁶⁰ On Otomí settlement patterns and their diffuse, archipelago-like distribution in central and north-central Mexico, see Leonardo Manrique C., "The Otomí," in Robert Wauchope, general ed., *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, 16 vols., vol. 8: *Ethnology*, pt. II (Austin, Tex., 1969), 682–724; Victor W. Padelford, "Otomí House Types as a Reflection of Acculturation," in H. Russell Bernard, ed., *Los Otomíes: Papers from the Ixmiquilpan Field School* (Pullman, Wash., 1969), 49–54; and Lourdes Mondragón, Patricia Fournier-García, and Nahúm Noguera, "Arqueología histórica y etnoarqueología de la comunidad alfarera Otomí de Santa María del Pino, México," in Janine L. Gasco and Greg C. Smith, eds., *Approaches to the Historical Archaeology of Mexico, Central and South America* (Los Angeles, 1997), 17–28.



MAP 2: The Reach of Otomí Alms Collectors for the Cristo Renovado

becoming more widely distributed in modern Hidalgo, Querétaro, and Guanajuato. Both Otomíes and non-Indians began to herd sheep in the sixteenth century, which contributed to this dispersion and reinforced the old pattern of scattered settlements of extended families. While communities associated with the shrine at Mapethé were located mainly in the hotter, drier northern portion of the Mezquital

Valley, where ranching did not predominate, the new pastoralism undermined traditional agriculture throughout Hidalgo, as the farmland was reduced to small pockets of irrigated fields by overgrazing, erosion, and lower water tables.⁶¹ In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, some Otomí groups also were resettled in townships near Spanish settlements or on frontier missions intended as buffers against hostile “Chichimecs.” In the eighteenth century, more Otomíes migrated for work within this core territory—especially to the colonial mines, haciendas, and towns of Guanajuato and Querétaro as day laborers, or to Zimapán and other mining settlements of northern Hidalgo. Aggressive expansion of non-Indian ranches made the growing numbers of landless Otomíes more vulnerable to coercive labor practices, contributed to this late colonial migration, and strained labor relations in the mines of Zimapán and El Cardonal.⁶²

Otomíes also began to spill beyond old limits of settlement in the early colonial missions of the Sierra Gorda—the “land of war” with hostile “Chichimecs” in northern Hidalgo, Querétaro, and San Luis Potosí. Zimapán itself had once been one of these frontier missions, but in 1703 its Dominican mission of Santa María de los Dolores was moved deeper into the Sierra Gorda in order to isolate and overcome Indians then in rebellion. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, the mountains of the Sierra Gorda and eastern Hidalgo were volatile areas of “Chichimec” (and sometimes Otomí) resistance, of military expeditions during the 1740s, of secularization of missions from the 1740s to the 1770s, and of millenarian uprisings at Xichú in 1768 and the Sierra de Tututepec in 1769.⁶³

Colonial Otomí Christianity drew on local traditions and organization in ways

⁶¹ Elinor Melville, *A Plague of Sheep: Environmental Consequences of the Conquest of Mexico* (New York, 1994) and “Cultural Persistence and Environmental Change: The Otomí of the Valle del Mezquital, Mexico,” in William Balée, ed., *Advances in Historical Ecology* (New York, 1998), 334–348. In spite of the great changes on the land, the district of Ixmiquilpan, which encompassed most of the communities of the northern Mezquital Valley, was reported to have produced 3,000 *fanegas* of maize and 1,000 *fanegas* of wheat in 1792, although the area around El Cardonal was “arid and saline, good only for mesquite and piñon pine.” This area was dotted with twenty-two lead mines and “diferentes pueblecillos de indios.” Two-thirds of the 17,000 inhabitants of the district at the time were said to be Indians. Romero Navarrete and Echenique March, *Relaciones geográficas de 1792*, 112–113.

⁶² Manrique, “The Otomí,” 682–685. Otomí migration to Zimapán in the eighteenth century was related to the periodic surges in mining activity, but it was not just the product of a free labor market. When the Conde de Regla invested in Zimapán mines in 1768, he received permission to “employ press-gangs who rounded up laborers and forced them to work in the mines. One of these men met his end as a victim of workers’ rage.” Edith Boorstein Couturier, *The Silver King: The Remarkable Life of the Conde de Regla in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 2003), 153. The district of Zimapán in the late sixteenth century was described as “a land of few people,” with no more than 400 “barbarous” Indians speaking Chichimeca and Otomí. The population of the three Indian pueblos in the vicinity had been increasing by resettlements since Spanish colonization. “Relación de las minas de Zimapán,” in Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed., *Papeles de Nueva España*, 7 vols. (Madrid, 1905), 6: 3. In 1743, there were said to be 6,249 Indians and 200 families of non-Indians (perhaps 800 individuals); by 1779, the non-Indian population had grown to 2,584 Spaniards, 1,113 *mestizos*, and 326 *mulattos*. Peter Gerhard, *A Guide to the Historical Geography of New Spain* (Cambridge, 1973), 70–71. An 1803 population count for the parish of Zimapán included 1,397 Indian families (6,992 individuals), 244 *mestizo* and *mulatto* families (889 individuals), and 387 Spanish families (1,533 individuals). AGN Bienes Nacionales 388, exp. 19. I have not been able to establish the extent to which Indians from other places mixed with Otomíes in this area.

⁶³ Felipe Castro Gutiérrez, “Resistencia étnica y mesianismo en Xichú, 1769,” in *Sierra Gorda: Pasado y presente. Coloquio en homenaje a Lino Gómez Canedo* (Querétaro, 1994), 127–136; J. Jesús Solís de la Torre, *Bárbaros y ermitaños: Chichimecas y agustinos en la Sierra Gorda, siglos XVI, XVII, y XVIII* (S.L.P., Hidalgo, y Querétaro) (Querétaro, 1983); Margarita Velasco Mireles, ed., *La Sierra Gorda: Documentos para su historia*, 2 vols. (Mexico, 1996–1997), 1: 345–346.

that emphasized the cross and Christ crucified. Early chroniclers mentioned the Otomíes' unusual attachment to festivals of the cross; and the practice of bringing local saints and crosses to great processions of the cross in Querétaro, Chalma, and San Miguel Allende, among other places, was established before the end of the colonial period.⁶⁴ Otomíes from Querétaro and Hidalgo were drawn to the famous miracle-working stone cross of the Franciscans in the city of Querétaro, and to the Christ of Chalma, near Malinalco in the Estado de México. At both sites, they took part in great processions of portable crosses brought from their home communities.⁶⁵ Miraculous crosses, sometimes green in color (suggesting both fertility and life everlasting), abounded in Otomí communities. Following a brief rebellion of Otomí people in the district of Amanalco, Hidalgo, against their parish priest in 1792, the archbishop of Mexico ordered Indians in the area to turn over to the parish priest all the crosses that dotted the hilltops and other places "in order to give them proper veneration and avoid superstitions, abuses, inappropriate observances, and perhaps worse."⁶⁶ An unusual number of Otomí men were baptized with the name of the cross (such as "Juan de la Cruz"), and the many stone sanctuaries that served as Otomí family chapels in rural Hidalgo from the late colonial period and the nineteenth century had special associations with the cross, ancestors, and shamanic healing. Although most of the family chapels in the northern Mezquital Valley have been put to other uses or neglected in recent years, many are still active in mountain communities of Querétaro and Hidalgo. Even if the family has a patron saint, his or her image usually cedes center stage to a cross or crucifix. Other, smaller crosses are found there, too, along with objects for healing and fertility ceremonies that one would not find in the parish church.⁶⁷

Otomí veneration of the cross amounted to more than the crucified Christ as a distant, terrifying symbol of suffering and punishment or as the embodiment of their own suffering under Spanish and Mexican rule.⁶⁸ Their colonial Franciscan

⁶⁴ Sources cited in Justino Fernández, *Danzas de los concheros en San Miguel de Allende* (Mexico, 1941), 33–41.

⁶⁵ José Díaz de la Vega, "Memorias de México: Memorias piadosas de la nación yndiana," Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, M-M 240, pt. 3, attributed the spread of devotion to the stone cross of Querétaro to Otomíes and Tlaxcalans. For examples of visits to Chalma, see AGN Civil 2059, exp. 4, 1817, and Juan Carlos Ruiz Guadalajara, "Un teatro eclesiástico novohispano: La Congregación de Nuestra Señora de los Dolores (De altar criollo a altar de la patria)" (master's thesis, El Colegio de Michoacán, 1999), 379.

⁶⁶ AHAM L10B, fol. 107.

⁶⁷ On early chroniclers, see Fernández, *Danzas de los concheros*, 37–41. On the distinctive and numerous Otomí household chapels, see Mondragón, Fournier-García and Noguera, "Arqueología histórica y etnoarqueología," 25–27 (thirty-six in the small community of Pino Suárez, Hidalgo, alone); Heidi Chemín Bässler, *Las capillas oratorio otomíes de San Miguel Tolimán* (Querétaro, 1993); Alan R. Sandstrom, *Traditional Curing and Crop Fertility Rituals among Otomí Indians of the Sierra de Puebla, Mexico: The López Manuscripts* (Bloomington, Ind., 1981); James W. Dow, "Sierra Otomí Religious Symbolism: Mankind Responding to the Natural World," in Douglas Sharon, ed., *Mesas and Cosmologies in Mesoamerica* (San Diego, Calif., 2003), 28; and Jacques Galinier, *The World Below: Body and Cosmos in Otomí Ritual*, trans. Phyllis Aronoff and Howard Scott (Boulder, Colo., 2004). For an example of the naming pattern, see the population records of 1793 for Indians in the district of El Cardonal, which registered many "de la Cruz" men. AGN Bienes Nacionales 818, exp. 8.

⁶⁸ Christian, *Local Religion*, 206–208, describes the distant, terrifying symbol for early modern Spain. Richard Nebel sums up a familiar view of the meaning of Christ figures in Indian Mexico that emphasizes Marian devotion: "Traditional Catholicism centered on devotion to Jesus Christ as a self-sacrificing man of sorrows . . . In this conception, the Indio sees the suffering figure of Christ as a reflection of his own tragic past and present. He seeks consolation and refuge in his mother, the Virgin

and Augustinian mentors presented the cross as a symbol of life, both temporal and eternal, and protection against Satan's wiles; and Otomí attachment to stories of self-renovating crucifixes may well stem from an Augustinian predilection.⁶⁹ Local meanings are especially associated with protection, propitiation, fertility, veneration of ancestors, and sacred movement in the outdoors. In the script of a play about Emperor Constantine's veneration of the cross, composed in Otomí in 1714 for Indians of Santa Cruz Cozcaquauhauhticpac, Tlaxcala, the cross is presented as the tree of life and protector. In this play, Constantine comes to discover the true faith in the sign of the cross; and the cross, in turn, is treated as a gift from God with which to conquer his enemies. This is the familiar story of his conversion and providential conquests as a Christian emperor, but the play ends with a local, protective twist. All the actors kneel before the cross, and Constantine's mother, Saint Helene, speaks at length about the "adorable cross, truly the tree of life," saying, "the land is blessed by the divine cross."⁷⁰

Recent ethnographic accounts add suggestively to the colonial-period record of Otomí understandings of the cross and other local practices that colonial authorities regarded as superstitions (or worse) and rarely recorded. Studies of Otomí rituals and family chapels suggest that crosses have been so prominent because they carry a bundle of meanings for social and personal well-being. The numerous crosses inside Otomí family chapels have especially to do with ancestor veneration. The principal cross on the altar represents "the first common ancestor," and smaller crosses represent the souls of other ancestors.⁷¹ Inside these sanctuaries, images of the patron saints also are placed, along with paper cutouts representing other divine beings in nature that are used by local shamans in curing and fertility ceremonies.⁷²

Otomí oral traditions and prayers place the cross and Christ crucified at the center of their cultural landscape as a protective, healing gift from God and the promise of renewal and continuity, including personal redemption.⁷³ Prayers invoke the souls of ancestors and the cross in the same breath: "May they help us and

Mary, and above all in the Virgin of Guadalupe." Nebel, "The Cult of Santa Maria Tonantzín, Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico," in Benjamin Kedar and R. J. Zwi Werblowsky, eds., *Sacred Space: Shrine, City, Land* (New York, 1998), 255. For a very different view of the meaning of Christ's suffering to colonial Indians, see Miles Richardson, *Being-in-Christ and Putting Death in Its Place: An Anthropologist's Account of Christian Performance in Spanish America and the American South* (Baton Rouge, La., 2003).

⁶⁹ Jaime Cuadriello, "Tierra de prodigios: La ventura como destino," in *Los pinceles de la historia: El origen del reino de la Nueva España, 1680–1750* (Mexico, 1999), 219. Another self-renovating cross in an Augustinian *doctrina* of the vicinity is the Señor de Tzinguilucan, said to have rejuvenated itself in 1651 and grown in 1712. Hector H. Schenone, *Iconografía del arte colonial: Jesucristo* (Buenos Aires, 1992), 328. From November 1780 to November 1781, collections at this shrine were 3,001 pesos 3 reales—a considerable sum. AGN Bienes Nacionales legajo 535, exp. 24.

⁷⁰ Bancroft Library, M-M 474:1, "Coloquio de la invención de la Santa Cruz por la virtuosa Santa Elena," 1859 copy of a 1714 text by Br. D. Manuel de los Santos y Salazar.

⁷¹ Chemín Bässler, *Capillas oratorio*, 91–95; Sandstrom, *Traditional Curing*, 19.

⁷² "There are literally scores of different figurines cut, corresponding to the large number of crops grown by the Otomí. Usually the seed figures are kept throughout the year in a wooden box which is placed on the altar of an *oratorio* [family chapel] . . . Once a year they are removed and used in a ceremony dedicated to crop increase after which they are returned to the box. Throughout the year small offerings are placed in front of the box in the hope of influencing crop yield." Sandstrom, *Traditional Curing*, 19.

⁷³ Bernard and Salinas Pedraza, *Native Ethnography*, 548.

accompany us." The cross as "master of life, master of health" is invoked for "a good path, my good entryway."⁷⁴ When in danger, make a cross with your fingers and say, "Cruz, cruz, cruz, que se vaya el Diablo y venga Jesús" ("Cross, cross, cross, may Jesus come and banish the Devil").⁷⁵ But crosses, especially household crosses, can be "bad." In the spirit of Emile Durkheim's notion of "contagiousness of the sacred," they are invested with harmful as well as beneficent powers and need to be approached properly and propitiated so that they do not spill out in undesirable ways.⁷⁶

The placement and movement of crosses throughout the landscape—near caves, rock outcroppings, and springs, on hilltops, and especially along pathways and at thresholds—is a longstanding practice.⁷⁷ In Huizquilucan on the edge of the Valley of Mexico, H. R. Harvey found that crosses on hilltops are taken to embody the Otomí rain divinity, or in one case Makata, the Otomí divine essence and lord of the mountains. The cross associated with Makata is carried in procession through much of the district during early May, at the time of the feast of the Holy Cross. Otomíes from Chimalpa el Grande, Tlaxcala, evidently regard their shrine on the summit of Cerro de la Malinche as the birthplace of the Lord of Chalma, who departed long ago for his cave near Malinalco in the Estado de México.⁷⁸

Little is known about Otomíes' role as carriers of enthusiasm for particular crucifixes and other images during the colonial period. The shrine of the Christ of Chalma, near Malinalco, Estado de México, which may have attracted more devotees from distant places than any other late colonial shrine to an image of Christ, was a favorite destination of scattered Otomí communities. Juan Carlos Ruiz Guadalajara recently described a dense web of devotion to the black Christ of Salamanca (state of Guanajuato) and at least three other renowned crucifixes that connected Otomíes residing in towns and cities of the Bajío during the eighteenth century.⁷⁹ And Otomí fiestas to the Holy Cross often end with a group of local people traveling with their portable crosses and saints to a major shrine such as that of the Lord of Chalma, the Virgin of Guadalupe, and Our Lady of San Juan de los Lagos. But Otomí devotion to sacred images is less about interest in a few distant images of Christ or the Virgin than about veneration of favorite local images, usually of Christ. The travels of these images and of people to their shrines were meant to broadcast sacred energy from its dwelling places as well as to concentrate it there. Judging by the recent circulation of images and their devotees in the districts of Ixmiquilpan and El Cardonal, these travels could have served as a diplomatic counterweight to highly localized affiliations—promoting alliances and

⁷⁴ Yolanda Lastra de Suárez, *Unidad y diversidad de la lengua: Relatos otomíes* (Mexico, 2001), 221–223.

⁷⁵ Margarita de la Vega Lázaro, *Crónica otomí del Estado de México: Narrativa oral tradicional* (Toluca, 1998), 48–53.

⁷⁶ Chemin Bässler, *Capillas oratorio*, 122; Galinier, *The World Below*, 121–122.

⁷⁷ Bernard and Salinas Pedraza, *Native Ethnography*, 548.

⁷⁸ It used to be taken to all the old shrines on nearby peaks, which now have their own crosses. H. R. Harvey, "Pilgrimage and Shrine: Religious Practices among the Otomí of Huizquilucan, Mexico," in N. Ross Crumrine and Alan Morinis, eds., *Pilgrimage in Latin America* (New York, 1991), 91–107; Angel María Garibay, *Supervivencias de cultura intelectual precolombina entre los Otomíes de Huizquilucan* (Mexico, 1957), 13–17.

⁷⁹ Ruiz Guadalajara, *Un teatro eclesiástico novohispano*, 398–413. The other three images are the Señor del Socorro, the Señor del Calvario, and the Señor del Hospital.

political peace among neighboring communities. Especially the more celebrated images of neighboring communities are invited to the feast day celebrations of other communities and received with a great show of respect. The host community is expected to reciprocate by sending its own miracle-working images to the neighbors' celebrations.⁸⁰

The Mapethé shrine acquired a place in the wider webs of dispersed Otomí settlement, migration, and portable devotion during the eighteenth century. The spiritual territory of this shrine reached west from its home districts of Ixmiquilpan, Zimapán, Alfajayucan, and Tepejí in a distinctive pattern: the main sites of alms collection during the 1740s were located along a route south and west from Ixmiquilpan into the Bajío—through southern Querétaro, then north to the mines of Guanajuato, where some groups of Otomí people had lived for many generations and others had recently settled as mineworkers and ranch hands.⁸¹ What did this larger area of donations mean for a history of affiliation that centered on the Mapethé shrine? There is little to go on. The alms records do not establish whether the contributors had ever visited the shrine or would do so in the future, but the court records that document the processions at Mapethé in the late eighteenth century mention no participants from outside the primary catchment area. Unless the traveling collectors were gifted salesmen, able to persuade strangers to the story of the Cristo Renovado that they should support a new source of divine protection, we should assume that Otomí contacts throughout the area had already established a reservoir of interest.⁸²

THINKING ABOUT THESE DEVELOPMENTS AT MAPETHÉ AND MEXICO CITY in terms of how power worked and how people's actions reiterate and change their situations brought to mind a generation of South Asian writings on colonialism that have intrigued me since I first read Ashis Nandy's *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* nearly twenty years ago. Students of Latin American history have lately been drawn especially to the work of the South Asian Subaltern Studies Collective for its attention to human intentionality, the politics of concerted resistance to elites by peasants and other marginalized people, and a healthy

⁸⁰ Bernard and Salinas Pedraza, *Native Ethnography*, 275, 458, 520, 527, 552.

⁸¹ Major Otomí settlements and political centers were located in Hidalgo at Xilotepec, Ixmiquilpan, and Meztlán, but Otomíes apparently were less concentrated in one area and more migratory than other major indigenous groups of central Mexico before and especially after the beginning of Spanish rule. See Gerhard, *Historical Geography of New Spain*, 383–386 and 224–226. By the eighteenth century, there were new or larger pockets of Otomíes in the neighboring states of the Estado de México and Querétaro, in the Bajío, and north into San Luis Potosí, with smaller concentrations in eastern Michoacán, northern Puebla, and Tlaxcala. When tens of thousands of people migrated to the Bajío toward the end of the eighteenth century, these pockets of settlement served as stepping-stones of communication and support for Otomíes seeking employment in the mines and rural estates.

⁸² Otomí ethnogenesis since the sixteenth century and its political implications and possible relationship to sacred sites and images of Christ remain unstudied. Melville ("Cultural Persistence") and Galinier (*The World Below*) both posit historical re-creation of Otomí traditions from their knowledge of the ethnographic present, but do so without direct documentation and from different perspectives. Melville sees Otomí ethnogenesis during the colonial period as a result of the Otomíes' growing marginalization by the wider society; Galinier sees it more as an act of will—reacting against the encroachment of colonialism and modernity.

skepticism about Western modernity and its forms of knowledge.⁸³ I have found the writings of this group good to think with as they have unfolded since the early 1980s, but the guiding concepts in them have not provided a model for understanding the complexities of Spanish American colonialism, at least not in Mexico. While Ranajit Guha does not claim to speak for the group, and some of his colleagues no longer share his exclusive enthusiasm for the political or categories of dominance and subordination, domination and collaboration, domination and resistance, and other sharp distinctions, his emphasis on violent resistance, the fragmentary, and “the contribution made by the people *on their own* [*sic*], that is independently of the elite,” remain fundamental to the approach: the people united as freestanding agents versus the elite.⁸⁴ And the subaltern studies scholarship has been inclined to leave aside the religious faith—beliefs and practices—of peasant actors either as false consciousness or as beside the point of their politics.⁸⁵

Devotion and politics at Mapethé in the eighteenth century do bring to mind disruptive “fragments” of subaltern activity—unquiet episodes of faith and affiliation that reworked Father Velasco’s official story of a sacred treasure rescued from danger and neglect at the periphery followed by steady growth in popularity and marvelous benefits for devotees under the watchful eyes of the proper authorities in its new, central location. But these episodes of struggle, separation, and growing faith were not so clearly a rejection of the colonizers’ logic and authority as a subaltern studies perspective might imagine, with its twofold emphasis on resistance and collaboration.

Nandy, a noted political psychologist and public intellectual, has attracted less attention from historians—no doubt his sharp criticism of historians’ truth claims has something to do with this⁸⁶—but he has a way of thinking about colonial experience that comes closer to the overlapping lines and connections in the

⁸³ For example, Florencia Mallon, “The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: A Perspective from Latin American History,” *AHR* 99, no. 5 (December 1994): 1491–1515; Sinclair Thomson, *We Alone Will Rule: Native Andean Politics in the Age of Insurgency* (Madison, Wis., 2002); Sergio Serulnikov, *Subverting Colonial Authority: Changes to Spanish Rule in Eighteenth-Century Southern Andes* (Durham, N.C., 2003); and Mark Thurner and Andrés Guerrero, eds., *After Spanish Rule: Postcolonial Predicaments of the Americas* (Durham, N.C., 2003). In his foreword to *After Spanish Rule*, xiv–xv, Shahid Amin, a member of the Subaltern Studies Collective, invites Latin Americanist readers to go light on subaltern studies theory.

⁸⁴ For a recent interview with Guha about the legacy of his work, see “Writing History,” *Biblio: A Review of Books*, November–December 2003, 10–12. It is quite similar to his early position paper “On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India,” in *Subaltern Studies I: Writings on South Asian History and Society* (Delhi, 1982), 1–4.

⁸⁵ In Vinay Lal’s view, “secular Indian intellectuals indubitably have an immense difficulty in accepting religious faith as a valid category of knowledge.” “Subaltern Studies and Its Critics: Debates over Indian History,” *History & Theory* 40 (2001): 147. Recently, Dipesh Chakrabarty, a subaltern studies founder, has recognized that religious convictions need a place in more encompassing, less categorical subaltern histories because peasant politics are not pursued only in modern, secular terms. *Habitations of Modernity: Essays in the Wake of Subaltern Studies* (Chicago, 2002), chaps. 1–2. How Chakrabarty and others will bring religion into subaltern historiography and the politics of difference is not yet clear.

⁸⁶ Nandy questions Western rationality and what he regards as the tyranny of historical consciousness; his interests have inclined more toward biography and leadership than subaltern episodes. See his *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (Delhi, 1983), 45, 48, 59–60, 62; *Time Warps: Silent and Evasive Pasts in Indian Politics and Religion* (London, 2002); and “History’s Forgotten Doubles,” *History & Theory* 34 (1995): 44: “History basically keeps open only one option—that of bringing the ahistoricals into history.”

episodes at Mapethé. Or so it seems to a Latin Americanist in search of a more synoptic approach to “Indians” under colonial rule in Mesoamerica (the area of densely settled precolonial state societies in modern central and southern Mexico and the Central American highlands). By “synoptic approach,” I mean keeping in mind and under study as many of the actors, dimensions, and primary sources of an episode or structure as I can manage, without claiming that there will be a sum total, a Braudelian *histoire totale*, or very definite conclusions. I still find great merit in the aim of early *Annales* historians—going back to Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre—to combine material, documentary, and theoretical approaches to the past. By reckoning with many contexts, relationships, and sources, one can hope to recognize which were salient in a particular situation, but context does not have to mean wholeness.⁸⁷

Nandy writes of “counter-players,” “non-players,” and “players.”⁸⁸ These are gross, heuristic categories—no individual or group is simply one of them, once and for all. Players in one situation may be non-players or counter-players in another. Players are not always compliant collaborators, and being a non-player does not just mean deflecting colonial domination. In particular circumstances, players may be as rebellious as counter-players or as remote from particular colonial demands and truth claims as non-players. Yet even while blurring at the edges, these categories point toward patterned tendencies in different colonial histories that reach beyond the resistance and collaboration pairing of subaltern studies.⁸⁹ Counter-players—the focus of much attention by subaltern studies scholars—reject the logic and authority of the colonizers and confront them openly, violently. Nandy regards colonial India’s counter-players as heroic losers, comparatively few in number and soon eliminated.⁹⁰ Non-players—who are Nandy’s favorite subjects—do not adopt the colonizers’ logic, either, but they succeed, as de Certeau put it, in “subvert[ing] from within the colonizers’ ‘success’ in imposing their own culture.”⁹¹ They use the colonizers’ laws and truth claims instrumentally, resist them nonviolently, or succeed in bypassing them rather than making a frontal assault. Mohandas Gandhi is only the most famous of the non-players who made a place for themselves at the margins of colonial thought in ways that allowed them to “resist the loving embrace of the West’s dominant self,” as Nandy puts it, and in the long run to succeed in outlasting, if not colonizing, the colonizers.⁹² Nandy’s non-players range beyond his particular interest in intellectuals and political leaders to, among others, Indian cricket players and their audiences, who reinvented a sport in ways that became only incidentally British.⁹³ In this sense—and in contrast to counter-playing—

⁸⁷ See Louis O. Mink, “The Autonomy of Historical Understanding,” *History & Theory* 5 (1966): 24–47 (especially 42).

⁸⁸ *Intimate Enemy*, xiii–xv.

⁸⁹ These categories concern people living with, if not altogether within, colonial settings. Two other possibilities for native peoples in Mesoamerica and the Andes were flight from colonial rule and the kind of totalizing victimization that Serge Gruzinski posits had occurred by the end of the sixteenth century. Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico: The Incorporation of Indian Societies into the Western World, 16th–18th Centuries* (Cambridge, 1993).

⁹⁰ Nandy speaks of Indian counter-players as “ornamental dissenters.” *Intimate Enemy*, xiv.

⁹¹ *The Practice of Everyday Life*, xii.

⁹² *Intimate Enemy*, xiv.

⁹³ *The Tao of Cricket: On Games of Destiny and the Destiny of Games* (New York, 2000).

becoming westernized is a way of being Indian. Finally, players learn the logic of the colonial regime and its institutions and live within this logic, language, and authority more than non-players and counter-players do. Like non-players, they are survivors, but they live *by* colonial rules and values as much as *with* them, sometimes turning them to advantage for local, often personal, interests.

Pierre Bourdieu's discussion of "heretical discourse" sets out the counter-player position more specifically: exploiting "the possibility of changing the social world . . . by counterpoising a paradoxical pre-vision, a utopia, a project or programme, to the ordinary vision [here, colonial vision] which apprehends the social world as a natural world."⁹⁴ Colonial authorities of New Spain feared a contagion of heretical discourse and Indian uprisings in places near the edges of settled colonial life such as western Hidalgo (occasionally for good reason), but if Velasco's book and promotion of the shrine in Mexico City represent the "ordinary vision," the founding of Mapethé's shrine and the activities of its devotees show little opposing "pre-vision." The counter-playing possibilities in Mapethé as a telluric site that recharged visiting crosses with sacred, protective energy remained latent except in intermittent calls for the return of the miraculous image from Mexico City. Devotees of the Cristo Renovado in western Hidalgo did not publicly proclaim a break with the ordinary order or set themselves on a collision course with the colonial church. In their way, they remained loyal, accountable Catholics, fulfilling prescribed Christian duties and respecting the authority of priests.⁹⁵ Otomíes as counter-players fought in 1811 near Ixmiquilpan, El Cardonal, and Alfajayucan behind insurgent leader Julián Villagrán during the early years of Mexico's war of independence, and did not come to terms with royalist authorities until 1814 or 1815. Who they were and where they came from is not certain, but judging by their negotiations with the royalists, their prevision was local—the right to bear arms and govern their own communities—and some proceeded to fight against insurgents in 1816.⁹⁶

De Certeau had something like Nandy's non-players in mind when he referred to Mesoamerican Indians under Spanish colonial rule in his study of the practice of everyday life:

Submissive, and even consenting to their subjection, the Indians nevertheless often *made of* the situations, representations, and laws imposed on them something quite different from what their conquerors had in mind; they subverted them not by rejecting or altering them, but by using them with respect to ends and references foreign to the system they had no choice but to accept. They were *other* within the very colonization that outwardly assimilated

⁹⁴ *Language and Symbolic Power*, trans. John B. Thompson (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 129.

⁹⁵ Mapuches in Chile, "Chichimecs" of north-central Mexico, Mayas in Yucatán for a time in the sixteenth century, and the followers of the New Savior of Tututepec, Hidalgo, in 1769 come to mind as counter-players and counter-playing subjects. Richard Trexler highlights counter-playing aspects of the history of the once Indian, later lower-class *mestizo* passion play of Iztapalapa on the edge of the Valley of Mexico, in *Reliving Golgotha: The Passion Play of Iztapalapa* (Cambridge, Mass., 2003).

⁹⁶ John Tutino, "Buscando independencias populares: Conflicto social e insurgencia agraria en el Mezquital mexicano, 1800–1815," in Marta Terán and José Antonio Serrano Ortega, eds., *Las guerras de independencia en la América Española* (Zamora, 2002), 295–321; William B. Taylor, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (Stanford, Calif., 1996), 461.

them; their use of the dominant social order deflected its power, which they lacked the means to challenge; they escaped it without leaving it.⁹⁷

Mapethé's shrine to the miracle of the absent, self-restoring crucifix and the annual convention of crosses brought by pilgrims from much of western Hidalgo who did not make pilgrimages to the image in Mexico City does express "something in daily life that is marginal to the discourse of the dominant rationality," as de Certeau and Jesús Martín Barbero would understand it.⁹⁸ Mapethé was not conceived or accepted by its founders or later devotees as a satellite of the shrine in Mexico City; nor did they accept Velasco's *furta sacra* story that the sacred energy contained in the miracle resided only in the image, any more than Indians laboring in the mines of Zimapán heeded the objections of their employers or the injunction by the district governor not to abandon their work when it was time to visit Mapethé.⁹⁹ The visitors from Zimapán apparently thought of their trip to Mapethé during Lent not as a pilgrimage to a fixed destination, but as participation in what they called "the procession of crucifixes,"¹⁰⁰ sanctifying movement in which they entered a landscape of their own making, a little heaven on earth in the vicinity of the shrine.

But there is also more to this story than local or Otomí solidarity. Otomí devotees of the Cristo Renovado miracle were non-players and perhaps sometimes counter-players, but they were always players, too. The non-player features and counter-player possibilities were continually crosscut by personal, factional, and intercommunity rivalries pursued for more than seventy years in every colonial court available, the higher the better. Asking how the devotees of Mapethé could be both players and non-players is a way to recognize that "embracing the fragment," as subaltern studies scholars have recommended, may mean reaching beyond the idea of freestanding, autonomous subjects in colonial histories to how and why they acted as *colonial* subjects.¹⁰¹ The case for keeping subaltern "fragments" and the imagination of the state in view at the same time is even more compelling for Mesoamerican Indians than for South Asians. While they were still the numerical majority at the end of the eighteenth century, the four million or so Mesoamerican Indians were far fewer in number and occupied a smaller territory than rural South Asians; and they had a more extensive, arguably deeper, ex-

⁹⁷ *The Practice of Everyday Life*, xii. Emphasis in original.

⁹⁸ Jesús Martín Barbero, *Communication, Culture, and Hegemony: From the Media to Mediations*, trans. Elizabeth Fox and Robert A. White (London, 1993), 82.

⁹⁹ One stream of recent scholarship in colonial Mesoamerican studies has a largely non-player interpretation (which might well not accept "subaltern" as an appropriate term for Nahuatl, Mixtec, and Maya colonial subjects): James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest: A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, Calif., 1992); Matthew Restall, *The Maya World: Yucatec Culture and Society, 1550–1850* (Stanford, Calif., 1997); and Kevin Terraciano, *The Mixtecs of Colonial Oaxaca: Nudzahui History, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, Calif., 2001).

¹⁰⁰ AGN Civil 1111, exp. "991," petition to the Audiencia in 1793.

¹⁰¹ Chakrabarty acknowledges the link when he writes, "We live in societies structured by the state" and "the subaltern who abjures the imagination of the state does not exist in a pure form in real life." *Habitations of Modernity*, 34, 35. In *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), Chakrabarty takes up players, but they are mainly male, middle-class, and Hindu. He has been criticized for not attending to lower-caste peasants and urban workers as players. See the review by Gyanendra Pandey in *Journal of World History* 13 (Fall 2002): 504–506.

perience of European colonial institutions and culture, however intermittent and attenuated it may have been.

Sherry Ortner expressed the challenge of writing more synoptic histories with multiple agencies under colonialism as “a problematic of the dynamics of power . . . : processes of legitimation, ‘residence’ and resistance, contestation, accommodation; relations between elites and commoners, bosses and workers, . . . colonial authorities and colonial subjects.”¹⁰² On the Otomí side, devotees of the Cristo Renovado understood themselves in various terms—as members or allies of competing extended families, as men and women with gendered duties and loyalties, as residents of a dispersed settlement within a township, as fellow devotees, and as Catholics and subjects of the Spanish king under the sign of the cross. Most also knew themselves to be Otomíes, an identity that may well have become stronger in a colonial setting that marginalized their communities economically yet established routes of migration that put them in touch with far-flung relatives and Otomí speakers. And they knew themselves as “Indians” when they fulfilled Indian duties and made use of Indian prerogatives in their repeated dealings with state authorities, miners, priests, and ranchers. But recognizing themselves as Otomíes and Indians under colonial law did not translate into a strong sense of common cause with Indian strangers except for a time in the early years of Mexico’s independence struggle. Even then, the distinctive subaltern logic they defended was local and evidently not attached to the miraculous Cristo Renovado. The eighteenth-century devotees of Mapethé did not propose to replace the colonial regime or withdraw from its authority and patronage. On the contrary, their struggles from within the Spanish colonial state expressed both their local affiliations and categories of corporate (more than individual) enfranchisement fostered by colonial laws and institutions. Their resistance to outside authority was likely to be directed at a rival faction or leader in or near the local community, at employers, at landlords, or, less often, at the parish priest, the district governor, and Spanish colonialism. The more popular the shrine of Mapethé became and the more its leaders prospered, the more they were checked by district authorities of the crown and the local interests and suspicions of their neighbors.

¹⁰² Sherry B. Ortner, “Practice, Power, and the Past,” *Journal of Social Archaeology* 1 (2001): 272, 275.

William B. Taylor is Muriel McKevitt Sonne Professor of History at the University of California, Berkeley. He is the author of *Landlord and Peasant in Colonial Oaxaca* (1972), *Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages* (1979), and *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Late Colonial Mexico* (1996), all published by Stanford University Press. His current research concerns place-making, sacred movement, sacred things, and shrines to miraculous images in Mexico and western Europe since the sixteenth century.

Top Down or Bottom Up? Nationalist Mobilization Reconsidered, with Special Reference to Guinea (French West Africa)

ELIZABETH SCHMIDT

IN SEPTEMBER 1958, THE PEOPLE OF GUINEA voted for immediate independence from France, overwhelmingly rejecting a constitution that would have granted the territory junior partnership in a French-dominated community. Throughout the vast French empire, Guinea, with a population of only 2.5 million people, was the only territory to vote "No" to the proposition offered by Prime Minister Charles de Gaulle.¹ The referendum's outcome was a major victory for the Guinean branch of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (RDA), a political party with affiliates in the fourteen territories of French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, and the United Nations trusts of Togo and Cameroon. While every other RDA branch had fallen into line behind de Gaulle, the Guinean RDA, under the leadership of a charismatic young trade unionist named Sékou Touré, had spearheaded the drive for complete and immediate independence.

The decision to oppose the constitution was made two weeks before the referendum, at a territorial conference attended by some 680 party militants from RDA subsections, neighborhood committees, and village committees from across Guinea.² Although Sékou Touré articulated the party's position, he did not determine it. The final decision was made by the delegates attending the conference, who voted solidly against de Gaulle's proposition. Sékou Touré's endorse-

I would like to thank Mark Peyrot for urging me to write this article, and the Research and Sabbatical Committee at Loyola College for providing financial support. I am grateful to Timothy Scarnecchia, my colleagues in the Loyola College History Department, and anonymous *AHR* reviewers for their extremely helpful comments. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from French language sources are mine, and I conducted all interviews, in collaboration with Siba N. Grovogui. I transcribed and translated the interviews that were conducted in French; those conducted in Susu and Malinke were transcribed and translated by Siba N. Grovogui.

¹ Patrick Manning, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa, 1880–1985* (New York, 1988), 148–149; Ruth Schachter Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa* (Oxford, 1964), 400.

² Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer, Archives Nationales (de France) (CAOM), Carton 2181, dos. 6, Gouverneur, Guinée Française, Conakry, à Ministre, F.O.M., Paris, "Discours Prononcé par le Président Sékou Touré, le 14 Septembre 1958," September 15, 1958, #0191/CAB; Carton 2181, dos. 6, Gouverneur, Guinée Française, Conakry, à Ministre, F.O.M., Paris, "Motion du Parti Démocratique de la Guinée en Date du 14 Septembre 1958," September 15, 1958, #0191/CAB; Carton 2181, dos. 6, Gouverneur, Guinée Française, Conakry, à Ministre, F.O.M., Paris, "Nouvelles Locales Reçues de l'A.F.P. en Date du 19 Septembre 1958," September 19, 1958, #2276/CAB; "La Résolution," *La Liberté*, September 23, 1958, 2; Georges Chaffard, *Les Carnets Secrets de la Décolonisation*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1967), 2: 204, 206; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 219.

ment of the “No” vote was, in fact, the result of massive pressure from the grassroots.³

While the RDA position was elaborated and its victory lauded in *La Liberté*, the party newspaper read by Western-educated elites,⁴ nonliterate women celebrated their triumph in songs they had created for the occasion. Guinean scholar Idiatou Camara recorded one such song during interviews conducted in 1976–1977:

Guinea says “No”
De Gaulle says “Yes”
One must vote “No”
Comrade Sékou Touré, one must choose the “No”
Yes, one must choose the “No,” Sékou Touré
In any case, we have voted “No.”⁵

One month before the referendum, Prime Minister de Gaulle had traveled to Guinea in a futile attempt to sway the vote. At the airport, he was welcomed by Sékou Touré, president of Guinea’s recently established local government, who was attired in the flowing white uniform of the RDA. Hundreds of party militants, dressed in handmade uniforms of cheap white percale, lined the road for fifteen kilometers, from the airport to the city center. As the motorcade approached, they cried, “Syli! Syli!” [“Elephant! Elephant!”]—the symbol of the RDA, and by extension of Sékou Touré personally. Partisans waved homemade posters emblazoned with elephants and plastered them on buildings throughout the capital. As the women danced, accompanied by traditional tam-tams, balafons, and coras, the crowd sang, “The elephant has entered the city!”⁶ In his memoirs, de Gaulle recalled: “from the airport to the center of the town the crowd [was] evenly distributed in well-drilled battalions along both sides of the road . . . The women were lined up in front in their hundreds, each group wearing dresses of the same cut and color, and all, as the procession passed by, jumping, dancing and singing to order.”⁷ Later that day, Sékou Touré officially received the French prime minister and addressed the Territorial Assembly, providing colonial authorities with an advance copy of his roneotyped speech.⁸

This confluence of popular and elite nationalism was characteristic of the

³ Interview with Bocar Biro Barry, Conakry, January 21, 1991. In his September 14 address, Sékou Touré made reference to the proindependence positions already taken by trade union, student, and youth organizations. CAOM, Carton 2181, dos. 6, “Discours Prononcé par le Président Sékou Touré, le 14 Septembre 1958.” See also “Unanimement le 28 Septembre La Guinée Votera NON,” *La Liberté*, September 23, 1958, 1–2. Former university student leader Charles Diané also claims that Sékou Touré opted for the “No” vote in the eleventh hour—pushed by the student movement. Charles Diané, *La F.E.A.N.F. et Les Grandes Heures du Mouvement Syndical Étudiant Noir* (Paris, 1990), 128–129.

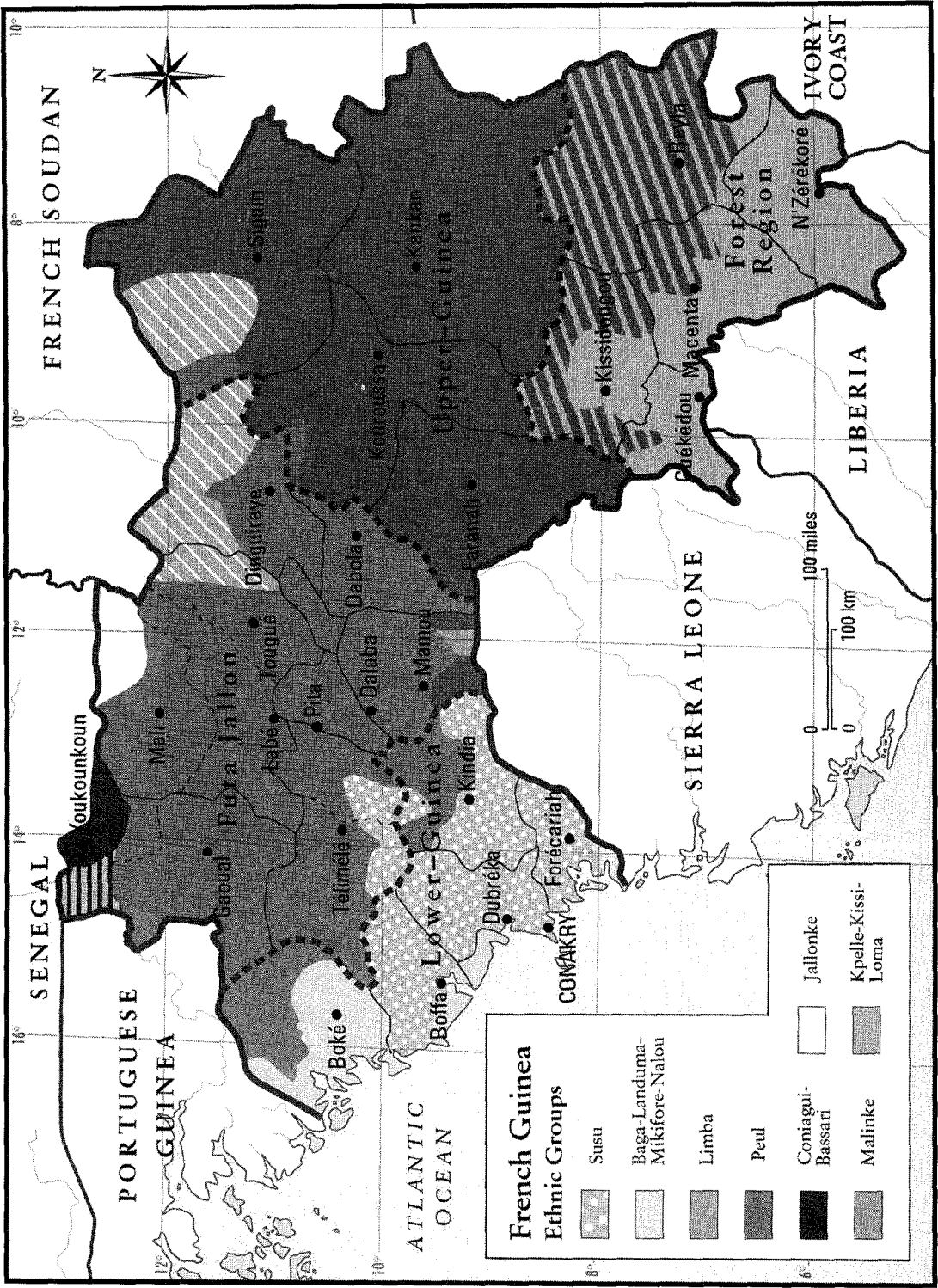
⁴ See, for instance, “Unanimement le 28 Septembre,” 1–2; “Les Résultats du Scrutin,” *La Liberté*, October 4, 1958, 5.

⁵ Archives de Guinée (AG), AM-1339, Idiatou Camara, “La Contribution de la Femme de Guinée à la Lutte de Libération Nationale (1945–1958),” *Mémoire de Fin d’Études Supérieures*, IPGAN, Conakry, 1979, 111.

⁶ Camara, “La Contribution de la Femme,” 108; Chaffard, *Les Carnets Secrets*, 2: 177, 193–194, 196; Lansiné Kaba, *Le “Non” de la Guinée à De Gaulle* (Paris, 1989), 80–86; Pierre Messmer, *Après Tant de Batailles: Mémoires* (Paris, 1992), 234; Charles de Gaulle, *Memoirs of Hope: Renewal and Endeavor*, trans. Terence Kilmartin (New York, 1971), 55.

⁷ De Gaulle, *Memoirs of Hope*, 55.

⁸ Chaffard, *Les Carnets Secrets*, 2: 194.



MAP OF FRENCH GUINEA. Cartographer: Malcolm Swanson. Reprinted by permission from *Mobilizing the Masses: Gender, Ethnicity, and Class in the Nationalist Movement in Guinea, 1939-1958* by Elizabeth Schmidt. Copyright © 2005 by Elizabeth Schmidt. Published by Heinemann, a division of Reed Elsevier, Inc., Portsmouth, N.H. All rights reserved.



FIGURE 1: RDA supporters in white uniforms greet Prime Minister de Gaulle on his arrival in Conakry, August 1958. Reproduced by permission of Agence France-Presse/Getty Images.

Guinean RDA, a broad-based ethnic, class, and gender alliance that incorporated Muslims, Christians, and practitioners of indigenous religions. The movement embraced Guinean speakers of Maninka, Susu, Pulaar, Kissi, Kpelle, and Loma, as well as those who spoke languages indigenous to other French African territories. As the RDA struggled to build an independent nation from this heterogeneous base, its message, conveyed by both masses and elites, was simultaneously anticolonial and nationalist.

Although Guinea was alone in its embrace of independence in 1958, it was not unique. In the post-World War II era, nationalist movements burgeoned across the African and Asian continents, resisting imperialism of diverse origins. Other African territories followed Guinea's lead, and by 1960, most French "possessions" had regained their sovereignty. The Guinean RDA was thus one among scores of African and Asian movements that waged successful struggles for national inde-



FIGURE 2: Local musicians perform during the September 1958 referendum campaign. CRDA.

pendence in the postwar period. So, why study the Guinean nationalist movement, and why study it now? Decades after the fact, the Guinean case warrants scholarly consideration for the important lessons it can teach us about anticolonial nationalism in the non-Western world—lessons with enduring relevance. What we learn from the Guinean case will help to push nationalist historiography in new directions.

The study of African and Asian nationalism is not new. In recent years, however, there have been significant shifts in scholarly approach. The wave of anticolonial nationalism that swept Africa and Asia after World War II sparked new interest in what previously had been considered a uniquely European phenomenon. Many of the first studies approached nationalism from the perspective of intellectual history. Exploring the interaction of indigenous and Western ideas, early scholars of Asian nationalism generally focused on religious and secular intellectuals and political

elites.⁹ Although the history of ideas remains a forceful current in the field,¹⁰ recent studies have paid greater attention to popular mobilization and the importance of peasant and worker movements. While many of these works note that nationalist leaders focused on local grievances and manipulated indigenous symbols and traditions to appeal to mass audiences, most perpetuate the top-down perspective of their predecessors.¹¹ According to this view, the masses were but recipients of the nationalist message. They were mobilized by the elites; they were not a mobilizing force.

While a number of recent studies make reference to the generation of mass appeal, only a handful scrutinize the actual mechanisms of popular mobilization. Gail Minault and Sandria Freitag examine the ways in which Indian Muslim leaders used religious and cultural symbols and events to unite a heterogeneous Muslim population, mobilizing the literate classes through the vernacular press, leaflets, pamphlets, and poetry, and the nonliterate masses through speeches, slogans, songs, religious processions, and demonstrations.¹² Peter van der Veer has made similar claims for mobilization among Indian Hindus as well as Muslims, while James Gelvin has investigated these issues in Syria, and Nels Johnson and Ted Swedenburg in Palestine.¹³ Some of the most insightful work in this area has focused not on anticolonial nationalism, but on internal cultural resurgence in multi-

⁹ See, for instance, Sylvia G. Haim, ed., *Arab Nationalism: An Anthology* (Berkeley, Calif., 1962); Patrick Seale, *The Struggle for Syria: A Study of Post-War Arab Politics, 1945–1958* (New Haven, Conn., 1965); Ray T. Smith, "The Role of India's 'Liberals' in the Nationalist Movement, 1925–1947," *Asian Survey* 8, no. 7 (July 1968): 607–624; David G. Marr, *Vietnamese Anticolonialism, 1885–1925* (Berkeley, Calif., 1971).

¹⁰ Ayesha Jalal and Anil Seal, "Alternative to Partition: Muslim Politics between the Wars," *Modern Asian Studies* 15, no. 3 (1981): 415–454; Farzana Shaikh, "Muslims and Political Representation in Colonial India: The Making of Pakistan," *Modern Asian Studies* 20, no. 3 (1986): 539–557; Youssef M. Choueiri, *Arab History and the Nation-State: A Study in Modern Arab Historiography, 1820–1980* (New York, 1989); Youssef M. Choueiri, *Arab Nationalism—A History: Nation and State in the Arab World* (Malden, Mass., 2000); David E. F. Henley, "Ethnogeographic Integration and Exclusion in Anticolonial Nationalism: Indonesia and Indochina," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37, no. 2 (April 1995): 286–324; Bassam Tibi, *Arab Nationalism: Between Islam and the Nation-State*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1997); Robert H. Taylor, *The Idea of Freedom in Asia and Africa* (Stanford, Calif., 2002).

¹¹ Rajat Ray, *Urban Roots of Indian Nationalism: Pressure Groups and Conflict of Interests in Calcutta City Politics, 1875–1939* (New Delhi, 1979); Nasir Islam, "Islam and National Identity: The Case of Pakistan and Bangladesh," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 13, no. 1 (February 1981): 55–72; Philip S. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate: The Politics of Arab Nationalism, 1920–1945* (Princeton, N.J., 1987); Dilip M. Menon, *Caste, Nationalism and Communism in South India: Malabar, 1900–1948* (Cambridge, 1994); Sanjay Seth, "Rewriting Histories of Nationalism: The Politics of 'Moderate Nationalism' in India, 1870–1905," *AHR* 104, no. 1 (February 1999): 95–116; Hanna Batatu, *Syria's Peasantry, the Descendants of Its Lesser Rural Notables, and Their Politics* (Princeton, N.J., 1999); Taj-ul-Islam Hashmi, "Peasant Nationalism and the Politics of Partition: The Class-Communal Symbiosis in East Bengal, 1940–1947," in Ian Talbot and Gurharpal Singh, eds., *Region and Partition: Bengal, Punjab and the Partition of the Subcontinent* (New York, 1999), 6–41.

¹² See Gail Minault, "Urdu Political Poetry during the Khilafat Movement," *Modern Asian Studies* 8, no. 4 (October 1974): 459–471; Gail Minault, "Islam and Mass Politics: The Indian Ulama and the Khilafat Movement," in Donald E. Smith, ed., *Religion and Political Modernization* (New Haven, Conn., 1974), 168–182; Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India* (New York, 1982); Sandria B. Freitag, "The Roots of Muslim Separatism in South Asia: Personal Practice and Public Structures in Kanpur and Bombay," in Edmund Burke, III and Ira M. Lapidus, eds., *Islam, Politics, and Social Movements* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988), 115–145.

¹³ Peter van der Veer, *Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994); James L. Gelvin, *Divided Loyalties: Nationalism and Mass Politics in Syria at the Close of Empire* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998); Nels Johnson, *Islam and the Politics of Meaning in Palestinian Nationalism*

ethnic, postcolonial nation-states. Pamela Price, for instance, argues in her investigation of Tamil nationalism in India that the Federation for the Progress of Dravidians “developed a new cosmology, a vision of a new society and polity, which was deeply immersed in Tamil images and themes.” Its appeal resonated more strongly among the Tamil population “than the more secular, pan-Indian message of Nehru or the ascetic image of Gandhi.”¹⁴

While the majority of recent studies continue to treat nationalist mobilization as a one-way street, there are striking exceptions to this trend. Israel Gershoni points out that most works that focus on the dissemination of nationalist ideas from elites to women and “subaltern socioeconomic strata such as the lower middle classes, the working classes, and various levels of the peasantry” tell us very little about the receptivity of these groups to nationalist ideas. We remain ignorant of “the modes in which women, the poor, and the illiterate—constituting the overwhelming majority of the societies in question—reacted to the radicalized upper middle stratum’s struggle against the Westernized ‘ancien régime.’” Gershoni argues that future studies “must encompass the strains of nationalism from below percolating upward as a supplement to the research on [educated urban elite]-driven nationalism trickling downward.”¹⁵

The nationalist historiography of Africa, like that of Asia, has changed dramatically in recent years. Since the early 1950s, scholars of Africa have investigated nationalist movements and nation-building endeavors that were both heir to the European revolutionary and liberal traditions of 1789 and 1848 and the product of indigenous grassroots movements.¹⁶ The earliest studies emphasized the leadership role of Western-educated elites who organized political movements grounded in Western concepts of democracy and national self-determination. To be successful, these movements had to be able to generate mass support, which they did by

(Boston, 1982); Ted Swedenburg, “The Role of the Palestinian Peasantry in the Great Revolt (1936–1939),” in Burke and Lapidus, *Islam, Politics, and Social Movements*, 169–203.

¹⁴ Pamela Price, “Revolution and Rank in Tamil Nationalism,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 2 (May 1996): 365.

For the use of indigenous cultural and religious symbols and practices by resurgent Asante nationalists in independent Ghana, see Jean M. Allman, “The Youngmen and the Porcupine: Class, Nationalism and Asante’s Struggle for Self-Determination, 1954–1957,” *Journal of African History* 31, no. 2 (1990): 263–264, 272, 274–277; Jean Marie Allman, *The Quills of the Porcupine: Asante Nationalism in an Emergent Ghana* (Madison, Wis., 1993), 6, 9–10, 16–17, 19, 28, 41–46, 49, 62, 65, 97, 131, 140, 160, 183–184; Pashington Obeng, “Gendered Nationalism: Forms of Masculinity in Modern Asante of Ghana,” in Lisa A. Lindsay and Stephan F. Miescher, eds., *Men and Masculinities in Modern Africa* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2003), 203–206.

¹⁵ Israel Gershoni, “Rethinking the Formation of Arab Nationalism in the Middle East, 1920–1945,” in James Jankowski and Israel Gershoni, eds., *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East* (New York, 1997), 25.

¹⁶ See, for instance, James S. Coleman, “Nationalism in Tropical Africa,” *American Political Science Review* 48, no. 2 (June 1954): 404–426; James S. Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism* (Berkeley, Calif., 1958); Thomas Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa* (New York, 1957); David Apter, *Ghana in Transition* (Princeton, N.J., 1963); Robert I. Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873–1964* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965); Robert I. Rotberg, “African Nationalism: Concept or Confusion?” *Journal of Modern African Studies* 4, no. 1 (May 1966): 33–46; Carl G. Rosberg, Jr., and John Nottingham, *The Myth of “Mau Mau”: Nationalism in Kenya* (Stanford, Calif., 1966); John Lonsdale, “The Emergence of African Nations: A Historical-geographical Analysis,” *African Affairs* 67, no. 266 (1968): 11–28; J. M. Lonsdale, “Some Origins of Nationalism in East Africa,” *Journal of African History* 9, no. 1 (1968): 119–146.

mobilizing around preexisting grievances and promising to resolve them through the attainment of national independence.¹⁷ While acknowledging the critical nature of mass involvement, pioneers in this field, like their counterparts in Asia, generally focused on the political leadership.¹⁸

In the late 1960s, as social history gained prominence in the discipline, scholars of African nationalism began to shift their focus to "the role of ordinary . . . Africans." John Lonsdale, an eminent member of this group, argued that "scholarly preoccupation with *élites* will only partially illumine the mainsprings of nationalism."¹⁹ He claimed that "the pressures of the peasantry at the periphery were at least as important in breaking down the colonial governments' morale as the demands of the *élite* at the centre."²⁰ In the post-World War II era, increased government intrusion into the lives of ordinary Africans "resulted in a national revolution coalescing from below, co-ordinated rather than instigated by the educated *élite*." According to Lonsdale, it was the grassroots that "provided much of [the nationalist movement's] dynamism and direction."²¹

It was left for later generations to show *how* "ordinary Africans" accomplished this spectacular feat. In her pathbreaking work on nationalism in colonial Tanzania, Susan Geiger focused on the role of nonliterate women. She argued that these women did not "learn nationalism" from the Western-educated male elites who dominated party politics. Instead, women without formal education brought to the party "an ethos of nationalism already present as trans-ethnic, trans-tribal social and cultural identity. This ethos was expressed collectively in their dance and other organizations, and reflected in their families of origin as well as in marriages that frequently crossed ethnic divisions."²² Such women were "a major force in *constructing, embodying, and performing* Tanzanian nationalism."²³ Thus, Tanzanian women were a driving force behind a movement in which African and European ideas interacted to form a new synthesis, one that was uniquely suited to the African context. Geiger's work on Tanzanian women inspires similar questions about the role of other grassroots actors. What part did military veterans, urban workers, and rural agriculturalists play in shaping nationalist movements from the bottom up?

The importance of mass mobilization to the Guinean nationalist endeavor has been noted by several scholars. However, few have examined the popular aspects of the movement in detail. Ruth Schachter Morgenthau, Jean Suret-Canale, Claude Rivière, Victor Du Bois, and L. Gray Cowan have commented on the popular foundations of the Guinean RDA, but their primary focus has been on colonial

¹⁷ See, for instance, Coleman, "Nationalism in Tropical Africa," 407–408; Lonsdale, "Some Origins of Nationalism in East Africa," 119–120, 140–141, 146; Lonsdale, "Emergence of African Nations," 11, 25.

¹⁸ Coleman, for instance, maintained that "the student of political nationalism is concerned mainly with the attitudes, activities, and status of the nationalist-minded Western-educated *élite*." Coleman, "Nationalism in Tropical Africa," 425.

¹⁹ Lonsdale, "Some Origins of Nationalism in East Africa," 146.

²⁰ Lonsdale, "Emergence of African Nations," 25; see also Lonsdale, "Some Origins of Nationalism in East Africa," 119.

²¹ Lonsdale, "Some Origins of Nationalism in East Africa," 140–141, 146.

²² Susan Geiger, "Tanganyikan Nationalism as 'Women's Work': Life Histories, Collective Biography and Changing Historiography," *Journal of African History* 37, no. 3 (1996): 468–469.

²³ Susan Geiger, *TANU Women: Gender and Culture in the Making of Tanganyikan Nationalism, 1955–1965* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1997), 14, 66.

reforms, electoral politics, and male party leaders. Their works do not explore the mechanisms by which people were mobilized or the ways in which the rank and file influenced party methods and programs.²⁴ Guinean historian Sidiki Kobélé Kéïta has written the most comprehensive, if largely uncritical, account of the Guinean nationalist movement. His two-volume study devotes considerable attention to elite electoral politics, and some to the movement's popular roots. However, the specific tactics of mass mobilization are not scrutinized. The central role of women is mentioned, but the dynamics of their participation are not explored in depth.²⁵ Although some other works remark upon the crucial nature of women's involvement, few offer an analysis of women's motivations, methods, and visions of a transformed society or discuss their role in shaping the nationalist movement and defining the terms of the debate.²⁶ A notable exception is Idiatou Camara's unpublished undergraduate thesis, which demonstrates the ways in which urban women helped to construct Guinea's nationalist movement and were critical to its success. Unfortunately, this unique work, preserved in Guinea's national archives, is available only in that country.²⁷

If the focus on popular mobilization is one trend in recent nationalist scholarship, criticism of the negative qualities of nationalism is another. In the 1950s and 1960s, nationalism in Africa and Asia was associated positively with anticolonialism and popular liberation.²⁸ A generation later, however, following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, and internal struggles in a number of African and Asian countries, nationalism acquired a highly negative connotation. Ethnic chauvinism and ethnically motivated atrocities overwhelmed the positive characteristics associated with earlier nationalist movements. Increasingly, nationalism was deemed a negative force, promoting ethnic, linguistic, and

²⁴ See Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 219–254; Jean Suret-Canale, *La République de Guinée* (Paris, 1970), 141–146, 159–172; Claude Rivière, *Guinea: The Mobilization of a People*, trans. Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff (Ithaca, N.Y., 1977), 51–82; Victor D. Du Bois, “Guinea,” in James S. Coleman and Carl G. Rosberg, Jr., eds., *Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa* (Berkeley, Calif., 1970), 186–215; L. Gray Cowan, “Guinea,” in Gwendolen M. Carter, ed., *African One-Party States* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1962), 149–236. Other well-known works perpetuate the top-down approach of earlier scholars. Yves Person, for example, conflates the Guinean RDA with the person of Sékou Touré, erroneously assuming that the party leader had “autocratic power” in the preindependence period and that he imposed his will on the party. Sylvain Soriba Camara and ‘Ladipo Adamolekun present grand narratives of events, once again focusing on governing and party structures, policies, and leaders. Yves Person, “French West Africa and Decolonization,” in Prosser Gifford and William Roger Louis, eds., *The Transfer of Power in Africa: Decolonization, 1940–1960* (New Haven, Conn., 1982), 141–172; Sylvain Soriba Camara, *La Guinée Sans La France* (Paris, 1976); ‘Ladipo Adamolekun, “The Road to Independence in French Tropical Africa,” in Timothy K. Welliver, ed., *African Nationalism and Independence* (New York, 1993), 66–79; ‘Ladipo Adamolekun, *Sékou Touré's Guinea: An Experiment in Nation Building* (London, 1976).

²⁵ Sidiki Kobélé Kéïta, *Le P.D.G.: Artisan de l'Indépendance Nationale en Guinée (1947–1958)*, 2 vols. (Conakry, 1978). Unfortunately, Kéïta's two-volume work has not been circulated widely outside of Guinea.

²⁶ See, for instance, Margarita Dobert, “Civic and Political Participation of Women in French-Speaking West Africa” (Ph.D. dissertation, George Washington University, 1970); Claude Rivière, “La Promotion de la Femme Guinéenne,” *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 8, no. 31 (1968): 406–427. Dobert does not focus exclusively on Guinea or the postwar nationalist period. Rivière focuses primarily on Guinea's postindependence period.

²⁷ Camara, “Contribution de la Femme.”

²⁸ Studies of Muslim-Hindu violence and the partition of India are notable exceptions to this generalization.

religious homogeneity, brutally excluding—or eliminating—those considered outsiders.²⁹ These illiberal, counterrevolutionary forces had much in common with the right-wing nationalisms of Europe in the “Age of Empire” (1880–1914), when, in the words of E. J. Hobsbawm, “ethnicity and language became the central . . . or even the only criteria of potential nationhood.” In the case of Europe, and later Africa and Asia, “a concept associated with liberalism and the left [mutated] into a chauvinist, imperialist and xenophobic movement of the right, or more precisely, the radical right.”³⁰ In Guinea, the RDA was forced to confront these narrow, ethnically exclusive tendencies, both within its own ranks and in those of the ethnic associations promoted by the colonial government and its African supporters.

Nationalism thus remains a hotly debated topic with undeniable relevance to the contemporary world. We revisit the case of Guinea, a small West African nation that won its independence from France in 1958, because its local lessons enhance our understanding of global trends. While earlier studies have reevaluated particular aspects of the African nationalist experience, none has attempted to integrate these parts into a fully reconceptualized whole. Building upon these works, this article elaborates a new framework in which to consider the nationalist movement of postwar Guinea. It raises theoretical and methodological issues that fundamentally alter the way in which we understand anticolonial nationalism in the non-Western world.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE GUINEAN CASE leads to three theoretical conclusions. First, anticolonial nationalism, in many instances, embraces heterogeneous populations that are ethnically and religiously diverse. As such, it belongs to a progressive political tradition that one might call “inclusive nationalism.”³¹ Second, while anticolonial nationalist movements have been led by educated elites, often inspired by European ideals, elites did not instigate the anticolonial protests. Rather, they built their base among popular groups already engaged in struggle against the colonial state. They identified issues around which the masses were already mobilizing and incorporated them into the nationalist agenda. These agendas were successful largely because they were deeply rooted in mass concerns, rather than imposed from above or outside. Third, conceptualizing the nation was a two-way street. Masses as well as elites had an impact on the ideas, objectives, strategies, and methods of the nationalist leaders. While elites brought European ideas and models of nationalism to the table, the nonliterate majority brought others that were embedded in indigenous histories, practices, and beliefs.³²

²⁹ See, for instance, Walker Connor, *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding* (Princeton, N.J., 1993); Michael Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism* (New York, 1994); Michael Ignatieff, *The Warrior's Honor: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience* (New York, 1998).

³⁰ E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Program, Myth, Reality*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1992), 102, 121; E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875–1914* (New York, 1987), 143, 146; E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital, 1848–1875* (New York, 1975), 84, 89. See also Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* (Minneapolis, 1993), 9.

³¹ Henley refers to this phenomenon as “integrative,” as opposed to “inclusive,” nationalism, which he contrasts with “exclusive” nationalism. See Henley, “Ethnogeographic Integration,” 286, 289–290.

³² These themes are expanded upon in my recent book. See Elizabeth Schmidt, *Mobilizing the*

Finally, an assessment of the Guinean case leads to an important observation about mobilizing methods. It shows us *how* people were mobilized—the mechanisms and processes by which mass mobilization occurred. While some indigenous cultural practices and images were co-opted by elites and presented to the populace, the people themselves brought others to the movement. Again, we see that the masses were not simply an “audience” for elite-inspired nationalism, nor the “transmitters” of a message formulated for them.³³ The songs and slogans employed by nonliterate people to communicate the nationalist message were not composed by party leaders on their behalf. Rather, people without formal education created these devices to communicate among themselves, to transmit their own messages to the elites, and to interpret elite messages in terms meaningful to themselves.

The postwar Guinean movement, spearheaded by the RDA, was not only vehemently anticolonial, but also nationalist and inclusive. It was the conscious struggle to bridge ethnic, class, and gender differences that made the Guinean movement so effective and placed it squarely in the progressive political tradition of the European revolutionary era (1789–1848).³⁴ Much of the Guinean population shared a precolonial history. A large proportion shared a religion. All had mutually understood experiences and grievances resulting from French colonialism. Together, these formed a common basis that allowed a nation to be forged from a multilingual, ethnically heterogeneous population.

While the movement’s leadership was composed of Western-educated elites whose views of democracy and national self-determination were derived largely from European models, its strength lay in its solid support among peasants, workers, veterans, and women. The Guinean nationalist movement was successful because it built its base among these groups, which were already engaged in anticolonial protest. It was their grievances that drove the nationalist agenda and their energies that were harnessed in the struggle for national independence.³⁵

If grassroots activists shaped Guinea’s nationalist agenda, they also influenced its form. Indigenous cultural practices were adapted—by elites and nonelites alike—to transmit the new nationalist message. While print media contributed to the spread of nationalist ideas in nineteenth-century Europe, books and newspapers were less significant in Guinea, where mass education had yet to be realized. Mobilizing the largely nonliterate population required new methods of communication, notably songs, symbols, and uniforms. The majority of songs were composed by nonliterate women, who sang their nationalist message at public water taps, taxi stands, and marketplaces.³⁶ Symbols and uniforms also had popular origins that spoke to mass sentiments and were integral to grassroots organizing efforts.

Masses: Gender, Ethnicity, and Class in the Nationalist Movement in Guinea, 1939–1958 (Portsmouth, N.H., 2005).

³³ Geiger, *TANU Women*, 14.

³⁴ See E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: Europe, 1789–1848* (London, 1962).

³⁵ For an in-depth discussion of this subject, see Schmidt, *Mobilizing the Masses*.

³⁶ For further elaboration, see Elizabeth Schmidt, “‘Emancipate Your Husbands!’ Women and Nationalism in Guinea, 1953–1958,” in Jean Allman, Susan Geiger, and Nakanyike Musisi, eds., *Women in African Colonial Histories* (Bloomington, Ind., 2002), 282–304; Schmidt, *Mobilizing the Masses*, chap. 5.

IF NATIONALIST HISTORIOGRAPHY HAS UNDERGONE A MAJOR TRANSFORMATION, SO, TOO, has the meaning of "the nation." In 1882, the French philosopher Ernest Renan contested the nineteenth-century German romantic notion of the nation as a primordial, ethnically and culturally bound entity. The nation is not based upon race, ethnicity, language, or religion, he wrote, but rather on a shared past and a vision of a common future.³⁷ More than a century later, Miroslav Hroch built upon these ideas, arguing that the nation is not an "eternal category, but . . . the product of a long and complicated process of historical development" that cannot be reduced to an ethnicity or language group. Rather, Hroch claims, the nation is "a large social group integrated not by one but by a combination of several kinds of objective relationships (economic, political, linguistic, cultural, religious, geographical, historical), and their subjective reflection in collective consciousness."³⁸ Similarly, Benedict Anderson describes the nation as "an imagined political community" that is sovereign and contained within defined territorial boundaries. The community is "imagined" because most of its members are strangers to one another, yet they consider themselves bound together in emotional solidarity as well as in a sovereign political entity.³⁹

According to these definitions of "the nation," broader and more nuanced than some that had previously prevailed, Guinea in the postwar period was unquestionably a nation-in-the-making. More than any other Guinean party, the RDA consciously and successfully shaped a national rather than an ethnic identity.⁴⁰ Although characterized by its opponents as a party of Malinke and Susu with strong anti-Peul undercurrents, the Guinean RDA prided itself on its multiethnic membership and its particular appeal to the lower classes of all ethnic groups. The party's allure for Néné Diallo is a case in point. A low-status cloth-dyer, Diallo was among the first Peul women to join the RDA. "The RDA welcomed everyone," she claimed. "It treated everyone like family. It did not discriminate against the downtrodden or the poor." While many of her family members joined opposing parties such as the Bloc Africain de Guinée and Démocratie Socialiste de Guinée, both of which were led by Peul notables, Diallo was adamant in her support for the RDA. Likening members of her ethnic group to family, Diallo contended,

It all depended upon who helped me. The other ones did nothing for me . . . Diawadou [leader of the Bloc Africain de Guinée] is my kin. Barry III [leader of the Démocratie Socialiste de Guinée] is my kin . . . Even if they were my mother, I would not support them . . . Sékou worked for us. Allah and his Envoy are my witness. He told us he had no material

³⁷ First delivered as a lecture in 1882, this essay has been published in English as Ernest Renan, "What Is a Nation?" in Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, eds., *Becoming National: A Reader* (New York, 1996), 42–55.

³⁸ Miroslav Hroch, "From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation: The Nation-Building Process in Europe," in Eley and Suny, *Becoming National*, 61; Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*, trans. Ben Fowkes (Cambridge, 1985), 4–5. See also Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 87.

³⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1991), 6–7. See also Anthony D. Smith, *State and Nation in the Third World: The Western State and African Nationalism* (New York, 1983), 6.

⁴⁰ Guinea is a classic example of Breuilly's "idea of the nation as a project, a unity to be fashioned out of the fight for independence." John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1994), 7.

things to offer, but he stood up for us and respected us. That is why we followed him . . . Although Sékou did not give us anything, he cared for us.⁴¹

To build an inclusive nation, the Guinean RDA, under the leadership of Western-educated elites, constructed a broad ethnic, class, and gender alliance that was heir to a long European, and particularly French, tradition. With its emphasis on individual rights and liberties and government by the governed, it was, in part, a product of the European Enlightenment. As a mass movement for “the self-determination of peoples,” popular sovereignty, and citizenship, led by an aspiring intellectual elite against an oppressive, hierarchical state, it was also an outgrowth of the French Revolution and influenced by subsequent European nationalist movements.⁴² Rather than rejecting the modern nation-state as an alien institution imposed on African society by colonial rule, nationalist leaders charged that the state had failed because its work was incomplete. The colonial state was, in Partha Chatterjee’s words, “restricting and even violating the true principles of modern government” by denying inalienable rights to colonized peoples.⁴³

The presence of European ideas in African political thought was a product of French colonialism—the unintended outcome of French assimilationist policies. When Guinea was colonized in 1891, the colonial administration, along with its missionary assistants, embarked upon a self-described “civilizing mission” with the goal of transforming an elite corps of Africans into “Black Frenchmen.” This small group of assimilated Africans, or *évolués*, would serve as intermediaries between the government and the populace and work in European-owned enterprises. With a strong emphasis on “practical” education, especially in the poorly funded, lower-echelon rural schools, the African curriculum was designed to be devoid of subjects that might develop thought and hone analytical skills. However, some European ideas infiltrated the curriculum, as colonial educators denigrated African cultures, deplored African customs, and ignored African history—in favor of that which was French.⁴⁴

While many *évolués* embraced French civilization, some of the most assimilated challenged French cultural hegemony with their own. As schoolchildren, they had been prohibited from speaking their own languages and denied the opportunity to explore their own pasts. The most successful among them were rewarded with higher education abroad. On the eve of World War II, an elite group of African and Caribbean intellectuals in Paris rebelled against their growing sense of rootlessness and alienation. Under the leadership of Léopold Senghor of Senegal and Aimé

⁴¹ Interview with Néné Diallo, Conakry, April 11, 1991. When discussing party policies or initiatives, informants frequently attributed them personally to Sékou Touré, secretary-general of the Guinean branch of the RDA.

⁴² Hobsbawm, *Age of Revolution*, 145; Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 18–19; Thomas Hodgkin, *African Political Parties: An Introductory Guide* (Gloucester, Mass., 1971), 163–164.

⁴³ Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), 10, 26, 74.

⁴⁴ Jean Suret-Canale, *French Colonialism in Tropical Africa, 1900–1945*, trans. Till Gottheiner (New York, 1971), 383, 391. See Sékou Touré’s critique of African education under French colonialism: Sékou Touré, “Le Leader Politique Considéré Comme le Représentant d’une Culture,” *Présence Africaine*, nos. 24–25 (February–May 1959): 104–115; Sékou Touré, “L’Élite Africaine Dans Le Combat Politique,” Discours Enregistré du Président Sékou Touré Adressé aux Membres du Congrès des Hommes de Culture Noire, March 26, 1959, in Sékou Touré, *L’Action Politique du Parti Démocratique de Guinée* (Paris, 1959), 161–176.

Césaire of Martinique, they launched the Négritude movement. While Europeans championed Western civilization as the epitome of human achievement, practitioners of Négritude pointed to the West's legacy of brutality, exploitation, and alienation. In contrast, they posited African cultures, which, they claimed, promoted peace, harmony, and community.⁴⁵ Through poetry, essays, novels, and plays, these cultural nationalists stressed a common African essence, a system of shared values and beliefs that laid the foundations for nationalist movements in the political realm.⁴⁶

Although few Guineans achieved the educational qualifications necessary to study in France, the ideas of Négritude reached elites in Guinea through Senghor's literary and scholarly journal, *Présence Africaine*. Published simultaneously in Dakar and Paris, the journal was circulated among Western-educated intellectuals in Guinea.⁴⁷ While the ideas promoted by Senghor and his colleagues certainly influenced some Guinean nationalists,⁴⁸ proponents of class analysis, including Sékou Touré and interterritorial RDA leader Gabriel d'Arboussier, rejected the racially based theories of Négritude, claiming that they obscured the socioeconomic roots of oppression and distracted the masses from the class struggle.⁴⁹

On the eve of World War II, Négritude was joined by other critiques of colonialism that had germinated on African soil. These, too, were influenced by European ideas. Just as African intellectuals in France challenged the premises of assimilation, French intellectuals in Africa defied the mandate to only partially educate their African charges. During the Popular Front government of 1936–1938, a growing number of French teachers pushed the boundaries of the African

⁴⁵ Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism*, trans. Joan Pinkham (New York, 2000), 31–78; Sékou Touré, "L'Élite Africaine Dans Le Combat Politique," 161–176; Eileen Julien, "African Literature," in Phyllis M. Martin and Patrick O'Meara, eds., *Africa*, 3rd ed. (Bloomington, Ind., 1995), 297–298; Manning, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa*, 110, 179; Smith, *State and Nation in the Third World*, 55; Hodgkin, *African Political Parties*, 163.

⁴⁶ Sékou Touré, "L'Élite Africaine Dans le Combat Politique," 161–176; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 11, 14, 137–138, 144–146; Manning, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa*, 110, 179; Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*, 172, 174–176; Smith, *State and Nation in the Third World*, 54–55.

⁴⁷ Archives Nationales du Sénégal (ANS), 2G47/121, Guinée Française, Affaires Politiques et Administratives, "Revue Trimestrielle des Événements, 3ème Trimestre 1947," December 5, 1947, #389 APA; Manning, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa*, 3, 179.

⁴⁸ While studying in France in 1952, Fodéba Kéita established Les Ballets Africains, which consciously borrowed dance forms and themes from all the Guinean ethnic groups, blending them into a new "Guinean" whole. Kéita was also an accomplished playwright and poet in the Négritude tradition. In 1960, Guinean scholar D. T. Niane committed to writing the legendary oral epic "Sundiata," which celebrated the founding of the thirteenth-century Mali empire. See Muriel Devey, *La Guinée* (Paris, 1997), 290; Aly Gilbert Iffono, *Lexique Historique de la Guinée-Conakry* (Paris, 1992), 98; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 14, 251; Manning, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa*, 176; D. T. Niane, *Soundjata, ou l'Epopée Mandingue* (Paris, 1960).

⁴⁹ Gabriel d'Arboussier, "Une Dangereuse Mystification de la Théorie de la Négritude," *La Nouvelle Critique*, no. 7 (June 1949): 34–47; Peter S. Thompson, "Negritude and a New Africa: An Update," *Research in African Literatures* 33, no. 4 (2002): 143, 146, 148; R. W. Johnson, "Sekou Touré and the Guinean Revolution," *African Affairs* 69, no. 277 (October 1970): 351. After independence, Sékou Touré developed his own theories of African socialism and the African personality—and continued his vehement critique of Négritude. See, for instance, Sékou Touré, "Le Leader Politique Considéré Comme le Représentant d'une Culture," 104–115; Sékou Touré, "L'Élite Africaine Dans Le Combat Politique," 161–176; Sékou Touré, "The Republic of Guinea," *International Affairs* 36, no. 2 (April 1960): 169; Ahmed Sékou Touré, *Revolution, Culture and Panafricanism* (Conakry, 1978), 11, 13, 71, 97, 175–177, 190–191, 196–204.

curriculum, extolling the republican principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity and championing the universal rights of man. Moving onto terrain considered dangerous by both previous and subsequent governments, they taught the history of the French Revolution along with practical skills and the elements of literacy.⁵⁰

The belief in the universal rights of man, as embodied in French civilization, was the cornerstone of French assimilationist policies. The 1789 "Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen" promoted radical ideas that bolstered the Guinean nationalist cause. Those exposed to the text learned that "Men are born free and remain free and equal in rights." In striking contrast to their experience under French colonialism, they read that "The aim of all political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man," including "liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression." While their people were ruled by governmental decree, Guinean students learned that "Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to take part personally or through his representative in its formation."⁵¹ Thus, the rows of African schoolchildren who dutifully chanted, "Nos Ancêtres les Gaulois" imbibed revolutionary lessons as well.⁵² Embracing the notion of French universalism, African elites incorporated many of its tenets into their nationalist ideology. African trade unionists and military veterans, who seized upon French claims of universalism to demand equal treatment, were a critical component of the Guinean nationalist movement.⁵³

If the Enlightenment and the French Revolution of 1789 laid the foundations for European nationalist endeavors, the continent-wide revolutions of 1848 resulted in the widespread building of modern nation-states based on liberal republican ideals. Struggling against the tyranny of monarchs ruling over large multiethnic empires, proponents of European nationalism supported their claims for national independence by asserting that "no people ought to be exploited and ruled by another." While concurring that certain fundamental features distinguished one people from another, they contended that those differences were not reducible to ethnic or linguistic traits.⁵⁴ According to Hobsbawm, "French nationality was French citizenship: ethnicity, history, the language or patois spoken at home, were

⁵⁰ Suret-Canale, *French Colonialism in Tropical Africa*, 380–382, 387, 391, 487; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 14–15, 23, 85; Cowan, "Guinea," 153–154, 157–158. See also Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 115–116, 140.

⁵¹ "The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (1789)," in John A. Maxwell and James J. Freidberg, eds., *Human Rights in Western Civilization: 1600 to the Present* (Dubuque, Iowa, 1991), 26.

⁵² Suret-Canale, *French Colonialism in Tropical Africa*, 387, 391; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 14; ANS, 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, Kankan, "Renseignements A/S Conférence Publique du R.D.A. du 30 Oct. 1954," November 5, 1954, #2894/1119, C/PS.2. See also Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 118, 140–141; Smith, *State and Nation in the Third World*, 31; Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*, 170; Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (Boulder, Colo., 1977), 328–330, 436.

⁵³ For an in-depth discussion of these issues, see Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (New York, 1996); Myron Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Sénégalais in French West Africa, 1857–1960* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1991); Nancy Ellen Lawler, *Soldiers of Misfortune: Ivoirien Tirailleurs of World War II* (Athens, Ohio, 1992); Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, "Nationalité et Citoyenneté en Afrique Occidentale Français[e]: Originaires et Citoyens dans Le Sénégal Colonial," *Journal of African History* 42, no. 2 (2001): 285–305; Schmidt, *Mobilizing the Masses*, chaps. 2 and 3.

⁵⁴ Hobsbawm, *Age of Capital*, 85.

irrelevant to the definition of 'the nation.'"⁵⁵ It was assumed that small ethnic groups would necessarily be joined into larger, economically and politically viable territorial states. It was this broad-based, multiethnic nationalism that took root in Guinea a century later. In Guinea, as in France, nationality was equated with citizenship, rather than ethnicity or language.⁵⁶

The foundations laid by the European Enlightenment and subsequent revolutions were built upon by French Communists. Because their opposition to imperialism resonated strongly with African intellectuals, members of the Parti Communiste Français (PCF) had a tremendous influence on African elites educated during the 1930s and 1940s.⁵⁷ Since the establishment of the Popular Front government in 1936, French Communists had worked in French West and Equatorial Africa as teachers, technicians, and military officers. They had taught at the prestigious federal school École Normale William Ponty in Senegal, and at the upper primary and vocational schools in Conakry and other major cities.⁵⁸ They had helped to establish a number of Groupes d'Études Communistes (GECs), where African intellectuals studied Marxist-Leninist theories and applied them to the political, economic, and social conditions of their own territories.⁵⁹ Leadership and organizational training were also provided by the Communist-affiliated trade union movement, the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT).⁶⁰ Numerous RDA stalwarts, including Sékou Touré, emerged from the GEC/CGT milieu, which deeply influenced their organizing skills, strategies, and ideology.⁶¹ They consciously modeled the RDA's structure and orientation on those of the PCF.⁶² It was to French Communists, as much as to nineteenth-century nationalists, that the RDA owed the notion of a broad-based nationalist alliance forged from a heterogeneous, sometimes divided, population.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN INCLUSIVE NATIONALIST ALLIANCE was the product of struggle. Guinea in the 1950s was anything but a homogeneous society. It was multilingual and multiethnic and included people of diverse religious backgrounds.

⁵⁵ Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 88.

⁵⁶ Hobsbawm, *Age of Capital*, 84–86, 88–89; Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire*, 144, 146–147; Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 19–20, 33, 63, 87–88, 102. See also Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 135.

⁵⁷ ANS, 21G13, "État d'Esprit de la Population," December 1–15, 1950; Kéïta, *P.D.G.*, 1: 233.

⁵⁸ Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 14–15, 85.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 23, 25–26; Kéïta, *P.D.G.*, 1: 169, 233; Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society*, 159.

⁶⁰ Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 227.

⁶¹ AG, 2Z27, "Syndicat Professionnel des Agents et Sous-Agents Indigènes du Service des Transmissions de la Guinée Française," Conakry, March 18, 1945; Personal Archives of Joseph Montlouis: Letter from Joseph Montlouis, Conakry, to Jean Suret-Canale, Conakry, April 5, 1983; interviews with Mamadou Bela Doumbouya, Conakry, January 26, 1991, and Joseph Montlouis, Conakry, March 3 and 6, 1991; Kéïta, *P.D.G.*, 1: 176, 180, 186; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 229; Johnson, "Sekou Touré and the Guinean Revolution," 351–353.

⁶² ANS, 17G573, "Les Partis Politiques en Guinée, 1er Semestre 1951"; 17G573, Gendarmerie, A.O.F., "En Guinée Française," September 12, 1951, #174/4; 17G573, Guinée Française, Services de Police, Conakry, "Rapport de Quinzaine du 1er au 15 Octobre 1951," #1847/1019, C/PS.2; 17G573, Guinée Française, Services de Police, "Revue Trimestrielle, 3ème Trimestre 1951," November 24, 1951; 17G573, Comité Directeur, P.D.G., "Analyse de la Situation Politique en Afrique Noire et des Méthodes du R.D.A. en Vue de Dégager un Programme d'Action," ca. January 14, 1952; Kéïta, *P.D.G.*, 1: 241–242; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 26, 98; Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*, 147.

Despite the nation-building efforts of party leaders, the battle to forge an ethnic, class, and gender alliance was fraught with tensions and marred by setbacks. Female emancipation, regional and ethnic inclusiveness, and the growing role of Western-educated elites were heavily contested at the grassroots. While RDA leaders remained deeply committed to inclusive nation-building, they struggled to convince the swelling grassroots membership on this point.⁶³ While tensions sometimes percolated to the surface, there existed in Guinea what Karl Deutsch calls a “wide complementarity of social communication,” which allowed Guineans to “communicate more effectively” among themselves than with others who might speak the same languages and belong to the same ethnic groups.⁶⁴

The “complementarity of social communication” in Guinea was predicated on the territory’s shared history. Parts of Guinea had been incorporated into multi-ethnic political, economic, religious, and cultural systems long before European conquest. For centuries, Malinke trading networks and their associated Muslim communities had connected diverse parts of what would become modern Guinea. Jallonke (Susu, Limba, Landuma, Baga, Bassari) and Fulbe (Peul and Tukolor) residents of the Futa Jallon traded extensively with coastal peoples.⁶⁵ In the eighteenth century, the Fulbe *jihads* brought the Futa Jallon under unified political and religious control.⁶⁶ In the nineteenth century, the politico-religious empires of the Tukolor leader, El-Hadj Umar b. Said Tall, and the Malinke leader, Samori Touré, brought together vast expanses of territory that included much of modern Guinea and its neighbors.⁶⁷ Many Guineans had, in Hobsbawm’s words, “the

⁶³ See Schmidt, *Mobilizing the Masses*, chaps. 5, 6, and 7. For a more general discussion of this phenomenon, see Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton, N.J., 1996), 183–217.

⁶⁴ Karl W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 97. See also Hroch, “From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation,” 61.

⁶⁵ Walter Rodney, “Jihad and Social Revolution in Futa Djallon in the Eighteenth Century,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 4, no. 2 (June 1968): 269–274. The Malinke (Mandinka/Mandinga/Mandingo) are part of the greater Mande social formation. Their language is called Maninka. The Fulbe are sometimes referred to as “Fulani,” a Hausa term, or “Fula,” a Mande term. In Guinea, the Fulbe are divided into Tukolor, originally from the Futa Toro (Senegal), and Peul, from the Futa Jallon (Guinea). The term “Peul” is a French corruption of the word “Pullo” (singular form of “Fulbe”), which is the term used by the people to describe themselves. The language of the Fulbe is Fulfulde; that of the Peul is Pulaar. The term “Jallonke,” or “men of the Jallon,” refers to the people of a region, rather than an ethnic group. The Jallonke trace their roots to several populations. The Susu, part of the greater Mande group, settled in the Futa Jallon in the thirteenth century. They displaced or absorbed most of the original inhabitants, including the Limbas, Landumas, Bagas, and Bassaris. The resulting population was referred to collectively as the Jallonke. See Andrew F. Clark, *From Frontier to Backwater: Economy and Society in the Upper Senegal Valley (West Africa), 1850–1920* (Lanham, Md., 1999), 41, 44–47; Jacques Richard-Molard, *Afrique Occidentale Française* (Paris, 1952), 93; Rodney, “Jihad and Social Revolution,” 270.

⁶⁶ Rodney, “Jihad and Social Revolution,” 269–284.

⁶⁷ Umar Tall’s mid-nineteenth-century empire extended eastward from French military bases on the lower Senegal River to the ancient city of Timbuktu on the Niger River. His capital, Dinguiraye, was in the Futa Jallon. Some decades later, Samori Touré built an empire that included Upper Guinea and the forest region and extended eastward to modern Ghana. See Rodney, “Jihad and Social Revolution,” 269–284; A. S. Kanya-Forstner, “Mali-Tukolor,” in Michael Crowder, ed., *West African Resistance: The Military Response to Colonial Occupation* (New York, 1971), 53–79; Yves Person, “Guinea-Samori,” trans. Joan White, in Crowder, *West African Resistance*, 111–143; Daniel R. Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1981), 119–120; Philip Curtin, Steven Feierman, Leonard Thompson, and Jan Vansina, *African History: From Earliest Times to Independence*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1995), 343–351.

consciousness of . . . having belonged to a lasting political entity.”⁶⁸ This legacy of political, economic, religious, and cultural interaction linked Guineans to one another and to peoples in neighboring territories.⁶⁹

Precolonial African political leaders, particularly those who had resisted French conquest, were championed by the postwar nationalist movement—their subjugation and enslavement of African peoples minimized, if not erased from historical memory.⁷⁰ Samori Touré was particularly revered for his seventeen-year conflict with the French, which had staved off colonial rule for nearly two decades.⁷¹ To Guineans during the nationalist period, Samori was promoted not as a Malinke leader, but as a common ancestor who belonged to all Guineans.⁷²

The Guinean RDA skillfully used the history of resistance to colonial conquest to rally people to the leadership of its secretary-general, Sékou Touré, a great-grandson of Samori Touré, and to inspire renewed resistance to colonial rule.⁷³ Making a veiled reference to Samori’s enslavement of conquered peoples, the RDA noted, “If Samory Touré can make you slaves, Sékou Touré can make you free.”⁷⁴ The party also promoted other historic resisters, consciously selecting representatives from Guinea’s major regions and ethnic groups.⁷⁵ Among the most prominent were rival Peul politico-religious leaders from the Futa Jallon, Almamy Bokar Biro Barry of Timbo and Chief Alfa Yaya Diallo of Labé; N’Zébéla Togba Pivi, a Loma

⁶⁸ Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 73. Duara makes similar claims for premodern China, India, and Japan; see Prasenjit Duara, “Historicizing National Identity, or Who Imagines What and When,” in Eley and Suny, *Becoming National*, 152.

⁶⁹ Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 234; see also Lonsdale, “Emergence of African Nations,” 28.

⁷⁰ For a general discussion of this tendency, see Renan, “What Is a Nation?” 52–53; Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, “Introduction,” in Eley and Suny, *Becoming National*, 8; Duara, “Historicizing National Identity,” 164–165; Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 161; Lonsdale, “Some Origins of Nationalism in East Africa,” 143. For alternative, more critical readings of precolonial African political leaders, see Jean Suret-Canale, “La Fin de la Chefferie en Guinée,” *Journal of African History* 7, no. 3 (1966): 459–493; Martin Klein, *Slavery and Colonial Rule in French West Africa* (New York, 1998).

⁷¹ Person, “Guinea-Samori,” 112; Headrick, *Tools of Empire*, 119–120; interview with Bocar Biro Barry, Conakry, January 21, 1991. For more critical views of Samori Touré, see the following papers, which were presented on the panel “Samori Toure One Hundred Years On: Exploring the Ambiguities,” Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Philadelphia, Pa., November 13, 1999: David C. Conrad, “Victims, Warriors, and Power Sources: Portrayals of Women in Guinean Narratives of Samori Toure”; Saidou Mohamed N’Daou, “Almamy Samory Toure: Politics of Memories in Post-Colonial Guinea (1958–1984)”; Emily Osborn, “Samori Toure in Upper Guinea: Hero or Tyrant?”; Jeanne M. Tounagara, “Kabasarana and the Samorian Conquest of Northwestern Cote d’Ivoire.”

⁷² Smith notes that ethnicity “is more about cultural perceptions than physical demography.” What is at issue is not actual descent, but “the sense of ancestry and identity that people possess.” Anthony D. Smith, “The Origins of Nations,” in Eley and Suny, *Becoming National*, 117, 122. See also Hroch, “From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation,” 65; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 234–235.

⁷³ Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 234–235; Sidiki Kobélé Kéïta, *Ahmed Sékou Touré: L’Homme et son Combat Anti-Colonial (1922–1958)* (Conakry, 1998), 22–24, 28–29; Hodgkin, *African Political Parties*, 30; Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*, 174; Smith, “Origins of Nations,” 121.

⁷⁴ Quoted in Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 235. The orthography of African names was inconsistent during the colonial period. While “Samori” is now the preferred spelling, “Samory” is an accepted variant.

⁷⁵ Historic “resisters” at times collaborated with the colonial administration, usually to forge alliances against rival African rulers. This more complicated reality was rarely acknowledged by the RDA. For a discussion of the ambiguous roles played by Bokar Biro Barry and Alfa Yaya Diallo, see Suret-Canale, “Fin de la Chefferie en Guinée,” 465–467; Klein, *Slavery and Colonial Rule*, 147–148.

war chief from the forest region; and Cerno Aliou, the Wali of Gumba, a Peul religious leader whose egalitarian Islamic movement attracted the lower classes and was crushed by the colonial administration.⁷⁶

If a common past was one unifying factor in Guinea, shared religion—at least by a substantial majority—was another. Nearly three-quarters of the Guinean population was Muslim, while a significant minority was Christian.⁷⁷ Christian missionaries had attracted some converts among the Baga (subsequently incorporated into the Susu) in the coastal areas. They had had some success in the forest region, which, apart from Malinke trading communities, Islam had failed to penetrate. However, they had made little headway among devout Muslims in Upper Guinea and the Futa Jallon. Other Christians in Guinea included civil servants from diverse parts of the French empire, along with their descendants. Apart from Muslims and Christians, a minority of the population, particularly in the coastal and forest regions, continued to practice indigenous religions.⁷⁸

Despite the fact that the colonizers were largely Christian, the nationalist movement did not assume an anti-Christian fervor. Rather than lashing out at Christian infidels, RDA leaders, like others in Africa and Asia, stressed the positive attributes of Islam and their compatibility with the nationalist program.⁷⁹ An article in the Guinean RDA newspaper, *La Liberté*, noted “the total identity of the RDA’s programme of emancipation . . . with the liberating principles of justice and hope in Islam.”⁸⁰ A regular attendee at Friday religious services, Sékou Touré frequented a different mosque each week, widely publicizing his relationship with Islam. During Friday prayers, worshipers were reminded of the commonalities between adherents of Islam and the RDA. Prayers such as the following drew parallels between the struggles of the two communities:

God is great
It is hard
To bring unbelievers
Into the brotherhood of believers
But we need the die-hards
To spur us on.

Verses from the first chapter of the Qurʾān (the *fatīha*) were commonly recited at RDA meetings and for workers during highly politicized strikes.⁸¹ Islamic prac-

⁷⁶ Interview with Bocar Biro Barry, Conakry, January 21, 1991; Siba N. Grovogui, personal communication, April 26, 1999; Suret-Canale, “Fin de la Chefferie en Guinée,” 464–471; Klein, *Slavery and Colonial Rule*, 46, 143, 147–148, 189; Iffono, *Lexique Historique de la Guinée-Conakry*, 19, 119–120, 134–136, 171–172; Thomas E. O’Toole, *Historical Dictionary of Guinea (Republic of Guinea/Conakry)*, 2nd ed. (Metuchen, N.J., 1987), 16, 30.

⁷⁷ Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 235; O’Toole, *Historical Dictionary of Guinea*, 34.

⁷⁸ Interviews in Conakry with Léon Maka, February 20, 1991, and Joseph Montlouis, February 28, 1991; Siba N. Grovogui, personal communication, 1991.

⁷⁹ For similar trends elsewhere, see Minault, *Khilafat Movement*; Burke and Lapidus, *Islam, Politics, and Social Movements*; Gelvin, *Divided Loyalties*.

⁸⁰ *La Liberté*, December 28, 1954, quoted in Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 235.

⁸¹ Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 236–237. See also Camara, “La Contribution de la Femme,” 61; ANS, 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, “Renseignements Objet: Réunion Publique R.D.A. à Conakry et ses Suites,” September 8, 1954, #2606/942, C/PS.2; 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, “Renseignements Objet: Fêtes Musulmanes à Conakry,” May 26, 1955, #1054/439, C/PS.2; Hodgkin, *African Political Parties*, 136.

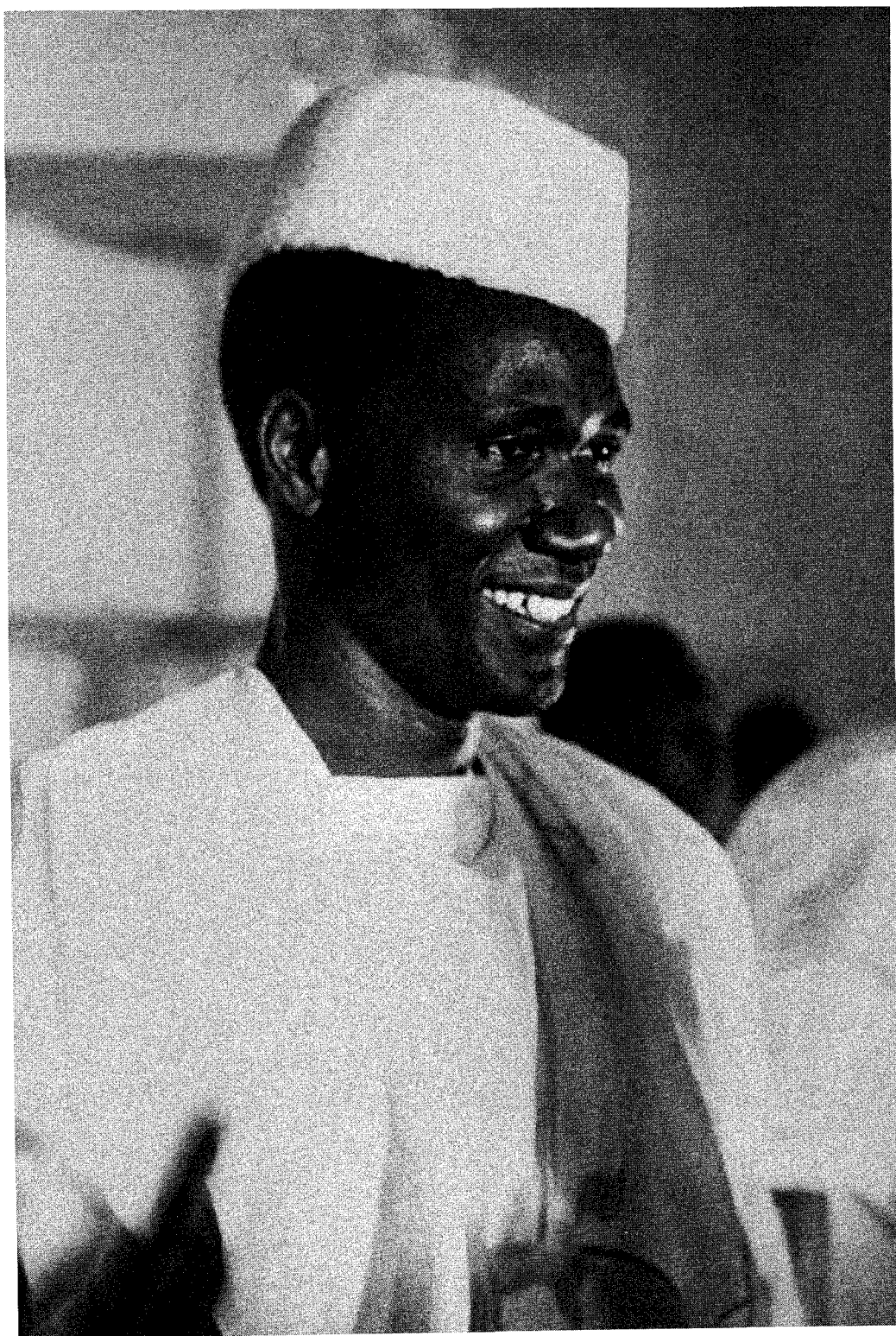


FIGURE 3: Sékou Touré, president of newly independent Guinea, wearing an RDA uniform and a Muslim prayer cap, October 6, 1958. Reproduced by permission of Agence France-Presse/Getty Images.

tices—including Qurʾānic readings, the daily regimen of prayers, and religious festivals and holy days—provided the common symbols, rituals, and collective practices that, in Hobsbawm's words, gave "a palpable reality to otherwise imaginary community."⁸²

If some of these practices were initiated by RDA leaders, others clearly emanated from the grassroots. In a manuscript based largely on interviews with female militants, Idiatou Camara notes that at baptisms and other gatherings, RDA women recited verses from the *fatiha* to "curse the traitors of the fatherland" and to bind loyalists to the party. Whenever a member of a rival party was converted to the RDA, he or she ate the "bread of *fatiha*," over which those assembled had intoned Qurʾānic verses "to express their firm conviction and faith in the RDA."⁸³

The close association of Sékou Touré's work with Allah's Will was another politico-religious practice of local origin. Grassroots activists readily linked the names of Sékou Touré, Allah, and Mohammed. Recalling the day she was recruited into the RDA, Aissatou N'Diaye reminisced that she and Mafory Bangoura had been called to a meeting with Sékou Touré:

Upon our arrival, he asked us to help him mobilize women . . . He also said that he had nothing material, not money or gold, to offer in return. If the women would help him, they would do it for the love of Allah, his Envoy, and their cause . . . He asked us to do this work in the name of Allah and his Prophet, Mohammed.⁸⁴

Similarly, police reports describe groups of RDA members crisscrossing the capital city, "singing praises to the Blessed of Allah, Sékou Touré."⁸⁵ In one song, women beseeched Allah to bless Sékou Touré, "savior of the orphans and the Muslims."⁸⁶ In another, party members proclaimed that both God and his Prophet favored the elephant—the emblem of both Sékou Touré and the RDA:

God wants the elephant
Muhammad the Prophet wants the elephant
You went to Paris
You returned from Paris
Your face shows
That even the people of Paris
Want the elephant.⁸⁷

At the funeral of M'Balía Camara, the RDA's first woman martyr, party officials were followed by a procession of men, women, and children singing RDA songs and chanting verses of the Qurʾān mingled with the name of Sékou Touré.⁸⁸

⁸² Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 71.

⁸³ Camara, "La Contribution de la Femme," 61.

⁸⁴ Interview with Aissatou N'Diaye, Conakry, April 8, 1991. See also interview with Néné Diallo, Conakry, April 11, 1991.

⁸⁵ ANS, 17G586, "Fêtes Musulmanes," May 26, 1955. See also Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*, 162–163.

⁸⁶ ANS, 17G573, Guinée Française, Services de Police, "Renseignements Objet: Incidents à Conakry," October 26, 1954, #2850/1094, C/PS.2.

⁸⁷ Quoted in Hodgkin, *African Political Parties*, 138.

⁸⁸ ANS, 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, "Renseignements Objet: Suite aux Incidents de Tondon," February 18, 1955, #389/160, C/PS.2. M'Balía Camara, an officer of the RDA women's committee and wife of the RDA president in Tondon (Dubréka circle), was killed by a canton

If Islam was a binding force, so too were pre-Islamic religious practices. Grassroots activists, rather than party leaders, first associated indigenous religious beliefs and symbols with the nationalist cause.⁸⁹ Numerous accounts link the RDA to Bassikolo, a spirit represented by a sacred tree in the Conakry neighborhood of Tumbo. Revered as the guardian of women and children, Bassikolo was believed to grant them wishes, to protect them from illness, and to ensure women's fertility. Just as some women read from the Qurʾān to convene RDA and trade union meetings, others began by asking for Bassikolo's assistance. They also sought his help during electoral campaigns, beseeching him to aid in the party's triumph.⁹⁰ After sweeping electoral victories in 1956, for instance, the RDA neighborhood committee in Tumbo organized a dance in Bassikolo's honor. Before a crowd of some two thousand people, speakers thanked the spirit for helping the party realize its electoral goals and requested his continued assistance in the future.⁹¹

According to Fatou Khimely, women who invoked Bassikolo customarily assumed male garb and social roles. To call forth the spirit for the new political endeavor, women also "wore trousers and cursed the enemies of the RDA."⁹² Women's assumption of male clothing and gender roles in times of crisis was rooted in precolonial cultural practices. In the forest region, for instance, women historically took collective action against men who abused their wives and failed to mend their ways. Dressed as male warriors and armed with sharp knives they called "penis cutters," women surrounded the offending parties' homes. While the women pounded on the buildings with clubs, no man dared to show his face.⁹³ This precolonial gender practice, and its extension to the political realm under colonial rule, bears a striking resemblance to that of Igbo women in southeastern Nigeria, where, Judith Van Allen notes, "making war" or "sitting on a man" was women's "ultimate sanction."⁹⁴

If many Guineans shared a precolonial history and religious and cultural

chief during a rampage against RDA supporters. The day she was struck, February 9, 1955, was subsequently commemorated by the RDA and set aside to honor women's role in the struggle for national emancipation. "Incidents Graves à Tondon, Canton de Labaya, Cercle de Dubréka," *La Liberté*, February 15, 1955, 1; "Les Grandioses Obsèques de Camara M'Ballia," *La Liberté*, March 1, 1955, 1; Camara, "La Contribution de la Femme," 132; interview with Aissatou N'Diaye, Conakry, April 8, 1991.

⁸⁹ For similar use of indigenous symbols by Asante nationalists in colonial Ghana, see Allman, "Youngmen and the Porcupine," 263–264, 267, 272, 274–277; Allman, *Quills of the Porcupine*, 6, 9–10, 16–17, 19, 28, 41–46, 49, 62, 65, 97, 131, 140, 160, 183–184.

⁹⁰ Camara, "La Contribution de la Femme," 59–60; ANS, 17G613, Guinée Française, Services de Police, Conakry, "Renseignements A/S Situation en Guinée, à la Veille du Dépôt des Listes aux Élections Cantonales du 31 Mars Prochain," March 9, 1957, #555/247, C/PS.2; 17G613, Guinée Française, Services de Police, Conakry, "Renseignements A/S Réunions Diverses tenues à Conakry," May 29, 1957, #1223/480, C/PS.2.

⁹¹ ANS, 17G613, Guinée Française, Services de Police, Conakry, "Renseignements A/S Fête R.D.A. Donnée en l'Honneur de Bassikolo dans la Nuit du 26 au 27 Janvier 1957," n.d., #235/107, C/PS.2; 17G613, "Situation en Guinée," March 9, 1957. See also 17G586, "Fêtes Musulmanes," May 26, 1955.

⁹² Quoted in Camara, "La Contribution de la Femme," 60. See also ANS, 17G613, "Situation en Guinée," March 9, 1957.

⁹³ Siba N. Grovogui, personal communication, October 1991.

⁹⁴ Judith Van Allen, "'Aba Riots' or Igbo 'Women's War'? Ideology, Stratification, and the Invisibility of Women," in Nancy J. Hafkin and Edna G. Bay, eds., *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change* (Stanford, Calif., 1976), 60–62, 71–73. For a similar practice among Ga women

practices, all were bound by the common history of French colonialism. Even before Guinea's colonization, Renan recognized that "suffering in common unifies more than joy does." He noted that shared grievances are the critical constituent of national memories because "they impose duties, and require a common effort." In fact, he claimed, a nation is "a large-scale solidarity, constituted by the feeling of the sacrifices that one has made in the past and of those that one is prepared to make in the future."⁹⁵

Despite Renan's prescient words, French officials failed to recognize the unifying power of shared suffering under colonialism. To the government, "Guinea" was merely an "administrative unit," with no natural claim to nation-statehood.⁹⁶ From the perspective of ethnicity, linguistics, and geography, its borders were arbitrary. Historically, the logic of its boundaries corresponded with nothing more than the extent of imperial conquest and "effective occupation," legitimized by the General Act of the 1884–1885 Berlin Conference.⁹⁷ However, Hobsbawm writes, "The unity imposed by conquest and administration might . . . produce a people that saw itself as a 'nation.'"⁹⁸ Such was the case in Guinea.

The people of Guinea experienced French colonialism as Guineans—not as Malinkes, Susus, or Peuls. They were subjected to taxation, forced labor, military conscription, and the arbitrary "justice" of the *indigénat* as Africans, not as members of particular ethnic groups.⁹⁹ As Guineans, they participated in the same political and economic systems, within geographic boundaries created by the colonial power. Despite their variety in language and ethnicity, they shared symbols, memories, and historical experiences that permitted them to communicate more effectively with other Guineans than with outsiders. Increasingly during the 1950s, this shared experience was reflected in their collective consciousness of themselves as Guineans.¹⁰⁰

The Guinean RDA was by no means the only postwar African movement to promote national over regional and ethnic identity and to root national identity in shared suffering under colonialism. However, it was among the first. Kevin Dunn's observations concerning the nationalist ideology of Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba are apt for the Guinean RDA, which led Guinea to independence nearly two years before the Congo achieved its own. Influenced by the anticolonial, nationalist, and Pan-African ideas that prevailed at the All-African People's Conference convened by Sékou Touré, Kwame Nkrumah, and others in December

in colonial Ghana, see John Parker, *Making the Town: Ga State and Society in Early Colonial Accra* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2000), 52, 60–61.

⁹⁵ Renan, "What Is a Nation?" 53.

⁹⁶ See Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 52–53, 113–114; Smith, *State and Nation in the Third World*, Preface.

⁹⁷ "General Act of the Conference of Berlin (1885)," in Bruce Fetter, ed., *Colonial Rule in Africa: Readings from Primary Sources* (Madison, Wis., 1979), 38.

⁹⁸ Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 138. See also Smith, *State and Nation in the Third World*, 27.

⁹⁹ Selecting names and regions associated with particular ethnic groups, RDA leader Moricandian Savané wrote, "The misery which kills TOGBA of Macenta is the same as that of Samba of Upper Guinea, Soriba of lower Guinea, or Diallo of the Fouta Djallon." Moricandian Savané, *La Liberté*, August 18, 1954, quoted in Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 233.

¹⁰⁰ See Smith, "Origins of Nations," 107, 113, 116; Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 20, 33, 63; Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 6.

1958, Lumumba emphasized national over ethnic and regional identity, accepting “the colonially constructed space of the Congo” as the basis of an independent nation-state.¹⁰¹ While his rivals “privileged smaller, fragmented spaces bound by ethnicity, language, or regional memories, Lumumba tied Congolese identity to the larger colonially demarcated space of the Congo.” In an effort to create a unified identity for people of diverse ethnic origins from all parts of the territory, Lumumba “ground[ed] Congolese identity in the collective social memories of suffering at the hands of Belgian colonizers.”¹⁰² In Guinea, the RDA had promoted a similar inclusive nationalist philosophy.

If the shared history of the Guinean people was rooted in the precolonial past and strengthened by the common experience of colonialism, the identity of Guinea as a nation was still developing in the late colonial period. France, like other colonial powers, maintained control through policies of divide and rule. Existent social cleavages were reinforced, and new ones created, through colonial policies. Layers of African intermediaries—government-appointed chiefs, colonial soldiers, and police—became the focal point of popular anger, diverting attention from the Europeans at the reins of power. It was the task of Guinea’s nationalist leaders to shift the focus and demonstrate common cause.¹⁰³

Although Guinea had the makings of a nation-state, the postwar anticolonial movement was not automatically a nationalist one. Rather, it was consciously molded as such. Nation-building was a long, arduous process that began during the anticolonial struggle and continued after political independence. According to John Breuilly, “the nation” was not only “a body of citizens claiming independence on the basis of universal human rights,” it was also “a project, a unity to be fashioned out of the fight for independence and in the new era of freedom.”¹⁰⁴ It was the conscious struggle to bridge ethnic, class, and gender divisions—and the ultimate success of that endeavor—that made the nationalist movement in Guinea so extraordinary.

WHO WERE THE ACTORS IN THIS REMARKABLE MOVEMENT of masses and elites? Guinea’s nationalist leaders, who articulated the broad-based progressive nationalism of revolutionary Europe, were the product of French assimilation policies, as well as a colonial educational system that was limited in both scope and substance. Graduates of programs designed to create an elite cadre—rather than a mass—of “Black Frenchmen,” they belonged to a select, almost exclusively male, fraternity. While most went no further than primary school in their home regions, those who progressed to more advanced schooling in the capital found peers of diverse ethnic origins from across the territory. As new friendships were cemented through the new vernacular (French), ethnic barriers were weakened and cast aside. These new

¹⁰¹ Kevin C. Dunn, *Imagining the Congo: The International Relations of Identity* (New York, 2003), 75–76.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 76.

¹⁰³ For a more general discussion of these issues, see Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 136–137; Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*, 21–25, 33, 37–61.

¹⁰⁴ Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 7.

Western-educated elites increasingly thought of themselves as Guinean, rather than Malinke, Susu, or Peul.¹⁰⁵

In postwar Guinea, formal education remained the luxury of a few, and that education was rudimentary. There was no schooling beyond lower primary (sixth grade) in most parts of the country, and no education beyond upper primary (ninth grade) anywhere in the territory. The largest administrative districts were equipped with lower primary schools (*écoles primaires élémentaires*), which provided a maximum of six years of schooling to those who could afford it. Possession of a lower primary school certificate, *certificat d'études primaires élémentaires* (CEP), was sufficient for employment in the *cadre subalterne*, the lowest rung of the French civil service. Another three years of education were provided by the upper primary school (*école primaire supérieure* [EPS]) in the capital city. EPS graduates joined the middle-level government cadres (*cadres moyens* or *cadres locaux*). At the end of World War II, Guinea possessed only one upper primary school and one vocational school, both in Conakry. In 1945, with a population of just over two million, Guinea had only 7,900 pupils in upper and lower primary and vocational schools. Of the total, 7,417 were in the lower primary grades, and only 606 of these were girls.¹⁰⁶ Thus, at the end of World War II, the number of Guinean *évolués* was minuscule—and virtually all of them were male.

Students seeking education beyond the primary grades had to leave Guinea. Each year, a small number of EPS graduates won the right to attend one of the highly selective federal schools, which drew the best and the brightest from all the territories of French West Africa. The most prestigious of the federal schools was the École Normale William Ponty, located near Dakar, Senegal.¹⁰⁷ Ponty students were trained to be teachers, assistant doctors, and assistant pharmacists, and for other civil service posts in the *cadre commun secondaire*. Although they constituted the elite among African civil servants, Ponty graduates could never rise to the top of the civil service system. Their diplomas had no equivalence outside French West Africa. Thus, they could not accede to the *cadre supérieur*, reserved for those with French diplomas.¹⁰⁸ With its relatively undeveloped educational system, postwar

¹⁰⁵ Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 20. See also Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 121–122. Anderson makes the crucial point that imperial languages become the new vernaculars of colonized peoples. In Guinea, the common vernacular was French. It was the sole language of education, beginning in primary school. For the educated elite, speaking in French was second nature. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 113, 133–134, 138; Suret-Canale, *French Colonialism in Tropical Africa*, 341, 380–382, 487; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 11, 39; Kéïta, *P.D.G.*, 1: 73.

¹⁰⁶ ANS, 2G43/109, Guinée Française, Chef du Service de l'Enseignement, "Rapport Statistique Annuel sur l'Enseignement, Année Scolaire 1942–1943," Conakry, August 1943; 2G45/131, Guinée Française, Chef du Service de l'Enseignement, "Rapport de Rentrée, Année Scolaire, 1944–1945," Conakry, January 13, 1945. See also AG, 5B47, Guinée Française, Gouverneur, Conakry, à Ministre, F.O.M., Paris, October 25, 1947, #711/APA; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 10–13, 20, 219; Kéïta, *Ahmed Sékou Touré: L'Homme et son Combat*, 11, 30–31; Suret-Canale, *République de Guinée*, 147; Manning, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa*, 100–101.

¹⁰⁷ Suret-Canale, *République de Guinée*, 147; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 12–23; Kéïta, *Ahmed Sékou Touré: L'Homme et son Combat*, 11, 30.

¹⁰⁸ Suret-Canale, *République de Guinée*, 142, 147; Suret-Canale, *French Colonialism in Tropical Africa*, 373–374, 377–378, 388; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 11–13, 15; Manning, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa*, 80, 81, 84, 101.

Guinea boasted very few Ponty graduates. In 1948, for instance, only eleven new Guinean students were admitted to the school.¹⁰⁹

Given the paucity of private investment, discrimination by European-owned enterprises, and obligations stemming from state-subsidized studies, most Western-educated Africans joined the colonial bureaucracy. They served in a wide range of civil service positions, as teachers, clerks, and accountants; postal, telegraph, and telephone workers; and assistant doctors, pharmacists, and veterinarians.¹¹⁰ Because they were invested in the colonial system—and risked their livelihoods if they contested state policies—many civil servants, especially those in the highest ranks, joined officially sanctioned regional and ethnic parties and supported government directives. Most Ponty graduates fell within this category.¹¹¹ Hence, Morgenthau notes, Guinean RDA leaders frequently “accused the Ponty graduates of betraying the masses, and called them the valets of the administration.”¹¹²

The relatively privileged position of federal school graduates in the colonial system was one reason that they were generally hostile to the RDA. Class snobbery was another. Many considered the Guinean RDA leader, Sékou Touré, to be beneath them.¹¹³ Sékou Touré had attended Qurʾānic school, lower primary school, and the vocational school in Conakry. When he entered the civil service, he became a postal clerk. Continuing his studies by correspondence, he ultimately qualified to work as an accountant in the Treasury.¹¹⁴ Despite his comparatively advanced level

¹⁰⁹ Suret-Canale, *République de Guinée*, 147.

¹¹⁰ Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 12–13.

¹¹¹ Suret-Canale, *République de Guinée*, 142–143; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 20, 251; ANS, 17G573, “Rapport Général d’Activité 1947–1950,” présenté par Mamadou Madéira Kéita, Secrétaire Général du P.D.G. au Premier Congrès Territorial du Parti Démocratique de Guinée (Section Guinéenne du Rassemblement Démocratique Africain), Conakry, October 15–18, 1950. For a more general discussion of this phenomenon, see Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 48. Notable RDA adversaries among Ponty alumni in Guinea included several members of the French parliament: National Assembly deputies Yacine Diallo, Mamba Sano, and Barry Diawadou and Council of the Republic senator Fodé Mamadou Touré. Another Ponty graduate was Framoi Béréte, president of the anti-RDA ethnic association Union du Mandé, and a member of the equally hostile Comité d’Entente Guinéenne. The vehemently anti-RDA secretary-general of the Guinean teachers’ union, Koumandian Kéita, was a graduate of École Normale de Katibougou, the Ponty equivalent in the French Soudan. Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 222, 224–225; R. W. Johnson, “The Parti Démocratique de Guinée and the Mamou ‘Deviation,’” in Christopher Allen and R. W. Johnson, eds., *African Perspectives: Papers in the History, Politics and Economics of Africa Presented to Thomas Hodgkin* (Cambridge, 1970), 368; interviews in Conakry with Bocar Biro Barry, January 21, 1991; Léon Maka, February 20, 1991; and Fodé Mamdou Touré, March 13, 1991.

¹¹² Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 20–21.

¹¹³ École Normale de Katibougou graduate Koumandian Kéita, an arch-rival of the RDA and secretary-general of Guinea’s powerful African teachers’ union, was a case in point. The deep antipathy that he and Sékou Touré shared was both personal and political. ANS, 2G53/187, Guinée Française, Secrétaire Général, “Revues Trimestrielles des Événements, 1953: 3ème Trimestre,” September 12, 1953, #862/APA; 2G55/150, Guinée Française, Gouverneur, “Rapport Politique Mensuel, Août 1955,” September 28, 1955, #487/APAS/CAB; 2G57/128, Guinée Française, Police et Sûreté, “Synthèse Mensuelle de Renseignements Novembre 1957,” Conakry, November 25, 1957, #2593/C/PS.2; AG, 2D297, Guinée Française, Secrétaire Général du Comité de Coordination des Syndicats de l’Enseignement Primaire Public de l’A.O.F., Conakry, à Gouverneur, Conakry, October 11, 1954, #1/CCE; interview with Bocar Biro Barry, Conakry, January 21, 1991.

¹¹⁴ Suret-Canale, *République de Guinée*, 147; Kéita, *Ahmed Sékou Touré: L’Homme et son Combat*, 24, 29, 32, 36; Sidiki Kobélé Kéita, *Ahmed Sékou Touré: L’Homme du 28 Septembre 1958*, 2nd ed. (Conakry, 1977), 29, 31; B. Ameillon, *La Guinée: Bilan d’une Indépendance* (Paris, 1964), 49; AG, 1E41, Guinée Française, Services de Police, “Fiche de Renseignements Biographiques Relative à M. Sékou Touré,” January 2, 1956.

of education, Sékou Touré was derided by his more credentialed rivals as an “illiterate,” or at most a man with “a sixth-grade education.” Even among his supporters, there was sometimes a note of disdain. A Peul aristocrat, Ponty graduate, and teacher, Bocar Biro Barry was unusual in his support for the RDA.¹¹⁵ When he discussed Sékou Touré, however, his assessment was tinged with elitism: “Sékou was practically illiterate. He only had the CEP . . . [His rivals] said, ‘Sékou, who is that? That’s an illiterate. He doesn’t know anything.’ Because, effectively, he was self-taught. You know, as a diploma, he only had the *certificat d’études [primaires élémentaires]*.”¹¹⁶

Although some Ponty graduates joined the RDA, most Guinean RDA leaders were the product of lower state schools. Equipped with only primary school certificates, they staffed the lower echelons of the colonial bureaucracy. Accorded a modicum of privilege that distinguished them from the nonliterate masses, but not enough to render them equal to Frenchmen, this class of intended collaborators grew increasingly frustrated by their unequal treatment and inability to rise above the lowest ranks of government service.¹¹⁷ Commenting on the uncertain loyalty of these lower-level elites, the governor of Guinea observed, “The most dubious elements are found among the semi-*évolués*, who sometimes have a fault-finding, duplicitous attitude, and who are on the lookout for any occasion to criticize and make demands.”¹¹⁸ It was these angry intellectuals who first agitated for a greater voice in political affairs and then spearheaded opposition to colonial rule.

IF ELITES ARE THE FIRST TO IMAGINE A NATION, they cannot make their vision a reality without the support of a mass movement. The nationalist program, by its very nature, requires an alliance of divergent interests—an “imagined community” of comrades that masks any exploitation and inequality within it.¹¹⁹ In Guinea, the RDA’s success was due to its ability to form a formidable ethnic, class, and gender alliance. It was this broad-based alliance that made the Guinean RDA a mass

¹¹⁵ Bocar Biro Barry is a grandson of Almamy Bokar Biro Barry. However, he spells his first name differently.

¹¹⁶ Interview with Bocar Biro Barry, Conakry, January 21, 1991; Kéïta, *Ahmed Sékou Touré: L’Homme et son Combat*, 10–11, 30; Suret-Canale, *République de Guinée*, 142. Morgenthau contends that strains between the more and less educated Guinean elites were comparable to those that existed in colonial Ghana. Basil Davidson writes that those who mobilized for the Convention People’s Party, which ultimately became the ruling party of independent Ghana, were derisively referred to by more educated opponents as “Standard VII Boys” or, in reference to homeless youths who organized for the party by night and slept on porches, “verandah boys, hooligans, flotsam and jetsam, town rabble.” Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 20–21; Basil Davidson, *Black Star: A View of the Life and Times of Kwame Nkrumah*, 2nd ed. (Boulder, Colo., 1989), 68, 70. See also Apter, *Ghana in Transition*, 167, 207–208; Hodgkin, *African Political Parties*, 30–31.

¹¹⁷ Suret-Canale, *République de Guinée*, 142–143; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 12, 20, 251. See also Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 48–49; Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire*, 151; Coleman, “Nationalism in Tropical Africa,” 412.

¹¹⁸ AG, 5B49, Guinée Française, Secrétaire Général chargé de l’Expédition des Affaires Courantes, pour le Gouverneur, Conakry, à Haut Commissaire, Dakar, “Revue des Événements du Quatrième Trimestre 1947,” February 17, 1948, #35/APA.

¹¹⁹ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 7. See also Hroch, “From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation,” 67.

movement and permitted it to trump rivals that were constrained by their narrow ethnic, regional, and elite male focus.

While the nationalist movement in Guinea was led by intellectual elites with their own vision of "the nation," it was first and foremost a movement of the masses—of peasants, workers, veterans, and women. The RDA did not introduce these actors to politics. Rather, during World War II and its aftermath, these groups instigated a panoply of anticolonial actions. Here I take issue with Breuilly, who contends that nationalist leaders generally "forge links with large parts of the population hitherto uninvolved in politics," and Tom Nairn, who asserts that the emergence of modern nationalism "was tied to the political baptism of the lower classes."¹²⁰ I argue instead that the Guinean RDA targeted social groups *already* engaged in struggle against the colonial state: military veterans and urban workers fighting for equality with their metropolitan counterparts; male and female peasants burdened by the war effort and the demands of government-appointed chiefs; and urban women unable to provide for their families during the postwar economic crisis. Embracing the particular causes of these social groups, the RDA harnessed their energies and enticed them into the broader nationalist movement.¹²¹

Key to the RDA's success was its focus on groups that had already mobilized themselves. It forged an unlikely alliance through consistent focus on areas of common interest determined by the groups involved: forced labor in the rural areas; abuses by government-appointed chiefs; racial discrimination in wages, benefits, and social services; and the promotion of health, sanitation, and educational programs and facilities. While other political parties concentrated on so-called "traditional" elites—chiefs, notables, and their allies—the RDA consciously focused on the majority of the population, polling their grievances and channeling their discontent.

In the case of labor, active opposition to state demands began during the war, when thousands of forced laborers resisted the impositions of the war effort by deserting their workplaces.¹²² When forced labor was officially abolished in April 1946, tens of thousands of rural workers vacated their stations en masse. Official records reveal an extraordinary picture of labor unrest throughout the territory.¹²³ This rural-based labor activity predated the trade union organizing that swept the urban areas in the late 1940s and early 1950s. While they focused on the urban rather than the rural areas, trade unions attempted to harness the popular dis-

¹²⁰ Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 19–20; Tom Nairn, *The Break-up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism* (London, 1977), 41.

¹²¹ For further elaboration, see Schmidt, *Mobilizing the Masses*.

¹²² ANS, 2G43/25, Guinée Française, "Rapport de Tournée Effectuée du 27 Janvier au 9 Février par M. Chopin, Administrateur des Colonies, Inspecteur du Travail, dans les Cercles de Conakry-Kindia-Forécariah," Conakry, April 2, 1943; 2G43/25, Guinée Française, Gouverneur, "Rapport sur le Travail et la Main d'Oeuvre de la Guinée Française Pendant l'Année 1943," Conakry, July 24, 1944, #994/IT; 2G46/50, Guinée Française, Inspecteur des Colonies (Pruvost), Mission en Guinée, "Rapport sur la Main d'Oeuvre en Guinée," Conakry, July 13, 1946, #116/C; 2G46/50, Guinée Française, Inspecteur du Travail, "Rapport Annuel du Travail, 1946," Conakry, February 15, 1947, #66/IT.GV.

¹²³ ANS, 2G46/50, "Rapport sur la Main d'Oeuvre," July 13, 1946; 2G46/50, "Rapport Annuel du Travail, 1946." See also Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *French West Africa* (New York, 1969), 492.

content of workers that emanated from the grassroots. The RDA, in turn, built a powerful base in the urban working class.

Likewise, it was the rural populace, rather than RDA leaders, who initiated popular resistance to the colonial chieftaincy. Serving as local agents of the colonial administration, canton and village chiefs forcibly recruited labor and military conscripts, requisitioned cash crops, and exacted onerous taxes from the rural population. They frequently abused their powers for personal ends, extorting labor, cash, crops, and livestock for their own use. Rural women, who were forced to perform much of the chiefs' unpaid labor and frequently were subjected to sexual abuse, were among the most vociferous and active opponents of the chieftaincy. So, too, were returning military veterans. Forcibly conscripted from the rural areas, these men had suffered devastating wartime experiences and postwar deprivations. Inspired by anti-fascist and anti-Nazi rhetoric, angered by their unequal treatment in comparison to their French counterparts, many veterans were deeply resentful of colonial authorities—be they European or African.¹²⁴

For the most part, colonial chiefs staunchly opposed the RDA, which seriously undermined their power base. With significant coercive powers at the local level, they were the primary obstacle to RDA expansion in the rural areas. Capitalizing on preexisting rural sentiment, the RDA helped to articulate grievances against the chiefs and coordinate the spontaneous actions of the population. Although it was the RDA, within the framework of limited self-government, that abolished the institution of the chieftaincy in 1957, it was a decade-long popular revolt that made that action possible.¹²⁵ Had the institution survived, the referendum that brought national independence in 1958 might well have had a different outcome.¹²⁶

The first Guinean leaders to understand the importance of mass politics and the necessity of building a popular base were not the Ponty-educated intellectuals. Rather, they were trade union leaders, whose lives were closely linked to those of the nonliterate masses. Few of these men had advanced beyond lower primary or technical school. Even fewer had had opportunities to study outside of Guinea. The most prescient of these leaders was Sékou Touré. In 1945, Sékou Touré, then a young postal clerk, helped to establish a trade union for African postal, telegraph, and telephone workers.¹²⁷ The following year, he organized the Union des Syn-

¹²⁴ See Schmidt, *Mobilizing the Masses*; ANS, 2G41/21, Guinée Française, "Rapport Politique Annuel, 1941"; 2G42/22, Guinée Française, "Rapport Politique Annuel, 1942"; 2G46/50, "Rapport sur la Main d'Oeuvre," July 13, 1946; 2G47/121, "Revues Trimestrielles des Événements, 3ème Trimestre 1947"; AG, 1E42, Guinée Française, "Renseignements," Cercle de Kankan, January 26, 1945, #66/C/APAN/31/1/46; 1E37, Guinée Française, Cercle de Gaoual, Subdivision Centrale, "Rapport Politique Annuel, Année 1947"; Suret-Canale, "Fin de la Chefferie en Guinée," 462, 464, 467, 470, 479–480; Suret-Canale, *République de Guinée*, 95–98, 137–139; Suret-Canale, *French Colonialism in Tropical Africa*, 80, 322–325, 327, 341–342; Kéïta, *P.D.G.*, 1: 87–88, 99–102, 331; Klein, *Slavery and Colonial Rule*, 212–213; Babacar Fall, *Le Travail Forcé en Afrique-Occidentale Française (1900–1945)* (Paris, 1993), 279.

¹²⁵ For further discussion of rivalry between "traditional" and "modern" elites in African nationalist movements, see Seton-Watson, *Nations and States*, 328–329, 341, 437.

¹²⁶ Suret-Canale, "Fin de la Chefferie en Guinée," 459–460, 492; Kéïta, *P.D.G.*, 2: 147; interview with Mamadou Bela Doumbouya, Conakry, January 26, 1991.

¹²⁷ AG, 2Z27, "Syndicat Professionnel des Agents et Sous-Agents Indigènes du Service des Transmissions de la Guinée Française," Conakry, March 18, 1945; interviews with Joseph Montlouis (assistant secretary-general, postal, telegraph, and telephone workers' union), Conakry, March 3 and 6, 1991; Kéïta, *Ahmed Sékou Touré: L'Homme du 28 Septembre*, 41.

dicats Confédérés de Guinée, which brought together all the Guinean affiliates of the French Communist Party-linked CGT. The CGT unions united workers of various ethnicities and civil service rankings, as well as previously neglected "auxiliaries," who had no permanent civil service status.¹²⁸ In 1948, Sékou Touré toured the territory, making contact with skilled and unskilled workers and Western-educated civil servants. He instigated the establishment of CGT branches in most of the major administrative districts.¹²⁹ By 1952, the Guinean CGT boasted some three thousand members in twenty affiliated unions.¹³⁰

While the CGT unions included Western-educated civil servants, they were dominated numerically by nonliterate workers. It was the deep involvement of Sékou Touré with the latter that distinguished him from many of his peers. According to Bocar Biro Barry, Sékou Touré "created his trade union from the illiterates." He organized domestic servants, dock workers, laundrymen, and orderlies. Gradually, he added low-level government clerks. The CGT unions, in turn, served as the base for his political organizing. According to Barry,

It was in this way that he created his trade union. It was in this way that he created his party. He found the elements of his party through the trade union—because the party was created from domestic servants, dock workers, and orderlies . . . He first put himself at the level of the lowliest people in order to try to climb . . . He was much smarter than [his opponents]. He began with nothing. He said, "We are the poor. I am with the poor. The teachers, they are bourgeois. The doctors, they are bourgeois. They are the big intellectuals. They speak a language that you don't understand. I come, we speak in Susu. We speak in Maninka. We understand one another." This is how, little by little, he won the little man of the streets. He launched his party from his trade union.¹³¹

The Guinean RDA, like the CGT, was built from a mass base. Despite periodic internal struggles stemming from conflicting interests brought together in a single alliance, the party remained united throughout the preindependence period.

ALTHOUGH THE MASSES WERE RALLIED TO THE NATIONALIST CAUSE by intellectual elites, the process was not unidirectional. Masses as well as elites conceptualized and mobilized the nation. Nairn is correct in his claim that common people were "the ultimate recipients of the new message"—and responsible for much of its content.¹³² Their languages had to be spoken, their cultural forms respected, and

¹²⁸ Kéïta, *P.D.G.*, 1: 180.

¹²⁹ ANS, 17G573, Guinée Française, Services de Police, "Renseignements A/S Activité de Certains Africains R.D.A.," February 24, 1948, #229/76 C; AG, 1E38, Guinée Française, Cercle de Kankan, "Rapport Politique Annuel, Année 1948"; 1E38, Guinée Française, Cercle de N'Zérékoré, "Rapport Politique Annuel, Année 1948." See also AG, 5B49, Guinée Française, Inspecteur des Affaires Administratives, pour le Gouverneur, Conakry, à Haut Commissaire, Dakar, September 11, 1948, #596/APA.

¹³⁰ ANS, 17G529, Guinée Française, "Liste des Organisations Professionnelles," 1952; 17G271, Gouverneur de Guinée Française, Conakry, à Haut Commissaire, Dakar, "A/S Activité Syndicale," February 25, 1952, #85/APA; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 414.

¹³¹ Interview with Bocar Biro Barry, Conakry, January 21, 1991.

¹³² Tom Nairn, "Scotland and Europe," in Eley and Suny, *Becoming National*, 84–85; see also Nairn, *Break-up of Britain*, 100; Anthony D. Smith, *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era* (Cambridge, 1995), 40.



FIGURE 4: Dock workers, Conakry port, 1957. Reproduced by permission of La Documentation Française.

their grievances addressed, or intellectual appeals would fall on deaf ears. Unlike rival parties, the Guinean RDA attained its strength by addressing preexisting popular grievances and promoting solutions for them. Thus, it was local-level actors who determined many of the basic claims on the nationalist agenda.

Just as the concerns of the African masses influenced the demands of the African elites, nationalist thought was transformed on African soil. Africans did not simply import European concepts and adopt them as their own.¹³³ Like its

¹³³ See Chatterjee's critique of Anderson in this regard. Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*, 19–22; Chatterjee, *Nation and Its Fragments*, 4–5. See also Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 67, 113, 116, 135, 140–141.

European counterpart, African nationalism was rooted in indigenous “cultural systems” that predated the nationalist struggle.¹³⁴ On both continents, indigenous “cultural and political traditions,” as well as “memories, myths, symbols and vernacular forms of expression,” were harnessed to the nationalist agenda.¹³⁵ Obviously, those in Africa differed significantly from those in Europe.

African models diverged from European in other ways as well. Hobsbawm, Anderson, and Ernest Gellner stress the importance of mass education and “print capitalism” to the success of European nationalist movements.¹³⁶ During the “Age of Revolution” (1789–1848), Europe experienced a dramatic growth in popular education. Books and newspapers increasingly were written in vernacular languages, rather than foreign tongues understood by only a tiny minority.¹³⁷ According to Anderson, the widespread availability of printed material—and people’s ability to read it—“made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways.” These phenomena generated large literate populations who could imagine new kinds of communities, along with the technical means to mobilize them.¹³⁸

Critiquing Anderson, Anne McClintock contends that “mass national *commodity spectacle*,” rather than print capitalism, has been modern nationalism’s driving force. Nationalism is “invented and performed” through spectacle, she argues. It “takes shape through the visible, ritual organization of fetish objects” such as flags, uniforms, anthems, and mass rallies—in other words, “the myriad forms of popular culture.” It is this mass spectacle that creates “a sense of popular, collective unity.”¹³⁹

McClintock’s analysis is particularly apt for the colonized world, where print capitalism and mass education were significantly less important than in Europe. In the case of Guinea, party tracts and newspapers, written exclusively in French, were not widely circulated outside the urban areas. Yet the population was predominantly rural-based and non-French-speaking. Moreover, the percentage of the population that could actually read was minute—and overwhelmingly male. Grievances, demands, and calls for popular mobilization, while articulated in the party press, had to be carried to the masses through other, largely aural and visual, means.¹⁴⁰

Mass spectacle was a critical feature of Guinean nationalism. Party elites and nonliterate militants constructed a vision of national unity through enormous rallies and intensive campaigning in the rural areas. Party slogans, symbols, uniforms, and, most importantly, song were the critical means by which the population communi-

¹³⁴ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 12. See also Smith, “Origins of Nations,” 111, 124.

¹³⁵ Smith, *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era*, 40, 47. See also Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983), 49.

¹³⁶ Hobsbawm, *Age of Revolution*, 135–136; Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 63, 89; Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 36–40.

¹³⁷ Hobsbawm, *Age of Revolution*, 133, 135–136; Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 59.

¹³⁸ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 24–25, 36–37, 40.

¹³⁹ Anne McClintock, “‘No Longer in a Future Heaven’: Women and Nationalism in South Africa,” in Eley and Suny, *Becoming National*, 260, 273–274. See also Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 64, 67–68.

¹⁴⁰ See Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 23. For a discussion of these issues in Africa more generally, see Hodgkin, *African Political Parties*, 134–139.

cated the anticolonial message and created an imagined political community. The party color (white) was sported at large public rallies, which often numbered two thousand or more. Speakers appealed to popular sentiment through culturally rooted images, anecdotes, and parables.¹⁴¹ In order to promote unity between people of diverse socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds, the Guinean RDA adopted a uniform.¹⁴² It selected as its party symbol Syli, the powerful elephant “who does not forget,” the mighty king of the beasts.¹⁴³ The elephant was featured in countless songs, and on RDA women’s bracelets, necklaces, and wrappers. Posters sporting hand-drawn elephants were plastered on walls and waved in demononstrations. Ballot designs were also aimed toward the nonliterate population, the white RDA ballot emblazoned with an elephant.¹⁴⁴

While Gellner, Anderson, and Anthony D. Smith imply that it was the party elites who devised popular means to appeal to the masses,¹⁴⁵ evidence from Guinea indicates that the nonliterate population created as well as received the nationalist message. Local activists inspired the party color and produced the uniforms and songs. Former RDA militants Léon Maka and Mira Baldé contend that the party color and uniform were primarily popular in origin. Maka attributed them to the RDA women’s leader, Mafory Bangoura—a cloth-dyer and seamstress without formal schooling—and to rank-and-file members of the RDA women’s committees; the role of Sékou Touré’s wife was only tertiary.¹⁴⁶ Uniforms brought people

¹⁴¹ Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 238–239, 243–244; interview with Léon Maka and Mira Baldé (Mme. Maka), Conakry, February 20, 1991; ANS, 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, Kankan, “Renseignements A/S Arrivé Kankan, Sékou Touré et Conférence Publique du 9 Novembre 1954,” November 13, 1954, #2936/1142, C/PS.2; 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, Kindia, “Renseignements A/S Passage à Kindia du Député Diallo Sayfoulaye et Compte-Rendu de Mandat de ce Parlementaire,” July 17, 1956, #1396/503, C/PS.2; 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, Mamou, “Renseignements A/S Visite Parlementaire à Mamou,” July 23, 1956, #1444/512, C/PS.2; 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, Conakry, “Renseignements A/S Réunion Publique d’Informations tenue le Jeudi 30 Août 1956, par le Député Diallo Saï foulaye, à Conakry, Salle de Cinéma ‘VOX,’” August 31, 1956, #1761/619, C/PS.2; 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, Conakry, “Renseignements A/S Conférence Publique d’Information, tenue le 16 Septembre 1956 par le P.D.G.-R.D.A. au Cinéma ‘VOX’ à Conakry,” September 17, 1956, #1907/658, C/PS.2. See also Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*, 150, 159; Hodgkin, *African Political Parties*, 134–139; Thompson and Adloff, *French West Africa*, 60.

¹⁴² Interviews in Conakry with Léon Maka and Mira Baldé, February 20, 1991; Fatou Kéïta, April 7, 1991; and Aissatou N’Diaye, April 8, 1991. See also Barbara A. Moss, “Clothed in Righteousness and Respect: The Use of Uniforms within Zimbabwean Women’s *Ruwadzano* in the Methodist Church,” paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Atlanta, Ga., November 3, 1989.

¹⁴³ Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 238; Hodgkin, *African Political Parties*, 36, 38; Messmer, *Après Tant de Batailles*, 234.

¹⁴⁴ ANS, 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, “Renseignements Réunion Privée des Femmes R.D.A. à Conakry,” October 7, 1954, #2765/1033, C/PS.2; 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, Labé, “Renseignements Objet: Situation Politique à Labé dans la Première Quinzaine de Novembre 1954,” November 23, 1954, #2999/1180, C/PS.2; Camara, “La Contribution de la Femme,” 77; Chaffard, *Les Carnets Secrets*, 2: 177; Ruth Schachter-Morgenthau, *Le Multipartisme en Afrique de l’Ouest Francophone Jusqu’aux Indépendances: La Période Nationaliste* (Paris, 1998), photograph 29, following 230; Kéïta, *Ahmed Sékou Touré: L’Homme et son Combat*, photograph “Carte de Voeux 1955 de Sékou Touré,” following 136.

¹⁴⁵ See Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 49; Smith, *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era*, 40, 47; Smith, “Origins of Nations,” 120; Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 140.

¹⁴⁶ Interview with Léon Maka and Mira Baldé, Conakry, February 20, 1991. For Mafory Bangoura’s background, see “Les Femmes s’Organisent,” *La Liberté*, August 18, 1954, 4; Kéïta, *P.D.G.*, 1: 340, 345; Camara, “La Contribution de la Femme,” 43–44; interviews in Conakry with Bocar Biro Barry, January 29, 1991; Léon Maka, February 20, 1991; Aissatou N’Diaye, April 8, 1991.

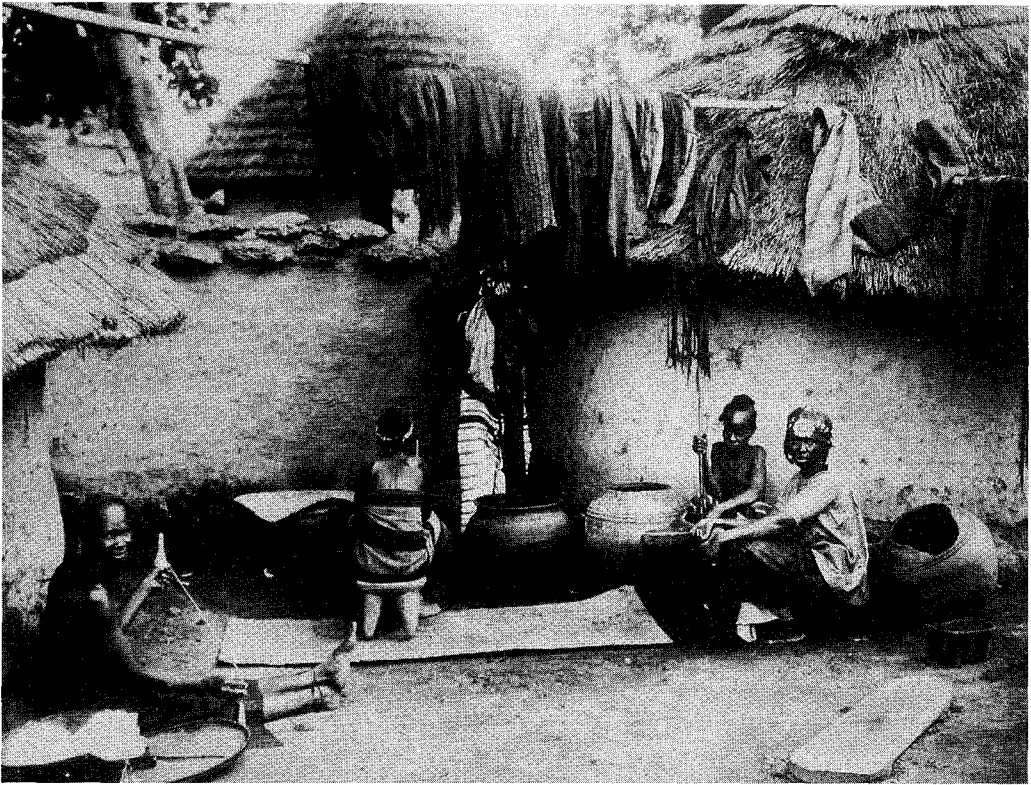


FIGURE 5: Malinke women spinning and dyeing cloth. Reproduced by permission of FR.CAOM. Aix-en-Provence. 30 Fi 31/33. All rights reserved.

together and strengthened their sense of collective identity, Maka claimed. However, because RDA members were generally from the lower classes, they could not afford expensive material. “There was no money. Cloth cost a lot,” Maka recalled. “RDA women—market women—wore inexpensive cloth, while our adversaries wore large *boubous* made from luxury cloth, like silk.” Since RDA women could not afford silk—or large quantities of any material—Maka observed,

Andrée Touré and Mafory Bangoura made blouses that went just to the waist. These were called *temuray*. They were made out of percale, an inexpensive cloth. The wrapper was dyed in the fashion of the country. The [women] cloth-dyers did this with indigo. They gathered the indigo leaves in the bush and beat them with pestles. It was the women who decided that the blouse should be white. When the men saw that the women had adopted white, they, too, automatically began to wear it. Eventually, it became the national color of the RDA. Everyone wore it on public occasions. This was not done by decree from above. No, it was the people who decided to do it.

Mira Baldé concluded, “And white was easy, because it was common. Percale was white. It did not cost much. So it was easy for the masses to obtain.”¹⁴⁷

Grassroots actors brought ideas, practices, and methods to the nationalist movement that dramatically reshaped the whole. As the above example illustrates, African

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Léon Maka and Mira Baldé, Conakry, February 20, 1991. See also interview with Aissatou N’Diaye, Conakry, April 8, 1991.

women were central to this process. While women's formative influence on African nationalist movements has been the subject of some scholarly inquiry, these studies have had little impact on nationalist theory more generally.¹⁴⁸ As McClintock notes, "theories of nationalism have tended to ignore gender as a category constitutive of nationalism itself."¹⁴⁹ And yet nationalisms emerge "through social contests that are . . . always gendered."¹⁵⁰ Proposing a feminist theory of nationalism, McClintock advocates "bringing into historical visibility women's active cultural and political participation in national formations."¹⁵¹

Making women's participation visible requires a shift in focus from the literate elite to the nonliterate base, where women were the preeminent creators and performers of mass national spectacle. As Geiger demonstrates for the nationalist movement in colonial Tanzania, "women's work" included the creation and performance of nationalism through song and dance.¹⁵² Similarly, in Guinea, RDA women proudly wore their party uniforms as they sang and danced the nationalist message. Oral transmission of information was crucial to the success of the RDA, which targeted the large mass of Guineans who had little or no formal education. As traditional storytellers and singers, women were deemed the best sloganeers. They were the practiced creators of ideas, images, and phrases that appealed to the nonelite population.¹⁵³

Most significantly, it was nonliterate women who composed the songs that spread the nationalist message throughout the territory.¹⁵⁴ "The women composed these songs," claimed Fatou Kéïta, a Susu seamstress. "They did it spontaneously. There was not one author. When somebody found a song, they sang it. The next

¹⁴⁸ See Geiger, "Tanganyikan Nationalism as 'Women's Work'"; Geiger, *TANU Women*; LaRay Denzer, "Constance A. Cummings-John of Sierra Leone: Her Early Political Career," *Tarikh* 7, no. 1 (1981): 20–32; LaRay Denzer, "Women in Freetown Politics, 1914–61: A Preliminary Study," *Africa* 57, no. 4 (1987): 439–456; Cheryl Johnson, "Grassroots Organizing: Women in Anti-Colonial Activity in Southwestern Nigeria," *African Studies Review* 25, no. 2 (September 1982): 137–157; Cheryl Johnson, "Madam Alimotu Pelewura and the Lagos Market Women," *Tarikh* 7, no. 1 (1981): 1–10; Nina Emma Mba, *Nigerian Women Mobilized: Women's Political Activity in Southern Nigeria, 1900–1965* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982); Cora Ann Presley, *Kikuyu Women, the Mau Mau Rebellion, and Social Change in Kenya* (Boulder, Colo., 1992); Timothy Scarnecchia, "Poor Women and Nationalist Politics: Alliances and Fissures in the Formation of a Nationalist Political Movement in Salisbury Rhodesia, 1950–6," *Journal of African History* 37, no. 2 (1996): 283–310; Cherryl Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa* (London, 1982). Many studies emphasize women's contributions to male-dominated nationalist movements—rather than their fundamentally formative roles. In the case of Guinea, Margarita Dobert's 1970 doctoral dissertation skims the surface of women's anticolonial activities. Far more insightful and analytical is Idiataou Camara's unpublished undergraduate thesis, "La Contribution de la Femme de Guinée à la Lutte de Libération Nationale (1945–1958)." See Dobert, "Civic and Political Participation of Women"; Camara, "Contribution de la Femme."

¹⁴⁹ Quoted in Eley and Suny, *Becoming National*, 259.

¹⁵⁰ McClintock, "No Longer in a Future Heaven," 260.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 261.

¹⁵² Geiger, "Tanganyikan Nationalism as 'Women's Work,'" 467, 469, 471–472; Geiger, *TANU Women*, 162. For further discussion of women's involvement in the "ideological reproduction of the collectivity" and of women as "transmitters of its culture," see Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, "Introduction," in Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, eds., *Woman-Nation-State* (London, 1989), 7, 9–10.

¹⁵³ Camara, "La Contribution de la Femme," 65; Mamadou Tounkara, "Autour d'une Musique," *La Liberté*, November 9, 1954, 3; interview with Fatou Diarra, Conakry, March 17, 1991.

¹⁵⁴ See Camara, "La Contribution de la Femme," 80; Schmidt, *Mobilizing the Masses*, chap. 5; Schmidt, "'Emancipate Your Husbands!'" ; interviews in Conakry with Léon Maka, February 20, 1991; Fatou Diarra, March 17, 1991; Néné Diallo, April 11, 1991; Fatou Kéïta, May 24, 1991.

person heard it and sang it, and so on. It spread like that.”¹⁵⁵ Néné Diallo, a Peul cloth-dyer, agreed: “There were countless songs . . . Day after day, songs were made up. Everyone sang songs. We repeated the songs of others as they did ours.”¹⁵⁶ Fatou Diarra, a former militant of Malinke and Senegalese descent, recalled precisely how women mobilized through song:

Women went to the markets every day . . . If there was a new song, all the women learned it and sang it in the taxis, teaching one another. When there was an event, the leader went to the market with the song to teach it to the other women.

After the 1954 elections, women sang at the markets that the colonial authorities had rigged the elections. “You women who go up, You women who go down. The other party has stolen our votes, Stolen the votes of Syli.” All the women sang this song, so by the time they heard the election results, they already knew that they had been cheated, that the election had been rigged.¹⁵⁷

The June 1954 National Assembly elections, which pitted Sékou Touré against Barry Diawadou, were deemed fraudulent by independent outside observers. The official pronouncement of Barry Diawadou as the winner fueled public anger against the state.¹⁵⁸ The message of betrayal—and steadfast adherence to the people’s choice—was spread through song. Aissatou N’Diaye, an RDA activist of Tukulor-Senegalese ancestry, remembered the intense local reaction to the official results:

When it was said that Sékou had lost, there was a popular revolt . . . Sékou was not in Conakry; he was campaigning in the interior . . . We prepared songs for his return. We gathered at Fanta Camara’s to prepare the songs. We asked the crowd to make up a song that would be sung . . . He came at dusk or late afternoon . . . By then the song was known to everyone in town, even to vagabonds. The song went like this:

The saboteurs said they were the leaders
Whereas Mr. Touré said he is not the leader
But he gets to lead the country
Look, people, at the RDA
Look, people, at the RDA
RDA women, unite
Laugh with me, Touré
Laugh with me, Touré.¹⁵⁹

Another song composed for the occasion, which was punctuated by mooing cows, derided Barry Diawadou’s alleged victory as a fraud effected by inflated voter rolls.

¹⁵⁵ Interviews with Fatou Kéïta, Conakry, April 7 and May 24, 1991. See also interview with Léon Maka, Conakry, February 20, 1991.

¹⁵⁶ Interview with Néné Diallo, Conakry, April 11, 1991.

¹⁵⁷ Interview with Fatou Diarra, Conakry, March 17, 1991. See also Camara, “La Contribution de la Femme,” 80.

¹⁵⁸ Centre de Recherche et de Documentation Africaine (CRDA), Claude Gerard, “Incidents en Guinée Française, 1954–1955,” *Afrique Informations*, no. 34 (March 15–April 1, 1955): 5–7; Morgenthau, *Political Parties in French-Speaking West Africa*, 103, 106, 240.

¹⁵⁹ Interview with Aissatou N’Diaye, Conakry, April 8, 1991.



FIGURE 6: Market women in Conakry, 1954. Reproduced by permission of FR.CAOM. Aix-en-Provence. 30 Fi 31/49. All rights reserved.

Vote rigging was deemed particularly notorious in the Futa Jallon, the candidate's home and bastion of the Peul aristocracy. Swaying and mooing like a cow, N'Diaye demonstrated how the people had sung:

Look, people, at Barry Diawadou
 Look, people, at Barry Diawadou
 The cows have voted for you in the Futa
 "Mbu, mbe," we don't want you.¹⁶⁰

When Sékou Touré arrived in Conakry, a crowd of some 30,000 supporters received him, crying, "Syli! Syli!" and singing:

The elephant has entered the city
 Yes, the elephant has arrived
 The city is full
 Because the elephant has arrived.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. See also interviews with Fatou Kéïta, Conakry, April 7 and May 24, 1991.

¹⁶¹ CRDA, Gerard, "Incidents en Guinée Française, 1954–1955," 9; Camara, "La Contribution de la Femme," 78. See also interview with Fatou Kéïta, Conakry, May 24, 1991.

Women sang and danced all night in front of Sékou Touré's home, informing the world that despite the official results, Sékou Touré—the mighty elephant—was the people's choice.¹⁶²

With song as their chosen medium, RDA women praised the party, ridiculed the opposition, and commented on recent political events. The songs' idiom and content provide a window into the popular culture that sustained the nationalist movement. Sexually charged lyrics were common. Some were meant to shame political laggards, others to mock political rivals. Publicly disgracing hesitant or retrograde men, women humiliated them through songs that questioned their virility.¹⁶³ Police reports describe RDA women, in groups of a hundred or more, parading through the capital city, carrying banners, singing political songs, and casting aspersions on Sékou Touré's chief rival, Barry Diawadou. Diawadou frequently was derided as being cowardly and uncircumcised—a mere boy rather than a real man.¹⁶⁴ In one such song, he was accused of having fled from the capital city, an RDA stronghold, to the relative safety of the interior:

Barry Diawadou left Conakry
To go to Upper Guinea
Because he found
That Syli is always in the lead
Barry was slapped like a dog
The penis of Barry
Is circumcised this time!¹⁶⁵

Although their political content was new, songs that ridiculed the virility of their male targets were in keeping with long-standing practices among Susu women.

¹⁶² Camara, "La Contribution de la Femme," 79.

¹⁶³ Interviews in Conakry with Léon Maka, February 20, 1991; Léon Maka and Mira Baldé, February 25, 1991; Fatou Kéïta, April 7, 1991; ANS, 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, "Renseignements," September 8, 1954. For similar use of song elsewhere in Africa, see Shirley Ardener, "Sexual Insult and Female Militancy," in Shirley Ardener, ed., *Perceiving Women* (London, 1975), 29–30, 36–37; Caroline Ifeka-Moller, "Female Militancy and Colonial Revolt: The Women's War of 1929, Eastern Nigeria," in Ardener, *Perceiving Women*, 132–133; Van Allen, "'Aba Riots' or Igbo 'Women's War'?" 60–61; Mba, *Nigerian Women Mobilized*, 150; Geiger, "Tanganyikan Nationalism as 'Women's Work,'" 473. Asante and Ga women in colonial Ghana also challenged men they deemed cowardly—and thus effeminate—in the face of British colonialism; see Obeng, "Gendered Nationalism," 193, 202–204; Parker, *Making the Town*, 52, 71. The feminization of colonized males, and women's ridicule of them, is discussed in Chatterjee, *Nation and Its Fragments*, 69–71.

¹⁶⁴ ANS, 17G586, "Réunion Publique R.D.A. à Conakry," September 8, 1954; 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, "Renseignements A/S R.D.A. Conakry," April 19, 1955, #811/332, C/PS.2; 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, "Renseignements *Objet*: RDA à Conakry," April 27, 1955, #867/353, C/PS.2; 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, "Renseignements *Objet*: Incidents en Guinée," June 3, 1955, #1095/463, C/PS.2; 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, "Renseignements *Objet*: R.D.A. à Conakry," June 6, 1955, #1106/469, C/PS.2. See also 17G573, Guinée Française, Services de Police, "Renseignements A/S Attroupement R.D.A. devant le Commissariat de Police de Mamou, le 15 Mai 1956," May 19, 1956, #929/324, C/PS.2; AG, 1E41, Guinée Française, Services de Police, "Renseignements A/S Conférence Publique tenue le Lundi 14 Janvier 1957 à Conakry, Salle du Cinéma 'VOX,' par le P.D.G.-R.D.A.," January 15, 1957, #89/50/C/PS.2.

¹⁶⁵ ANS, 17G586, Guinée Française, Services de Police, "Renseignements *Objet*: R.D.A. Conakry," June 14, 1955, #1158/490, C/PS.2. The Susu song was transcribed and translated into French by the police. The English translation is mine.

Historically, Susu women had used sexually explicit songs and dances to publicly humiliate and sanction men who had abused their wives. Party leaders—generally Western-educated male elites—were embarrassed by these practices and tried, unsuccessfully, to discourage them.¹⁶⁶ The popular origin of this critical means of communication is thus beyond dispute.

THE WAVES OF ANTICOLONIAL PROTEST that swept the African and Asian continents in the postwar decade were an amalgamation of elite and popular politics. Manifold acts of anticolonial resistance contributed to the development of full-fledged movements for national self-determination and independence. Many of these movements belonged to the progressive political tradition of “inclusive nationalism,” in which ethnically and religiously diverse peoples were mobilized into a single nationalist movement. The product of both European and indigenous ideals, the nationalist movements were led by educated elites, but they were firmly grounded in the urban and rural populace. Only those movements that generated mass support were successful in bringing about national independence. Their leaders focused on population groups already engaged in anticolonial resistance and mobilized around grievances that these groups had previously identified. The momentum galvanized by the grassroots was thus directed toward the nationalist cause. While the lower classes responded to elite appeals, they also brought their own ideas and objectives to the anticolonial struggle. They employed strategies and methods that spoke to their concerns and images that resonated with their cultures. Thus, nationalist mobilization was neither top down nor bottom up. It was, unequivocally, both.

Guinea's postwar nationalist movement, led by the *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain*, was emblematic of these trends. The Guinean RDA strove to build a nation from a population that was ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous. Party leaders focused on that which was common to the largest number of people: a shared precolonial history, religion, and experience of French colonialism. From this common past, a future as one nation was imagined, and the struggle to realize it was launched. Although they were mobilized by elites into the nationalist movement, “ordinary Guineans” were not passive recipients of ideas instilled from above. They brought their own ideas and experiences to the table, informing the ways in which nationalism was understood. The methods of mobilization, like the contents of the message, were influenced by the grassroots. Lower classes as well as elites adapted indigenous cultural forms for new purposes and made imported ones their own.

Why revisit the case of Guinea nearly five decades after its independence? Because Guinea's postwar nationalist movement provides the raw material that allows us to better understand the interaction between leaders and the rank and file in imagining and creating a nation. It helps us to construct a new theoretical

¹⁶⁶ Siba N. Grovogui, personal communication, 1991.

and methodological framework for nationalist mobilization throughout the colonized world. In this regard, Guinea's significance far outstrips its size.

Elizabeth Schmidt is Professor of History at Loyola College in Maryland. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1987. Her books include *Mobilizing the Masses: Gender, Ethnicity, and Class in the Nationalist Movement in Guinea, 1939–1958* (2005); *Peasants, Traders, and Wives: Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe, 1870–1939* (1992); and *Decoding Corporate Camouflage: U.S. Business Support for Apartheid* (1980). Her 1992 book was a finalist for the African Studies Association's Herskovits Award and was named an Outstanding Academic Book for 1994 by *Choice*. Schmidt is currently working on a book entitled *Cold War and Decolonization in Guinea, 1946–1958*, which examines the decade-long struggle between grassroots activists and nationalist leaders for control of the political agenda, in the context of Cold War repression. Her research on Guinea has been supported by the American Council of Learned Societies, the Social Science Research Council, and the Fulbright program.

Beyond Words

LEORA AUSLANDER

HISTORIANS ARE, BY PROFESSION, SUSPICIOUS OF THINGS. Words are our stock-in-trade. This is not to say, of course, that historians have never had recourse to nonlinguistic sources. From the use of archaeological evidence in the nineteenth century to Marc Bloch's brilliant notion that the intricacies of medieval landholding patterns could be deciphered by observing the interwar French countryside from a small plane, historians have looked beyond the holdings of archives and libraries.¹ Scholars of the ancient, medieval, and early modern worlds, and of science and technology—those whose written sources are limited or whose very object is material—have pushed the evidentiary boundaries the furthest, although some modernists and social and cultural historians have also used visual, material, and musical sources.² Despite these initiatives, however, most historians view words as the most trustworthy as well as the most informative sources; everything else is merely illustrative or supplementary.

I will argue here, by contrast, that expanding the range of our canonical sources will provide better answers to familiar historical questions as well as change the very nature of the questions we are able to pose and the kind of knowledge we are able to acquire about the past. Each form of human expression has its unique attributes and capacities; limiting our evidentiary base to one of them—the linguistic—renders us unable to grasp important dimensions of human experience, and our explanations of major historical problems are thereby impoverished. Within the general category of the extralinguistic, I will make an argument for the utility and importance of material culture in particular.

In its broadest sense, material culture embraces the class of all human-made objects. This includes hand- and machine-made, unique and mass-produced,

This essay has benefited from comments from a joint meeting of the Workshop on the Built Environment and the Modern European History Workshop and from discussion at the Social Theory Workshop at the University of Chicago. I would like to thank the participants for their very helpful critique. Special thanks are owed to Anya Bernstein, Thomas Holt, Eric Slauter, Martha Ward, and Claudia Wassmann for their detailed comments, as well as to Dror Wahrman for suggesting that I write the essay in the first place.

¹ Marc Bloch, *La société féodale* (Paris, 1939).

² The following is a small selection of the many examples that could be offered here: Fernand Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life, 1400–1800*, trans. Miriam Kochan (London, 1974); Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (Berkeley, Calif., 1988); Neil Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul* (Baltimore, Md., 2005); Laurel Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun* (New York, 2001); Ken Alder, *Engineering the Revolution: Arms and the Enlightenment in France, 1763–1815* (Princeton, N.J., 1997); Deborah Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989); Vanessa Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998).

durable and ephemeral, expensive and cheap things. Given the breadth of that definition and the vast range of objects that fall within it, I have limited the category here in two ways: first, to goods “of style” or objects whose design involves aesthetic considerations; and second, to three-dimensional objects with which people are in bodily contact. The initial constraint removes purely functional parts (axles, ball bearings, distributor caps), objects whose function must trump form (scalpels, airplane fuselages, turkey roasters), and the accidental by-products of human life. I have excluded these objects because, although their study is vitally useful for reconstructing life processes in past times, they are not rich sources for grasping the affective, communicative, symbolic, and expressive aspects of human life that are central to the historical project. I would like to underscore, however, that this constraint allows consideration not only of artisanal goods, but also of objects of industrial design such as Tupperware, Bic pens, and Coke bottles.³

I have further limited my discussion here to those objects that are not just seen, but also felt and touched (thereby distinguishing between visual and material culture). These goods—whether jewelry or clothes that are worn, linen that is slept upon, the chests that store that linen, plates or spoons from which food is eaten, or furniture or housing that shelters—carry special weight in essentially all societies. Even the objects used in everyday, repetitive embodied activities, such as eating or grooming (to say nothing of ritual objects), are not simply functional; they are always also modes of communication, or memory cues, or expressions of the psyche, or extensions of the body, as well as sites of aesthetic investment, involving pleasure, distress, or conscious indifference. Their makers and users understand them to have special attributes not only because of their contact with the human body, but because they themselves mirror two crucial characteristics of human existence. They, like the people who use them, are embodied. That embodiedness means that objects occupy space and cannot be in two places at once, and they are mortal, although their life-spans may be much longer or shorter than those of the people using them.

Working within this definition of the material, I will argue that there are three major reasons why historians of all periods should be attentive to, and train themselves in the use of, material culture. People have always used all five of their senses in their intellectual, affective, expressive, and communicative practices. They have, furthermore, used those senses differentially; sight, hearing, touch, taste, and smell each provide certain kinds of information, and people create unique (and non-interchangeable) forms in each of these sensorial domains.⁴ A symphony can-

³ For the utility of the distinction, see Henry Petroski, *The Evolution of Useful Things* (New York, 1992). For excellent examples of analysis of industrial design, see Paul Betts, *The Authority of Everyday Objects* (Berkeley, Calif., 2004), and Alison J. Clarke, *Tupperware: The Promise of Plastic in 1950s America* (Washington, D.C., 1999).

⁴ I am, therefore, following a different course, engaged in a different project, than either scholars such as Jonathan Crary and Donald Lowe, who have attempted to historicize the ways in which people have used their five senses, or those such as Martin Jay and Catherine Chaliel, who have focused on demonstrating the place attributed to each of the senses within particular bodies of thought. Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992); Donald M. Lowe, *History of Bourgeois Perception* (Chicago, 1982); Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); Catherine Chaliel, *Sagesse des sens: Le regard et l'écoute dans la tradition hébraïque* (Paris, 1995).

not be rendered visually; the aroma of roasting coffee cannot be put into words; the feeling of cashmere or burlap cannot be expressed in music. In the particular domain of concern here—material culture—sight and touch are the relevant senses, and objects, words, and images the relevant genres. I will argue that people's relation to language is not the same as their relation to things; all that they express through their creation and use of material objects is, furthermore, not reducible to words.⁵ That particular relation to things means that even highly literate people in logocentric societies continue to use objects for a crucial part of their emotional, sensual, representational, and communicative expression. Artifacts, therefore, are differently informative than texts even when texts are available; texts, in fact, sometimes obscure the meanings borne by material culture. Thus, although work on clothing that limits its purview to the "fashion system" as constructed by the press, like that famously done by Roland Barthes half a century ago, is very illuminating, it is differently revelatory than melding such a discussion with an analysis of the clothing as worn (and as talked or written about by those who wore it).⁶ The three activities are so intimately interrelated as to be inseparable. Consumers' acquisition, use, and discussion of clothing is shaped by their reading of fashion magazines—but only in part. People are also moved by associations of colors and textures, by the reading of fiction, by the viewing of visual culture beyond the press, and by the microdynamics of their communities. If historians thus limit their analyses of clothing either to the prescriptive literature or people's self-conscious narrations of intent or to analysis of nonverbal clothing practices, they will miss a great deal.

Secondly, objects not only are the product of history, they are also active agents in history.⁷ In their communicative, performative, emotive, and expressive capacities, they act, have effects in the world. Without the crown, orb, and scepter, for example, a monarch is not a monarch.⁸ And not only do certain words uttered in a

⁵ Roland Fletcher, "The Messages of Material Behaviour: A Preliminary Discussion of Non-verbal Meaning," and Miles Richardson, "The Artefact as Abbreviated Act: A Social Interpretation of Material Culture," both in Ian Hodder, ed., *The Meaning of Things: Material Culture and Symbolic Expression* (London, 1989), 33–30 and 172–177; Fred R. Meyers, "Introduction: The Empire of Things," in Myers, ed., *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 2001), 3–64; Michael Brian Schiffer and Andrea R. Miller, *The Material Life of Human Beings: Artifacts, Behavior, Communication* (London, 1999); Judy Attfield, *Wild Things: The Material Culture of Everyday Life* (Oxford, 2000). I am not, however, arguing for a privileged status for material culture, as Jules Prown does in his classic article "The Truth of Material Culture: History or Fiction," in Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery, eds., *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture* (Washington, D.C., 1993), 1–19.

⁶ Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System* (New York, 1983); Barthes, *Elements of Semiology*, trans. Annette Lavers and Colin Smith (New York, 1967). For three historical analyses of clothing that meld (to varying degrees) discourse, practice, and object, see Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the "Ancien Régime,"* trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1994); David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002); Michael Zakim, *Ready-Made Democracy* (Chicago, 2003).

⁷ On this point, coming from two radically different theoretical traditions, see the work of Bruno Latour and Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi: Bruno Latour, "Mixing Humans and Non-humans Together: The Sociology of a Door Closer," *Social Problems* 35, no. 3 (1988): 298–310; Latour, "Visualization and Cognition: Thinking with Eyes and Hands," *Knowledge and Society: Studies in the Sociology of Culture Past and Present* 6 (1986): 1–40; Latour, "Une sociologie sans objet? Remarques sur l'interobjectivité," *Sociologie du Travail*, no. 4 (1994): 567–610; Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton, *The Meaning of Things: Domestic Symbols and the Self* (Cambridge, 1981), 14.

⁸ For example, on the embodied and materialized nature of power in the French Old Regime, see

marriage ceremony transform two individuals into a couple, but in many traditions the rings exchanged are equally necessary. In a quite different domain, texts produced with movable type (as opposed to those that were handwritten or block printed) did not just *reflect* a change in technology; by their capacity to transmit uniform knowledge relatively cheaply and durably throughout the world, they themselves *changed* that world. They also changed it in another, more subtle way, however. The experience of reading a book that one knows to be identical to hundreds or thousands of others is not the same as holding a manuscript in your hands in which the individuality of the scribe is present in every letter. The possibility of imagining universal knowledge is augmented by the likeness of the physical form by which it is transmitted. Small innovations in goods, their design, or their aesthetic also structure people's perceptions of the world, thereby changing that world. The undistorted and truly transparent glass that allowed a clear view from domestic to outside space, a product of techniques new in the nineteenth century, for example, allowed novel understandings of privacy and publicity. Finally, to offer one last example, in twentieth-century Europe, the style of a person's clothing or home inevitably and inexorably located that person in society; the objects did not reflect as much as *create* social position (as well, some would argue, as the self itself).⁹

Thirdly, most people for most of human history have not used written language as their major form of expression. They have created meaning, represented the world, and expressed their emotions through textiles, wood, metal, dance, and music. Material culture is simply another vital source of historical knowledge, supplemental to words for those who have had little access to them.

ENGAGING IN SUCH AN ANALYSIS OF MATERIAL CULTURE poses two interrelated sets of challenges. The first is theoretical and concerns the determination of how people relate to objects, and the second is methodological and involves the interpretation both of textual representations of the objects and of the objects themselves. That is, in order to determine an appropriate usage of the evidence of material culture for historical problems, one needs to understand the nature of the relation among words, images, and things, and all of those relations in particular historical contexts. One can then go on to the technical challenges of interpreting artifacts.

Let me start with the theorists who make the most universal claims about how people relate to things—scholars of the mind, including psychoanalysts, psychologists, and phenomenologically inclined philosophers. These scholars start with an

Guy Walton, *Louis XIV's Versailles* (Chicago, 1986); Orest Ranum, *Paris in the Age of Absolutism* (New York, 1968); Jeffrey Merrick, *The Desacralization of the French Monarchy in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge, La., 1990); Lynn Hunt, ed., *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993); Hunt, ed., *Eroticism and the Body Politic* (Baltimore, Md., 1990).

⁹ On domestic objects as a means of the creation of self and group, see Martine Segalen and Béatrix Le Wita, *Chez-soi: Objets et décors—des créations familiales?* (Paris, 1993); C. Després, "De la maison bourgeoise à la maison moderne: Univers domestique, esthétique et sensibilité féminine," in D. Piché, ed., *Lieux et milieux de vie*, special issue of *Recherches féministes* 2, no. 1 (1989): 3–18; Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, *The Meaning of Things*; Pierre Bourdieu, *La distinction* (Paris, 1979).

assumption that I accept, but I recognize that many historians do not—that there are certain traits shared by human beings across time and space resulting from our universal embodiedness. Because we are all born small and dependent, grow and mature relatively slowly, and eventually die, and because we exist in three dimensions and possess five senses, we share a relation to the material world. This literature suggests that one crucial shared attribute resulting from this form of embodiedness is a need for objects; human beings need things to individuate, differentiate, and identify; human beings need things to express and communicate the unsaid and the unsayable; human beings need things to situate themselves in space and time, as extensions of the body (and to compensate for the body's limits), as well as for sensory pleasure; human beings need objects to effectively remember and forget; and we need objects to cope with absence, with loss, and with death.¹⁰ They argue that it is because things carry such affective weight that in essentially all societies, key transitional moments in the life of an individual and of a society—births, birthdays, coming-of-age ceremonies whether religious or secular, weddings, and deaths—are marked by the transmission of objects.

The work of psychoanalysts and psychologists on “transitional objects” is a particularly clear (and very familiar) example of how people use objects to cope with absence. Scholars of the mind discovered many years ago that the objects to which small children are utterly (and seemingly irrationally) attached—most famously Linus's blanket in the *Peanuts* cartoon—serve a vital psychic function. The preferred object literally embodies the absent parents until the child is able to keep them securely present in his or her mind's eye.¹¹ Babies choose their own transitional objects, which are most often made from cloth, partially because fabric makes them soft, sensuously satisfying, comforting to sleep with, and convenient to carry, but also because it retains odors well. The panic generated by the (even temporary) loss of these objects is such that parents become as obsessed with them as their children and look forward to the time when they will no longer be needed. It is not, however, so certain that people ever really outgrow their need to incarnate in objects those they love. Rather than disappearing with time, these materializations of love objects change form. At a later moment in childhood, for example, it is not uncommon for that objectification to shift from a stuffed animal or rag possessed by the child to something worn by the parent. Ethnographer Patrizia Ciambelli's report of one woman's memory of her father's ring is exemplary: “My father never took it off. I remember night-time drives when I was in the back seat of the car; each time a car would pass us I would see the shine of the diamond on his ring. *It was, it was . . . it was, my father, voilà.*”¹² And adult psyches facing permanent loss by death often lodge the mourned person in his or her left-behind clothing. The psychoanalysts Serge Tisseron and Yolande Tisseron-Papetti describe

¹⁰ Many texts could be cited here. In addition to those cited above and below, see Helga Ditterman, *The Social Psychology of Material Possessions: To Have Is to Be* (Hemel Hempstead, 1992). From a psychoanalytic perspective, see Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok, *L'Ecorce et le noyau* (Paris, 1987), and Serge Tisseron, *Comment l'esprit vient aux objets* (Paris, 1999). A quite different reading of Freud can be found in Adrian Forty's introduction to Adrian Forty and Susanne Küchler, eds., *The Art of Forgetting* (Oxford, 1999).

¹¹ D. W. Winnicott, *Collected Papers: Through Paediatrics to Psycho-analysis* (London, 1958).

¹² Cited in Patrizia Ciambelli, *Bijoux à Secrets* (Paris, 2002), 75. Emphasis added.

how a patient—a man widowed long before—had hidden his dead wife's coats away in a closet. He left them untouched for years, but at a particular point in the mourning process, he opened the closet and tried on the coats. Tisseron and Tisseron-Papetti argue that the physical contact with the fabric that had clothed his wife not only reconnected him to her, but also made him whole again: "Because the emotions tied to the lost person are no longer held in the psyche but deposited in certain parts of the surrounding world and melded with those objects, they do a great deal more than to fix a memory. They reunite, inextricably combined, the lost person and the part of the self that had been in contact with her."¹³ This is an ambivalent relation, however. Humans expect things to outlive us, embodying and carrying a trace of our physical selves into a future in which we are no longer present. At the same time, the continued existence of intimately used objects—clothing, pens, eyeglasses, jewelry, toothbrushes—after the death or disappearance of their owner can be both cruel and comforting. In the immediate, they move us to tears; in the long term, they provide a sensory experience of continued contact. The rings I never take off that belonged to my dead grandmothers provide a daily connection to them, as if our fingers could still touch. An account in a novel of a forsaken lover taking a pair of scissors to the closet full of left-behind clothes is an economical, and instantly comprehensible, way for an author to communicate the character's depth of rage and despair.

Having the opportunity to touch, caress, wear a dead loved one's things may help a patient suffering from the melancholia of unresolved mourning to come to terms with definitive absence. Experiences come to be lodged in things; loss of the object-companion of an experience, therefore, can bring the loss of the memory itself. Thus people deprived of their things may be severed from their pasts, and from their dead. Those pasts, and those dead, do, of course, live on in memory, but a dematerialized memory is both very fragile and also less satisfying to human beings—who are, after all, of flesh and blood.¹⁴ Even in literate societies, people use (and need) three-dimensional objects, as well as familiar sights and smells, as memory cues, as souvenirs in a quite literal sense.¹⁵

While intimate things are crucial objectifications of intimate relations, the space in which they are housed is equally fundamental. As Frances Yates and, very differently, Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Henri Bergson have eloquently demonstrated, memories are often literally housed, with dwellings and the objects they contain providing the key to remembrance.¹⁶ The power of homes to connect the

¹³ Yolande Tisseron-Papetti and Serge Tisseron, *L'érotisme du toucher des étoffes* (Paris, 1982), 86.

¹⁴ As Sarah Kofman movingly put it in her memoir in reference to the last sign of life of her father—a card written in French by someone else in Drancy—"When my mother died, it wasn't possible to find that card, which I had reread so often and wanted to save. It was as if I had lost my father a second time. From then on nothing was left, not even that lone card he hadn't even written." Sarah Kofman, *Rue Ordener Rue Labat*, trans. with an intro. by Ann Smock (Lincoln, Nebr., 1996), 9.

¹⁵ On the importance of the senses, see Paul Stoller, *The Taste of Ethnographic Things: The Senses in Anthropology* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1989). For an anthropological approach to the intersection of objects and people, see Janet Hoskins, *Biographical Objects: How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives* (New York, 1998).

¹⁶ Julian Thomas, "The Hermeneutics of Megalithic Space," in Christopher Y. Tilley, ed., *Interpretative Archaeology* (Providence, R.I., 1993), 73–97. On space and memory, see Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago, 1966); Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Colin Smith (London, 1962); Henri Bergson, *Matière et mémoire* (Paris, 1999); Nicole Lapierre, *Le Silence de*

present with the past lies in the repetition of the small gestures of everyday routine, done with the help of particular objects. The making of coffee, for example, performed unthinkingly every morning for years, can suddenly become profoundly evocative when the gesture conjures the presence of a person no longer there. Likewise, a child's toy brings to mind a moment forgotten. The winter light illuminating a sofa reminds the dweller of a conversation three years earlier. The presence of these physical objects, of the bodily routines, of the light and the smells of a home, enables the conjuring of memories inscribed in those places, sensory impressions, connection to the past, and even identity in the present.¹⁷ Things are not just things, and a physical home is more than that. Thus, historians seeking to understand the meanings of migration, of war, of natural disaster, and even of urban renewal may find in the evidence of things a guide to how such events were lived by their protagonists. Struggles against the loss of even terribly dilapidated unsafe housing, claims for restitution of lost homes and lost property, and the risks that refugees took to carry "mere" things with them would be more accurately interpreted if historians took the psychological meanings of objects and homes more seriously.

It is not only historians of disruption, uprooting, or catastrophe who would find that buildings and objects speak, however, but also those of such diverse domains as work, domesticity, and political identification and transformation. In *La poétique de l'espace*, Gaston Bachelard argues that it is labor and consciousness that bring objects to life. The labor can be that of a housewife polishing a piece of furniture or of a poet describing it. "From one object to another in the bedroom, housewifely care weaves together the very distant past and the new day. The housewife awakens the sleeping furniture."¹⁸ Bachelard's work suggests that the history of mechanization and the division of labor—whether in the home or the workshop/factory—would look quite different if one took the objects of that labor seriously. I have suggested elsewhere, for example, that attentiveness to how nineteenth-century French artisans related to the things they made reveals them to have been as preoccupied with the sensuousness of the labor process and the beauty of their creations as with the conditions of that labor. This observation then required a reconsideration of the history of workers' interests and identities.¹⁹ Likewise, understanding the world of domestic service, which often seems to be better grasped by novelists than by historians, might be easier if one researched not only the relation between servants and mistresses, but also servants and the domestic

la Mémoire: À la recherche des juifs de Ploch (Paris, 2001), 107, 108, 109; Joëlle Bahloul, *La maison de mémoire: Ethnologie d'un demeure judéo-arabe en Algérie (1937–1961)* (Paris, 1992); Anne Muxel, *Individu et mémoire familiale* (Paris, 1996); and particularly on the issues of refugees and objects, David Parkin, "Mementoes as Transitional Objects in Human Displacement," *Journal of Material Culture* 4, no. 3 (November 1999): 303–320.

¹⁷ For a suggestive analysis, see John Lowney, "'Homesick for Those Memories': The Gendering of Historical Memory in Women's Narratives of the Vietnam War," in Rosemary Marangoly George, ed., *Burning Down the House: Recycling Domesticity* (Boulder, Colo., 1998), 257–278, particularly 265.

¹⁸ Gaston Bachelard, *La poétique de l'espace* (Paris, 1957), 74.

¹⁹ Leora Auslander, "Perceptions of Beauty and the Problem of Consciousness: Parisian Furniture Makers," in Lenard Berlanstein, ed., *Rethinking Labor History: Essays on Discourse and Class Analysis* (Urbana, Ill., and Chicago, 1993), 149–181.

things they animated through their labor.²⁰ The history of domesticity itself, particularly of the housewife and the mechanization of labor in the home, would be a richer one if, in addition to consideration of expenditures of time, physical force, and standards of cleanliness, historians thought harder about the change in the relation to time, to space, and to bodies brought about by the replacement of the broom by the vacuum cleaner and other improvements that distanced domestic labor from the objects of its attention.²¹

Finally, both group identification and political consolidation and action are enabled by people's relation with things. Psychologists and sociologists have demonstrated how people "read" style and gesture to recognize those who are like and unlike, to identify and differentiate. These insights have important ramifications for historians striving to understand collective action. Timothy Breen has recently argued, for example, that the American Revolution was in fact a consumer revolution, made possible by a shared relationship to goods among the American colonists in the two decades preceding the war.²² And historian Neil Kamil, writing about an earlier moment in North American history, makes a powerful case in *Fortress of the Soul* for the transmission of a Huguenot identity across the Atlantic, and its maintenance in the New World, through a distinctive domestic aesthetic. While the work of theorists of the mind is vital to understanding the relation between people and things in general or that which is universal in that relationship, the writing of social and political theorists is crucial to grasping its historicity. Transformations in the nature of capital, as well as of the organization of the relations of production, distribution, and consumption, necessarily alter people's relations to things and how things mediate relations among people. Here the work of Marx and Marxian theorists, as well as some of their critics, is invaluable.²³ These theorists argue persuasively for the decreased meaning of labor and a distancing of workers from the product of that labor in a moment of its division and mechanization, as well as for a more systemic change in how people relate to others and to things under capitalism. Given, however, that neither socioeconomic nor political systems completely saturate (or determine) humans' relations to the material world, it is the work of those scholars who attempt to meld analysis of the human and the historical in the domain of the material that is most precious to historians. Walter Benjamin is perhaps the theorist who is cited most often in this context.²⁴ His work grapples with how the affective, communicative, and sensual

²⁰ Anne Martin-Fugier, *La place des bonnes: La domesticité féminine à Paris en 1900* (Paris, 1979); Jacqueline Martin-Huan, *La longue marche des domestiques en France: Du XIXe siècle à nos jours* (Nantes, 1997).

²¹ See, for example, Ruth Cowan, *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Hearth to the Microwave* (New York, 1983); Susan Strasser, *Never Done: A History of American Housework* (New York, 1982).

²² T. H. Breen, *Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (Oxford, 2004).

²³ Here, of course, the key text of Marx is chapter 1, "The Commodity," in Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. 1, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York, 1977); Jean Baudrillard, *La société de la consommation: Ses mythes, ses structures* (Paris, 1970).

²⁴ Walter Benjamin, *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writing*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, ed. and with an intro. by Peter Demetz (New York, 1986); *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn, with an intro. by Hannah Arendt (New York, 1968). For a very useful analysis of exchange under

uses to which all humans arguably put things is shaped by (a particular moment of) capitalism.

Work inspired by Marx is essential to understanding the implications of shifts in the nature of capital for the relation of people and things, but it is of less assistance in the domain of political organization. Monarchical, imperial, republican, democratic, fascist, and socialist forms of state all use objects and style to constitute and reinforce their power, but they do so very differently. Scholars of monarchy, for example, have shown that kings used a very careful regulation of ostentation to control powerful political actors (most often nobles and clerics) over whom they had limited coercive power.²⁵ The aesthetic choices of the vast majority were of irrelevance to them, since they played no role in the political process, but the color of a duke's cloak was, by contrast, of the greatest import. Under democratic or republican regimes, when the polity was to include all citizens of the nation, material culture came to be understood as an important means of unifying that national body and distinguishing it from others. Likewise, colonial regimes had their own object systems. Anthropologists such as Jean and John Comaroff, Bernard Cohn, and Nicholas Thomas have demonstrated, for example, that material culture plays a particularly explicit role in negotiations and struggle between ruler and ruled in colonial contexts. Colonial administrations demonstrate their understandings of the nature of the relationship (current and future) of metropole and colony in how they mark difference through the style of everyday life. In parallel, indigenous peoples stake out positions through their compliance with, or refusal of, such aesthetic boundaries.²⁶

The use of material culture for the writing of history entails, therefore, the use of both theoretical or conceptual work that addresses the relation between people and things in the abstract, and that which focuses on those relations under particular forms of economy and polity. It also requires careful reflection on the relation of texts and things, how people have represented their object worlds in writing or used textual invocations of objects. In this domain, it is literary scholars who provide the greatest assistance. Those analysts have themselves been inspired, at least in part, by the observation that while novelists and poets have always had recourse to descriptions and evocations of things, it is at moments of radical transformation of systems of production, distribution, and consumption that objects loom particularly large. From the object-saturated work of Honoré de Balzac,

capitalism, see J. G. Carrier, *Gifts and Commodities: Exchange and Western Capitalism since 1700* (London, 1995).

²⁵ Norbert Elias and those influenced by him have been key here. Elias, *The History of Manners*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York, 1978; German ed. 1939); Roger Chartier, ed., *Passions of the Renaissance*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).

²⁶ Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, "Fashioning the Colonial Subject: The Empire's Old Clothes," in Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution* (Chicago, 1991), vol. 2, chap. 2, 218–273; Comaroff and Comaroff, "Homemade Hegemony," in John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination: Selected Essays* (Boulder, Colo., 1992), chap. 10, 265–295; Bernard S. Cohn, "Cloth, Clothes and Colonialism: India in the 19th century," in Annette B. Weiner and Jane Schneider, eds., *Cloth and Human Experience* (Washington, D.C., 1989), 303–353; Jean Allman, *Fashioning Africa: Power and the Politics of Dress* (Bloomington, Ind., 2004); Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); Thomas, *In Oceania: Visions, Artifacts, Histories* (Durham, N.C., 1997).

Émile Zola, Marcel Proust, Francis Ponge, and Georges Perec, to cite a few authors from the French canon, scholars have derived a great deal about historical changes in how people relate to things. Rachel Bowlby's and Naomi Schor's analyses of the representation of consumer culture in Zola, Mieke Bal's and Angelika Corbineau-Hoffmann's work on objects in Proust, and Benjamin on Charles Baudelaire are only four of the many examples one could cite.²⁷

While literary scholars focus on the textualization of things, art historians have done crucial work in analyzing their pictorialization. Visual representations of objects are useful to historians in two very different ways. The objects themselves have often disappeared, leaving the historian with only their traces in drawings, paintings, prints, photographs, and film. And even when the things have survived, they have almost inevitably been detached from their context, preserved in a museum or antique shop, or put to a new use in someone's home. Visual representations provide the historian with mediated access to the relationships among objects—how furniture was arrayed in a room, for example, whether an interior was stylistically unified or varied, or what pieces of clothing were worn simultaneously—and some possibility of imagining how they were used. The mediation of the painter, photographer, or filmmaker, like that of the writer, both enriches and complicates the historian's work. That mediation produces the second utility of visual representations of objects to historians. If read as a literal depiction of someone's home, a seventeenth-century Dutch domestic scene will almost certainly mislead; if, by contrast, both the painting and the objects represented are subject to analysis, the painting will be as valuable a source as a perfectly preserved dwelling. The fact that a room was painted at all, the contents of that room, the relation of light and shadow, choices of color, use of perspective, the references to other representations of interiors, the placement of people within the space—all provide crucial insights into the relation of people and things at the time the picture was painted. The focus of much art historical work has been precisely on deciphering and interpreting those representational decisions. Finally, the meaning of style, the relation between aesthetically invested objects and society, and the relation of the verbal and nonverbal has long preoccupied art historians. This work is invaluable in providing a means of or an apparatus for reflection on what makes a "style" (and if the concept is, in fact, a useful one) and how styles change under different conditions of production, distribution, and consumption of aestheticized objects.

²⁷ For exemplary fiction, see Honoré de Balzac, *Le cousin Pons*, *La cousine Bette*, *Histoire des treize* (Paris, 1840); Émile Zola, *Au bonheur des dames* (Paris, 1883); Zola, *Nana* (Paris, 1882); Marcel Proust, *À la recherche du temps perdu* (Paris, 1919–1927); Georges Perec, *Les choses: Une histoire des années soixante* (Paris, 1965); Perec, *La vie, mode d'emploi: Romans* (Paris, 1978); Francis Ponge, *La table présentée par Jean Thibaudeau* (Paris, 1991); Ponge, *Le parti pris des choses* (Paris, 1949); Ponge, *Le savon* (Paris, 1967). Rachel Bowlby, *Just Looking: Consumer Culture in Dreiser, Gissing, and Zola* (New York, 1985); Naomi Schor, "Before the Castle: Women, Commodities, and Modernity in *Au Bonheur des Dames*," in Schor, *Bad Objects: Essays Popular and Unpopular* (Durham, N.C., 1995); Paul-Laurent Assoun et al., *Analyses et réflexions sur Ponge, Pièce: Les mots et les choses* (Paris, 1988); Mieke Bal, *Images littéraires: Ou comment lire visuellement Proust* (Montréal/Toulouse, 1997); Angelika Corbineau-Hoffmann, *Beschreibung als Verfahren: Die Ästhetik des Objekts im Werk Marcel Prousts* (Stuttgart, 1980); Walter Benjamin, *Charles Baudelaire* (London, 1983). For a crucial theoretical intervention on the relation of literature and things, see Bill Brown, *A Sense of Things: The Object Matter of American Literature* (Chicago, 2003).

While the work of theorists and literary and visual scholars is very helpful in understanding the place of objects and their representation, it is archaeologists, anthropologists, curators, and historians of art, architecture, and design who have elaborated sophisticated strategies for analyzing aesthetically inflected things.

Art historian, curator, and well-known scholar of material culture Jules D. Prown has divided those who study material culture into two groups, the farmers and the cowmen.²⁸ The farmers are preoccupied with the “material” side of material culture, the age, substance, and structure of the object, its provenance, its authenticity. The cowmen engage more deeply with the “culture” side of material culture and try to determine the meanings embedded in and transmitted by the objects in question. While Prown himself argues that both kinds of knowledge are needed if the past is to be understood, and that those who focus on the material should also engage the cultural and vice versa—and I agree with that argument—there is truth to the dichotomy. Archaeologists and anthropologists focus on using the object to understand the society of which it is a product. Most curators and some design historians, architectural historians, and historians of the decorative arts view the core of their work as establishing the material truth of the object, while others in those fields would argue that in the domain of aesthetic objects, society and object are so intertwined that one must inevitably attempt to simultaneously establish the truth of the object and its social meaning and place. Historians have much to borrow from all of these disciplines, but those borrowings will necessarily differ according to the mission and constraints of each field.

Archaeology is the discipline whose use of things is closest to that of history. The primary goal of both archaeologists and historians is to understand, by whatever means possible, a given society. Both, therefore, study objects not to explain those objects but to glean from them something about the people who designed, made, distributed, and used them. It is undoubtedly that shared preoccupation that has facilitated the already long-established collaboration among ancient and medieval historians and archaeologists. Historians of all epochs, however, have an enormous amount to learn from archaeology. In part, no doubt, because their data is so difficult to unearth and to interpret, archaeologists have had recourse to highly sophisticated techniques to determine the age, origin, and probable use of their objects of investigation. They are among the freest and most constrained scholars of the material world. They are free in that the fragmentary nature of the archaeological record of very ancient cultures leaves them the obligation and possibility of imaginative interpretation. They are constrained, however, by those same characteristics, and dependent upon advances in other fields—geology, anatomy, and physics, to name only three. Archaeologists tend, therefore, to move between the very concrete and the very abstract. On the one hand, they have elaborated complex scientific protocols for analysis of the material remnants of past societies—protocols that detail modes of uncovering, documenting, transporting, dating, and analyzing the objects found. On the other hand, the discipline is the site of highly abstract theorizing about cultural production and transmission and human

²⁸ Jules D. Prown, “Material/Cultural: Can the Farmer and the Cowman Still Be Friends?” in W. David Kingery, ed., *Learning from Things: Method and Theory of Material Culture Studies* (Washington, D.C., 1996), 19–30.

evolution.²⁹ Historians can productively borrow both the technical and theoretical advances of this field and can equally constructively turn to anthropology for another kind of help interpreting things.

Anthropologists—because exchange has been so central a conceptual category in the discipline, because of their focus on symbolic systems, and, finally, because the written, and in some cases the spoken, word is relatively marginal in many of the societies in which they work—have long engaged material culture seriously. Marcel Mauss remains a key reference, given particularly that his work raised fundamental issues of both exchange and embodiedness.³⁰ The work of Igor Kopytoff and Arjun Appadurai on rethinking the concept of the commodity,³¹ and of Daniel Miller on the meanings of consumption under capitalism,³² usefully challenges preconceptions concerning the meaning of goods in capitalist and noncapitalist societies. In a very different vein, Janet Hoskins's insights concerning the place of objects in the telling of life histories, and those of Paul Stoller on the importance of the senses, provide crucial signposts for reflection on the embodiment of people and things.³³

Historically, curators of the decorative arts and design historians have produced erudite and invaluable monographs on individual artisans as well as volumes on stylistic developments. Because the focus is on explaining the aesthetic logic of the objects as well as reconstructing their biography and often establishing the lifetime production of their maker, these works discuss the world beyond the object only when the object is explicitly shaped by external events. Even the most internalist of design histories or exhibition catalogues, however, provide not only vital information about a particular genre, its practitioners, and its market, but also an equally important lesson in how to glean information from the glaze on a pot, the curve on a chair leg, the stitch used in an embroidery, or the fabric in a quilt.

The last twenty years have seen vastly increased interest among design historians in using material culture to read society. For example, Adrian Forty's now classic text *Objects of Desire* explicates not only *why* the objects he analyzed look as they do, but what that appearance tells us about the dynamics of industrialization.³⁴ Curator Susan Pearce's work has fundamentally altered understandings of authenticity in museum studies, and both the *Journal of Design History* and the interdisciplinary revue the *Journal of Material Culture*, which first appeared in 1996, largely devoted to encouraging work at the intersection of history, anthropology, and design, have published crucial contributions to this discussion.³⁵ A particularly

²⁹ For a summary of the current place of theory in archaeology, see the essays gathered in Ian Hodder, ed., *Archaeological Theory Today* (Cambridge, 2001), and Christopher Carr and Jill E. Neitzel, eds., *Style, Society and Person: Archaeological and Ethnological Perspectives* (New York, 1995).

³⁰ Marcel Mauss, "Techniques of the Body," in Jonathan Crary and S. Kwinter, eds., *Zone*, vol. 6: *Incorporations* (New York, 1992), 455–477; Mauss, *The Gift*, trans. W. D. Halls (New York, 1990).

³¹ Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things* (Cambridge, 1986), 64–91; Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," *ibid.*, 3–63.

³² Daniel Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (Oxford, 1987).

³³ Janet Hoskins, *Biographical Objects: How Things Tell Stories of People's Lives* (New York, 1998); Paul Stoller, *Sensuous Scholarship* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1997); Stoller, *The Taste of Ethnographic Things: The Senses in Anthropology* (Philadelphia, Pa., 1989).

³⁴ Adrian Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society from Wedgwood to IBM* (New York, 1986).

³⁵ Susan Pearce, ed., *Experiencing Material Culture in the Western World* (London, 1997); Pearce, *Museums, Objects, and Collections* (Leicester, 1992).

lively domain of research is design in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries, as well as the changes there since 1989–1991. In an interesting parallel to the work on colonialism, scholars in these fields tell us as much about the workings of power under that regime as about the forms of the goods themselves.³⁶

Architectural historians, from the work of Siegfried Giedion in the 1940s through to the present in such diverse domains as the vernacular architecture of the American South, the structuring and practice of French justice, and the dynamics of colonial power, have made powerful claims for the imbrication of the built environment and the society in which and for which it was constructed. Katherine Fischer Taylor has demonstrated the ways in which the French judicial system was instantiated in the courtroom.³⁷ Architectural historians specializing in American vernacular architecture have persuasively demonstrated that two forms understood to characterize American dwellings—the shotgun house and the front porch—were originally African imports, brought by slaves, and thereby contribute crucial evidence to arguments for the creole nature and racial hybridity of American culture.³⁸ In the domain of colonial history, differences among European conceptions of colonial rule, and their postcolonial effects, have been clarified through investigation of architectural interventions in each nation-state's empire.³⁹

Moving from this overflight, I would now like to offer two examples of historical problems for which the interplay of things and words offers crucial insights. These two cases, furthermore, although separated by a century and a half, both analyze things used within the home in the course of everyday life. They are exemplary, therefore, of the argument made above concerning not only the importance of things to people, but the imbrication of objects, space, and place. The first case focuses on the political use of things during the French Revolution. It examines a discursive silence and material presence in order to suggest a rethinking of the nature of the relation between politics and the private sphere during the revolutionary decade. The second takes a discursive volubility in the context of material loss to shed light on how those defined as Jews by the Nazi and Vichy regimes used goods in their attempts to mourn their past lives and envisage a future in the fall of 1944.

³⁶ David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, "Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-war Eastern Europe," in Reid and Crowley, eds., *Style and Socialism* (Oxford, 1999), 1–24. See also the other essays in that volume, as well as Crowley and Reid, *Socialist Spaces: Sites of Everyday Life in the Eastern Bloc* (Oxford, 2002), and Caroline Humphrey, "Creating a Culture of Disillusionment: Consumption in Moscow, a Chronicle of Changing Times," in Daniel Miller, ed., *Worlds Apart: Modernity through the Prism of the Local* (London, 1995), 43–68.

³⁷ Siegfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History* (New York, 1949; repr., 1975); Katherine Fischer Taylor, *In the Theater of Criminal Justice: The Palais de Justice in Second Empire Paris* (Princeton, N.J., 1993).

³⁸ Mechal Sobel, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), chap. 9; John Michael Vlach, *By the Work of Their Hands: Studies in Afro-American Folklife* (Charlottesville, Va., 1991), pt. III.

³⁹ Zeynep Çelik, *Urban Forms and Colonial Confrontations: Algiers under French Rule* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997); Abidin Kusno, *Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, Urban Space, and Political Cultures in Indonesia* (New York, 2000).

ONE OF THE MANY RADICAL INNOVATIONS ascribed by historians to political actors in the decade following the taking of the Bastille in 1789 is the politicization of everyday life.⁴⁰ According to this interpretation, French revolutionaries attempted to republicanize *everything*, from clothing, to language, to song, to the days of the week, to the names of streets and of children.⁴¹ A reading of the scholarship in the history of the decorative arts of this period provides a sharply contrasting image. The vast majority of work on furniture, porcelain, tapestry, and silver slides rather quickly over the Revolution, stating at most that no republican style was created, and that what production there was, was simply derivative of the court styles of the Old Regime. A careful analysis of both the discourse around material culture and the goods produced in these years reveals a more complex story, a story that sheds light on how the division between public and private was constructed during the revolutionary decade.

The historians who emphasize radical change in the everyday are right in that within the space of a few years, French citizens were told that they were to speak a different language, to hear and sing new kinds of music, and to wear different clothing. French people no longer went to church, their roads and towns had unfamiliar names, the boundaries of their *départements* were newly demarcated, their weeks had ten days, their months had a novel nomenclature, and new forms of architecture were hotly debated. Further investigation of both material culture and discursive sources will reveal, however, that French citizens did not find *all* aspects of their material and everyday lives transformed or even discussed. Aside from the quiet commissioning of furniture for the National Convention, interiors, whether of public or private buildings, went largely unmentioned.⁴²

The revolutionaries' definitively documented preoccupation with clothing style, on the one hand, and architecture, on the other, renders this silence particularly intriguing.⁴³ Why attempt to change clothing and the built environment, and not furniture and the other arts of the home? Clothing, architecture, furniture, tapestry, and porcelain are objects with great symbolic capacities; all, in fact, were used by crown and court in the Old Regime to augment their power. I would like to suggest here that this silence on the subject of interior decoration was not simply a result of the brevity of the revolutionary period or of the destruction of the court system,

⁴⁰ This discussion builds on the analysis in my recent essay "Regeneration through the Everyday? Furniture in Revolutionary Paris," *Art History* 28, no. 2 (April 2005): 227–247. A more detailed analysis can be found in my forthcoming book *Cultural Revolutions: Everyday Life and Politics in England, Colonial America, and France* (Oxford, 2006).

⁴¹ In addition to the literature on architecture and clothing cited below, important works on this theme include Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); Serge Bianchi, *La révolution culturelle de l'an II: Elites et peuple 1789–1799* (Paris, 1982); Lynn Hunt, "Symbolic Forms of Political Practice," in Hunt, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984); James H. Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995); Laura Mason, *Singing the French Revolution: Popular Culture and Politics, 1787–1799* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1996).

⁴² Hector Lefuel, *Georges Jacob: Ébéniste du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1923); Laurie Dahlberg, "France between the Revolutions, 1789–1848," in Tamara Préaud, ed., *The Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory: Alexandre Brongniart and the Triumph of Art and Industry, 1800–1847* (New York, 1997), 16.

⁴³ There are large literatures on both topics. An excellent recent study on clothing is Richard Wrigley, *The Politics of Appearances: Representations of Dress in Revolutionary France* (Oxford, 2002); on architecture, James A. Leith, *Space and Revolution: Projects for Monuments, Squares and Public Buildings in France, 1789–1799* (Montreal, 1991), is still the essential text.

as many have suggested, although both were indeed salient. That silence was as much a symptom of the revolutionaries' understanding of the relative importance of the public and the private for political life. Equally noteworthy is the fact that despite the lack of discursive interest, a substantial quantity of self-consciously republican, revolutionary furniture, porcelain, objets d'art, and tapestries was designed, made, purchased, and used. There is, in other words, a discursive absence and a material presence to be explained. First the absence.

At first glance, one might think that the explanation for revolutionaries' unusual silence lies in the material conditions of the relevant crafts; perhaps there was just no time to redesign furniture, porcelain, silver, and tapestries, or perhaps no labor or raw materials were available. Why waste time discussing something one cannot change? The wide-ranging debate on architecture, however, particularly monumental architecture, belies that hypothesis. The examples need not be limited to architecture; revolutionary legislators, journalists, and pamphleteers were voluble on a fantastic array of topics concerning republican design and everyday life, whether practicable or not.

A shared characteristic of all of the topics of intensive revolutionary debate was that they could be understood to concern primarily the *public* world, the world outside the home. Revolutionary-era efforts to reform dress and architecture might appear to contradict this generalization, but it was, in fact, the public manifestations of clothing and building that were the focus of discussion. Most famously, the painter Louis David, when responding to the call for designs for republican dress, concentrated his efforts on defining the differences in attire among those holding various public offices.⁴⁴ Discourses on republican clothing had very little to say about how it might influence familial relations, between either wives and husbands or parents and children. And, in contrast to feminist dress-reform efforts of the next century, there was no interest in an increase in individual freedom of movement or practicality. Changes in the regulation and appearance of clothing were intended to promote—at different moments of the Revolution—liberty of choice or collective identification or political values.⁴⁵

Revolutionary-era architectural projects were, similarly—unless they concerned buildings to which the public would have access—preoccupied mainly with the facades, and with the exteriors more generally. Texts did not discuss, again as later ones would, how living in a dwelling in which space was differently allocated or with a different relation to the outside world might help form republican subjects or inculcate a sense of national belonging.⁴⁶ This is not only a textual omission; in the thousands of extant architectural drawings, little attention was paid to conveying a detailed and powerful sense of the experience of the interior of private buildings. The built environment, like clothing, mattered largely insofar as it shaped people's public, collective experience.

It is therefore no accident that the only furnishings actually commissioned by the

⁴⁴ On David's designs, see Hunt, "Symbolic Forms of Political Practice."

⁴⁵ In addition to the above references, see Lynn Hunt, "Freedom of Dress in Revolutionary France," in Sara E. Melzer and Kathryn Norberg, eds., *From the Royal to the Republican Body* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998), 224–250.

⁴⁶ From the later period, see, for example, Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire d'une maison* (Paris, 1873), and César Daly, *L'architecture privée au XIX^e siècle sous Napoléon III* (Paris, 1864).

revolutionary government were for public buildings, ranging from legislative bodies, through schools, city halls, and libraries. The furnishing of citizens' everyday life was of little concern, both because of the liberal separation between a public sphere of state intervention and a private sphere of individual liberty, and because it was not understood to matter politically. The elaboration of a model of a solidaristic public polity resting on a culturally unified private nation would happen gradually over the course of the nineteenth century. The grandchild of the Revolution—the Third Republic—would therefore come to take a great interest in the political and social signification of all of its inhabitants' dwellings.⁴⁷ Despite this lack of official interest in the populace's domestic interiors, however, objects with a clear republican and/or revolutionary theme were, in fact, created and acquired.

Revolutionary-era innovations can be found in all of the arts of the home; from 1789 onward, artisans turned out furniture, decorative plaques, porcelain, pottery, draperies, wallpaper, and knickknacks, either in unornamented indigenous raw materials (emphasizing the principle of equality and patriotism) or decorated with republican symbols, events, and texts.⁴⁸ In the domain of furniture, "republican" design was characterized by solid wood (rather than veneer), indigenous and relatively inexpensive materials (instead of exotic woods and precious stones and metals), and marquetry inlays of Phrygian caps, pikes, and revolutionary texts. Not only did indigenous wood replace imported wood in these pieces, but it was often left in a relatively natural state. While this was no doubt due in part to the constraints posed by wartime austerity, it was coherent with the revolutionaries' valorization of nature. Even if inlay of gemstones or exotic woods or bronzes were too closely associated with court and crown and too costly for the period, the nakedness and humbleness of the wood could have been hidden under paint or colored varnish—neither of which was an expensive technique. In parallel, while carved and turned elements became relatively rare, if present they were used to depict revolutionary scenes and emblems, as can be seen in the chair in Figure 1, whose form is Louis XVI, but which is decorated with the revolutionary symbols of sickles and a sheaf of wheat. This chair was clearly destined for a wealthy consumer eager to show affiliation with the Revolution but not willing to give up luxury to do so; unlike most of the furniture from this epoch, it is crafted from imported mahogany and elegantly upholstered. The enthusiasm of those with means during the revolutionary years for quotidian, domestic reminders of revolutionary principles can also be seen in the cup and saucer in Figure 2. This set was made of fine porcelain, with the surface decoration of the union of the clergy, nobility, and Third Estate painted in gold. The plate shown in Figure 3, by contrast, would have enabled either a modest household to be reminded of and display republican

⁴⁷ On this point, see Auslander, *Taste and Power*, pt. III; Lisa Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market: Envisioning Consumer Society in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001); Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France*.

⁴⁸ For further evidence of these objects, see the holdings of the Musée Carnavalet and the Musée de la Révolution française; they can also be found scattered through other French museums and private collections. See also Colin Jones, "Bourgeois Revolution Revivified: 1789 and Social Change," in Colin Lucas, ed., *Re-writing the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1991), 69–118; Pierre Arizzoli-Clémental et al., *Aux armes et aux arts! Les arts de la Révolution, 1789–1799* (Paris, 1988); George Levitine, ed., *Culture and Revolution: Cultural Ramifications of the French Revolution* (College Park, Md., 1989); Michel Beurdeley, *La France à l'encan 1789–1799: Exode des objets d'art sous la Révolution* (Paris, 1981).



FIGURE 1: Mahogany chair with a motif of a wheat sheaf and two crossed sickles, ca. 1790–1792. Jean-Baptiste Sene (1747–1803). Musée de la Révolution Française, Vizille, France. Photograph by Michèle Bellot. Reproduced by permission of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York.

sentiments or a wealthier one to inhabit a more egalitarian interior. Finally, some of these objects transcended the public/private divide; the fan in Figure 4, for example, which provided the lyrics and music to a revolutionary song on the side



FIGURE 2: Porcelain Cup and Saucer: "Union" or the "Three Orders," 1789. Produced in Limoges. Musée Adrien Dubouche, Limoges, France. Photograph by Guy Gendraud. Reproduced by permission of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York.

held toward the body while the other depicted couples in popular dress, could have been used as a crib sheet in public gatherings and as a visual and tangible reminder of the Revolution within the home.



FIGURE 3: Earthenware plate depicting two crossed tricolor flags holding up the slogan “Vive la liberté,” above which is a crown of laurels. Late eighteenth century. Produced in Nevers. Musée Adrien Dubouché, Limoges, France. Photograph by René-Gabriel Ojéda. Reproduced by permission of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York.

The motivation for the production of these objects—generally anonymous—is difficult to establish with certainty. It is likely, however, given the very high rates of revolutionary participation by artisans in the decorative arts industries, that many

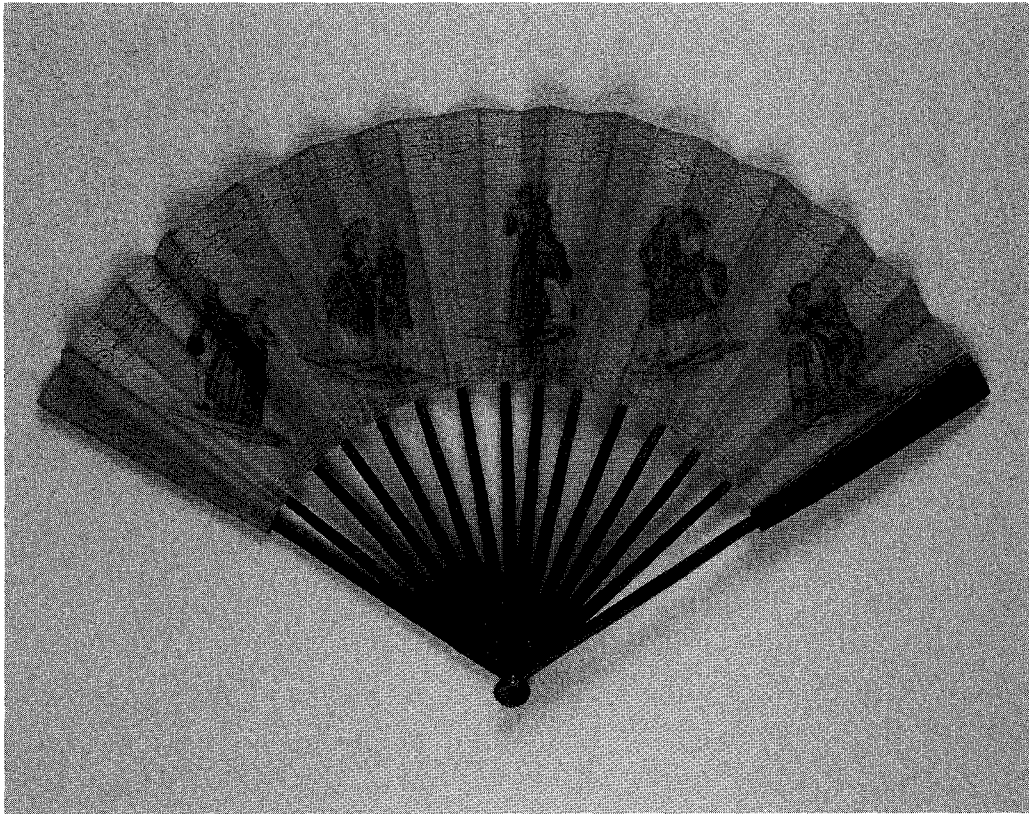


FIGURE 4: Fan of the French Revolution, ca. 1789–1790. Château de Malmaison et Bois-Préau, Rueil-Malmaison, France. Photograph by Gerard Blot. Reproduced by permission of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York.

of these objects reflect the convictions of their makers. Producers did not necessarily have the time or the resources to engage in a thorough redesign of their goods, but they wanted, nonetheless, to make them conform to republican principles. One of the styles they had mastered in the last years of the Old Regime, neoclassicism, was, in its references to the Roman republics and Greek democracies, perfectly compatible with current political views. When those forms were inscribed with revolutionary emblems, they became even more appropriate for politically active producers. Artisans would not, however, have made these goods if no one wanted to buy them. But who would want such things? Although they were far less luxurious than furnishings and decorative items from the late Old Regime or the Directory, the purchase of such durable and encumbering, yet fragile, items in the middle of revolutionary upheaval suggests both means and a very powerful commitment to republican principles. Furniture, porcelain, fans, and wallpaper innocent of explicit political meaning were available, and consumers could have simply continued using their prerevolutionary domestic goods. It would appear, therefore, on the basis of the evidence of material culture that at least some French citizens took the politicization of everyday life further than did those writing revolutionary law and political tracts, making their domestic interiors stylistically compatible with the political moment in which they were participating.

This case demonstrates that the most nuanced and richest account of the symbolic dynamics of the French Revolution will be found by melding the approaches of the historian, the decorative arts historian, and the specialist in material culture. Historians' training in the reading of political treatises and action, knowledge of economic and social transformations, and attentiveness to symbolic manifestations across genres as various as fêtes, songs, and clothing are vital. Equally necessary, however, is the specialist knowledge of individual objects produced by historians of the decorative arts. Finally, those who work in the domain of material culture will lend a concern with embodiment and with the particular work done by each form of the material. A very different moment of transition in French history—between the Occupation and Vichy regimes and the return of republicanism—provides a second example of the relation of the material and the discursive.

ONE OF THE CHALLENGES FACING HISTORIANS OF EUROPEAN JEWRY in the decade following World War II is to understand how survivors who stayed in Europe—particularly those who returned “home,” to polities and societies that had, at minimum, cooperated in their persecution—were able to rebuild their lives. The case of French Jews is particularly striking. French Jews, whether citizens or foreigners, wealthy or poor, religious or secular, had been convinced before the war that their place in France was secure and that the French state would protect them.⁴⁹ That integration into the fabric of French life can be read, in part, from the styles they chose for their literal homes.

Whether bourgeois or poor, modernist or historicist, the homes of Parisian Jews in the immediate prewar period very much resembled the homes of non-Jews of their same class, profession, and neighborhood. Most bourgeois Parisian homes, whether Jewish or not, were furnished largely in the style I have called elsewhere “historicist pastiche.”⁵⁰ For example, the home of Mme Blitz, née Ayoun, at 18, avenue de la République in the 11th arrondissement of Paris, is typical of a certain kind of bourgeois dwelling. Her living room was furnished with a contemporary matched set of upholstered armchairs and sofa, a gaming table, a display cabinet, a set of nesting tables, and a woman's writing desk, all in Louis XV style. The only modernist object was a Lalique vase, and the only non-French items were two Chinese vases and the Oriental carpets. Likewise, M. and Mme Léon Adler's home was almost entirely Old Regime in style, including the engravings on the wall, although they also had a bronze by the Third Republican sculptor and caster Barbedienne, a pair of Empire candlesticks, and one Louis Philippe desk. By

⁴⁹ This section of the essay draws on my ongoing research, some of which has appeared in “Coming Home? Jews in Postwar Paris,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 40, no. 2 (2005): 237–259, and “‘Jewish Taste’? Jews and the Aesthetics of Everyday Life in Paris and Berlin, 1933–1942,” in Rudy Koshar, ed., *Histories of Leisure* (Oxford, 2002), 299–318.

⁵⁰ Leora Auslander, “After the Revolution: Recycling Ancien Régime Style in the Nineteenth Century,” in Bryant T. Ragan and Elizabeth Williams, eds., *Re-creating Authority in Revolutionary France* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1992), 144–174. This conception of national belonging through everyday aesthetics parallels that of Catherine Palmer in “From Theory to Practice: Experiencing the Nation in Everyday Life,” *Journal of Material Culture* 3, no. 2 (1998): 175–199.

contrast, the Azerman household was (with the exception of the maid's room) modernist from floor to ceiling, from the children's room to the salon. Parisians of all classes who, like the Azermans, were engaged in the decorative, fine, or everyday arts as producers, distributors, or consumers tended to express that engagement through modernist interiors. In all cases, Parisian Jews invested affect, time, and money in the creation of domestic interiors that they judged to be appropriate to their profession, their class, and the nation in which they were making their lives.⁵¹

Given this sense of belonging and attachment to their dwellings, the necessity for virtually all Parisian Jews to leave their homes sometime between 1940 and 1944 came as a great shock. Even more stunning to them was French complicity in their persecution. After the liberation of Paris in the summer of 1944, however, despite that complicity, the vast majority of Parisian Jewish returnees sought to come *home* in the strongest sense of that word. They hoped to be reunited with family and friends, and to recuperate their dwellings, their personal possessions, their employment, and in some cases their citizenship. They dreamt of a return to normalcy, of simply picking up their lives where they had left off. Some also hoped for acknowledgment of the injustice of having been persecuted simply for falling into the category of "Jew."

In many ways, their homecoming proved disappointing. Rather than a warm welcome and compensation for wartime injustices, they found their belonging in their homeland (whether native or adopted) questioned, their passports marked with a large red "R," and their literal homes emptied and occupied by others. Most, nonetheless, tried to make a new place for themselves in France. While retracing their route to economic recovery is possible through the tools of social history, it is more difficult to grasp the mechanisms of their psychological and emotional healing. My research on this question in France has suggested to me, very unexpectedly, that an important step in that process was mourning their lost lives through petitioning the provisional government for restitution of the contents of their homes that had been stolen by the German army during the war. Most of these furnishings had been shipped east, but a substantial portion had been abandoned by the Germans as they left Paris during the spring of 1944. In the autumn of that year, the provisional government, faced with immiserated Jewish returnees and goods clearly confiscated from them, created the Service de Restitution des Biens Spoliés (the Office of Restitution of Pillaged Goods, or SRBS) to attempt to reunite these domestic goods with their erstwhile owners. The warehouses and boxcars of unshipped household goods were installed in display rooms. Returnees were notified of the existence of these furnishings and of the procedures for recuperation by a combination of word of mouth, posters, and circulars. In an effort to prevent fraud, returnees (or their representatives) seeking to reclaim goods were asked to write a letter explaining their situation, to submit a precise inventory of the contents of their home at the moment of their departure, and to provide a confirmation from the concierge, owner, or manager of the building that the goods had indeed been confiscated. At the same time, the SRBS made every effort to avoid false hopes. It stated, in the clearest of terms, that unless the dwelling had been pillaged in late

⁵¹ Archives Nationales, Paris, Series AJ 38, carton 5909 for all these dossiers.

spring 1944, the chances of recovery were minimal; the vast majority of goods seized earlier had been shipped east or were otherwise lost.⁵² Those returnees able to establish satisfactory documentation were granted an appointment to visit the display rooms. If the petitioner recognized an item, it was then compared with the previously established inventory; if it was deemed a match, the object was restored (initially as a loan) to its previous owner.⁵³

Petitioners included the rich and the poor, women and men, French and foreign, literate and not, from all neighborhoods of Paris and its suburbs, and they numbered in the thousands. From the fall of 1944 through the winter of 1945, essentially all of the requests for restitution were written by those directly concerned, or their relatives, and, as far as one can tell, without professional or institutional assistance. Some of the letters and their accompanying inventories were grandiloquent, typewritten in elegant French, on good paper (a rarity in wartime Paris), and included elaborated and beautifully descriptive lists of room after room of precious goods. Some of these, like that of the lawyer Nissim Samama, who had lived in the wealthy suburb of Neuilly, included photographs underscoring the extent of their loss. (See Figure 5.) Other inventories, like that shown in Figure 6, described one- or two-room dwellings that doubled as workshops and were written by those whose mastery of French was minimal, whose handwriting was poor, and who had no access to either ink or paper. These returnees compressed their losses into few words, inscribing them in pencil on crumpled, used paper.⁵⁴ The differences in the material and linguistic quality of these documents, as well as of the homes they describe, combined with the equivalence of effort and desire expressed for the return of lost domestic possessions, highlight the shared sense of loss and impulse to re-create those lost homes through narration and depiction across the social spectrum.

The sheer detail of many of these inventories is breathtaking. In February 1944, for example, Bernard Abramovici-Doroy seems to have produced from his hospital bed in Lyon, where he was recovering from his experience as a prisoner of war for three years, a thirty-page handwritten inventory that lists where china, silver, and other things were purchased and in what model.⁵⁵ In parallel, André Chemoul wrote, with the assistance of the concierge, an extraordinarily detailed account of his sister's home. His sister, Edmond-Benjamin Azoulay, had been arrested and deported along with her husband and children on June 16, 1944. The inventory assembled by her brother included a sketch of some of the furniture and a note on the name of the shop in Algiers that had produced the dining room set.⁵⁶ It was not only those who had had many possessions who attempted to conjure them up through illustration; one petitioner had attempted to safeguard the only pieces of

⁵² As historians Annette Wieviorka and Floriane Azoulay have demonstrated, only about 20 percent of the contents of pillaged homes were ever recovered. Wieviorka and Azoulay, *Le Pillage des Appartements et son indemnisation* (Paris, 2000).

⁵³ This is a simplified narrative. Petitioners often went back several times to the showrooms as new goods were displayed. Some attempted to alter their inventories after seeing something that they recognized and had forgotten to note (or that they wanted). The extensive paperwork generated by this process is now stored in the series AJ 38 in the Archives Nationales in Paris.

⁵⁴ For an example of a sketch, see AN 38 AJ 5912, Berno, File no. 286.

⁵⁵ AN 38 AJ 5909.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

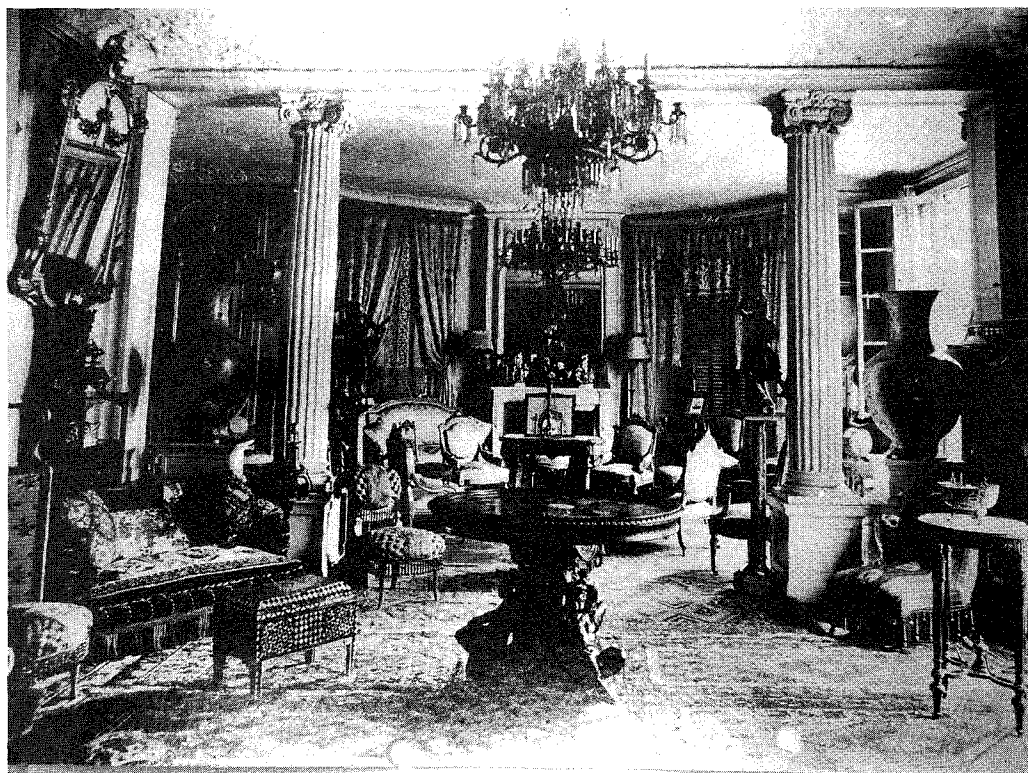


FIGURE 5: Photograph of a salon included in a restitution petition. AN 38 AJ 5923, Archives Nationales, Paris. Photograph by Leora Auslander.

furniture he valued—a pair of sideboards—by entrusting them to a friend. When he returned to find them confiscated, his sole restitution claim was a carefully rendered drawing of his buffets. (See Figure 7.)

Recounting in infinite detail was one strategy of retrieving the memory of stolen things; another was to revisit, room by room, one's home on paper. But even within this mode, there was much variation in the trajectories through the home produced by these narratives. Some authors clearly started at the front door and, either in fact or in their mind's eye, retraced the path they most often took through the apartment or house, recounting all the objects they could remember as they took their real or imaginary walk through their now empty home. Some such accounts group like kinds of objects—all of the furniture, then all of the artwork, then all of the textiles, then all of the contents of the furniture—within each room. Others seem to literally go around a room, listing its contents from floor to ceiling. It is possible that such accounts tended to be produced by refugees whose homes were now standing literally empty and uninhabited and who could take the time to retrace and reimagine everyday trajectories. It is also possible that this was a strategy more often used by those who had lived for a long time in the same dwelling, and whose routines were well-established. In either case, it is a mnemonic strategy that emphasizes the physicality of the dwelling rather than the relationships within it. The dwelling itself determines the ordering of the narrative, and insofar as there is a human author, it seems to be as much the architect as it is the

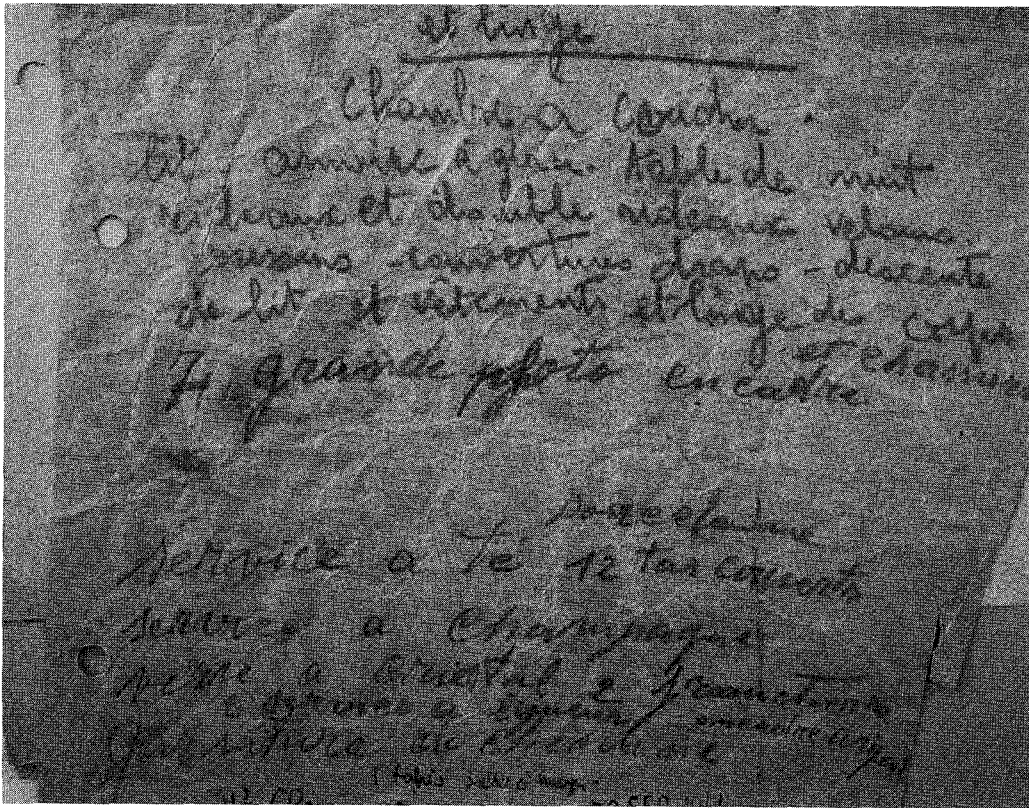


FIGURE 6: Inventory written on scrap included in a restitution petition. AN 38 AJ 5912, Archives Nationales, Paris. Photograph by Leora Auslander.

dispossessed inhabitant. But this kind of narrative, in its tracing of movement through the home, also evokes the repetition in which everyday life is in fact lived. In that evocation of a path trodden several times daily until abruptly it is no longer, one sees the capacity of such a path to be an in some sense all too human memory cue.

A different kind of trajectory, and in fact the more common one, was also organized by room, but seemingly in order of emotional or other priority rather than architectural logic. These narratives are markedly gendered in their ordering. Many of the married women start their accounts in the master bedroom, while many of the married men commence in the dining room. Mme Caracao's inventory, in which she listed the general contents of the master bedroom, second bedroom, study, storage room, and then kitchen (in descending order) on the left-hand side of the paper, while providing more detailed comments about each on the right, provides an example of this mode of remembrance and exposition. (See Figure 8.) Women's greater focus on the bedroom may lie in part in the importance it traditionally played in French dowries. Brides would bring bedroom furniture, particularly the wardrobe, and linens into the household much more often than grooms, while the groom's contribution was more likely to be furniture for the study or dining room. Furthermore, depending on the nature of the marriage contract, the goods the husband and wife each brought into the marriage often remained

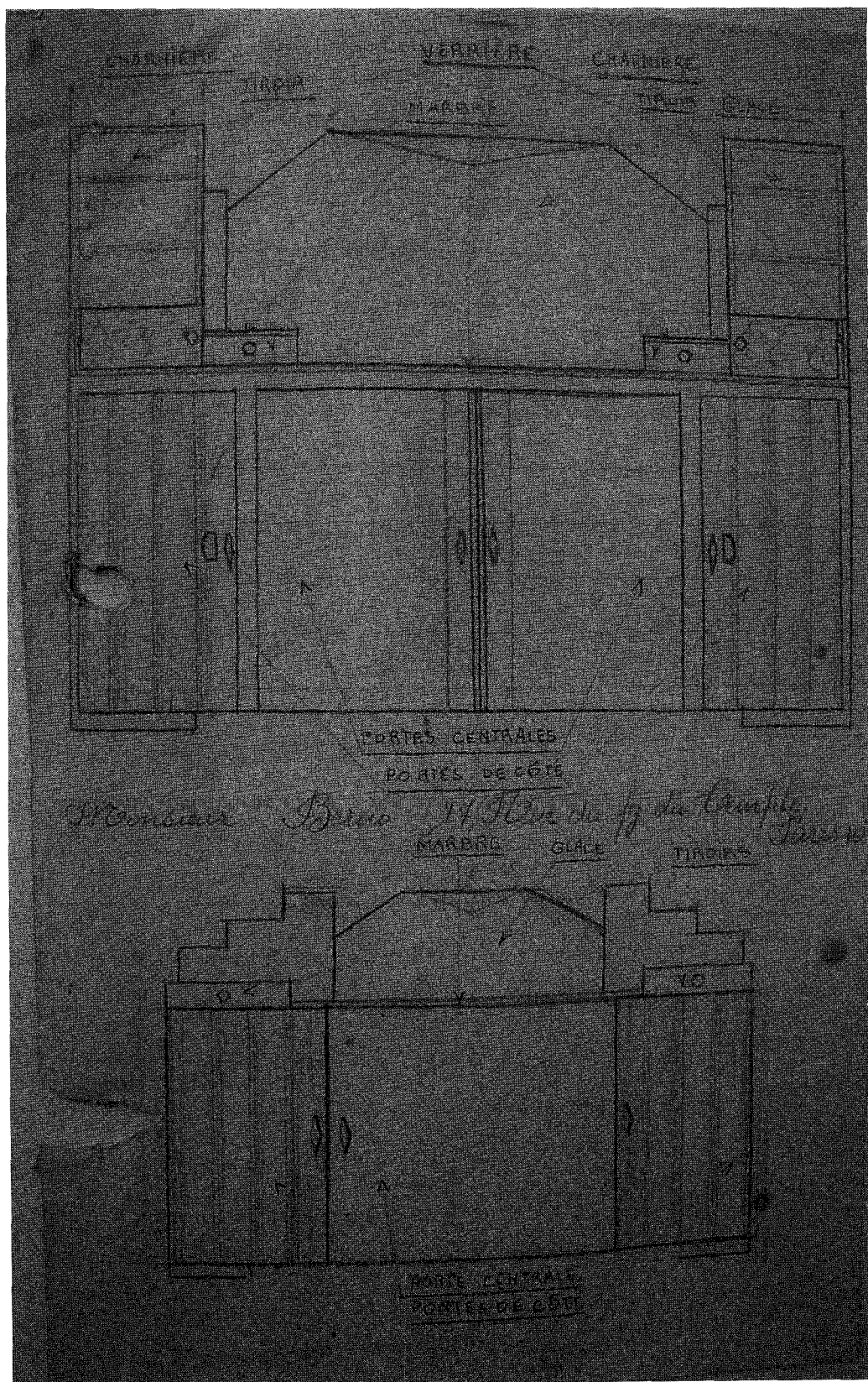


FIGURE 7: Drawing of two sideboards included in a restitution petition. AN 38 AJ 5912, Archives Nationales, Paris. Photograph by Leora Auslander.

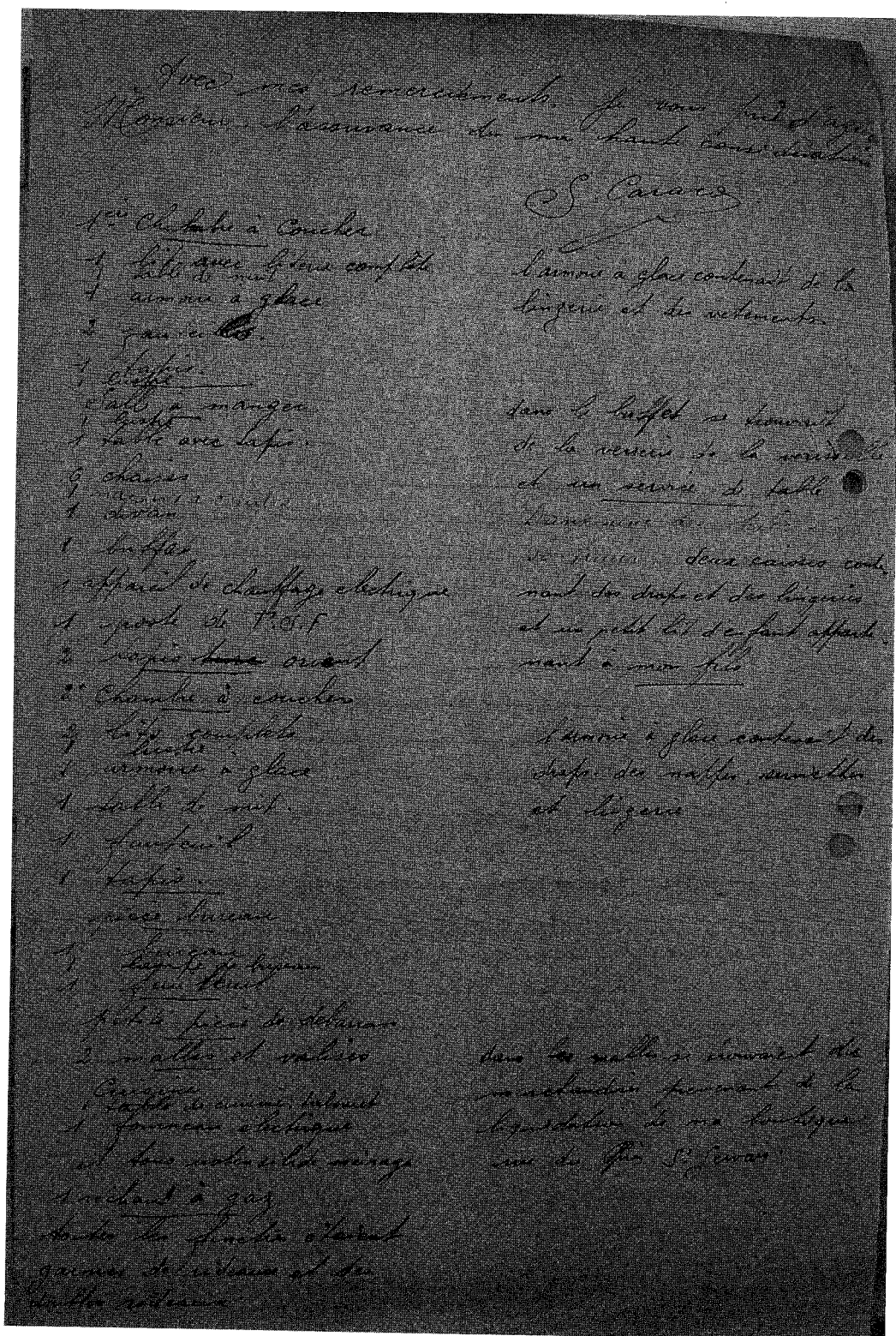


FIGURE 8: Inventory included in a restitution petition. AN 38 AJ 5912, Archives Nationales, Paris. Photograph by Leora Auslander.

legally theirs. The emotional weight of bedrooms may have been increased by the fact that women often embroidered their own linens (stored in the wardrobe) as part of their trousseau, passing hours of their adolescence in that practice in bourgeois families even as late as the 1920s and 1930s. Bedrooms were still often the place both where women gave birth and where the dead were laid out. The fact that the few women listed as single on the inventories tended not to open their reconstruction of their home with the bedroom further underscores its importance as part of a *familial*, rather than individual, construction.

It is possible, however, that men's listing of the dining room before the living room has less to do with their degree of affective connection to the room, and more to do with their sense of privacy. These were, after all, inventories written, at least in the most immediate sense, for the eyes of a state bureaucracy. Given different conventions for the public expression of affectively charged topics, men may have preferred to write, for this public audience, of the most public room in the house. I reached this interpretation after reading Claudine Vegh's introduction to her interviews with adults who as children had lost one or both parents to deportation. She recounts that she was struck by the fact not only that essentially all of her interlocutors chose to conduct the interviews in their homes rather than in a neutral space or in Vegh's apartment, but that they almost always chose to discuss these terribly difficult memories in their bedroom (and not the living or dining room). Almost all also chose to darken the room, only to complain that it was too bright.⁵⁷ It would seem as if both men and women chose the space they found to be the most private, perhaps the most primordial, the most essential to the family, in which to go back to memories of lost parents. Whether the gendered difference in narration was a result of a differing affective charge or a difference in the perception of the appropriateness of public discussion of private matters, it does appear that women's first identification with a space in their home was most often with the bedroom, and men's most often with the dining room.⁵⁸ In neither case does the kitchen, often imagined to be a central site of affect, loom large.

Whether in very large or very small, very rich or very poor dwellings, the kitchen was almost always one of the last rooms to be narrated. The kitchens in working-class households were minimal, often just a corner of a single-room dwelling. Cooking and heating were both accomplished on the same stove. When the kitchen was a separate area, it was a tiny space—a site of production, not sociability. In wealthier homes, kitchens were still occupied almost exclusively by domestic servants and were thus likewise minimal and cramped. One learns from these inventories that in Paris during this period, the significant space connected with food was not where meals were prepared, but where they were consumed.

Dining rooms, therefore, occupy a dominant space in these lists. Married men were most likely to start in the dining room (which also comes first in unmarried women's accounts, but second in most married women's). The dining room and dining room furniture were so important in both men's and women's accounts

⁵⁷ Claudine Vegh, *The ne lui ai pas dit au revoir* (Paris, 1979), 34.

⁵⁸ For a compelling analysis of gendered experiences of objects, see Beverly Gordon, "Intimacy and Objects: A Proxemic Analysis of Gender-Based Response to the Material World," in Katherine Martinez and Kenneth L. Ames, eds., *The Material Culture of Gender, the Gender of Material Culture* (Winterthur, Del., 1997), 237, 252.

because that was the principal room for sociability both between the family and guests and within the family. In dwellings that were too small to have two public rooms, the salon was almost always the room to be omitted; single-room dwellings always included some dining furniture.

These “memory maps” were not mere mnemonic devices, however, and these inventories were not simply a response to the possibility of recovery of stolen goods. Such inventories, although generated as a response to a bureaucratic requirement, rarely, in fact, complied with it. The SRBS asked only for the most basic and factual of information—name, date of petition, date of confiscation if known, current address, address during the war, description of objects lost, and attestation of seizure. It was emphatic that goods taken before late spring of 1944 would not be recovered, and that there was no possibility at the time of reparations or granting of a substitute object. Petitioners refused to be limited by either the specific information requested or the warning. Many inventories are far too vague to be of any use in establishing an *exact* identification of a table, lamp, or sewing machine. Others are very detailed and precise, but not usefully so. It did not really help authorities to know that a bed or a set of china had been a wedding gift from one’s great-aunt forty years earlier; nor was it likely that the jam that had been carefully put up in the winter of 1942 was going to be found among the warehoused goods. And more than half the petitions were filed by those whose goods had been stolen well before the late spring of 1944, and whose chances of recovery were therefore nil. These deviations from the mandate suggest that the motivation in filing these claims was only tangentially the possibility of recovery of their lost goods.

These inventories were established for two other pressing reasons, both having to do with trying to heal psychic wounds—the first specific to the loss of personal goods in a democratic polity and consumer society, the second one more universal. The letters accompanying the inventories, as well as memoirs published in later years, make clear that even those who lost “only” their possessions (and not their lives) under the Vichy regime and Occupation felt betrayed by the French state and French society. By failing to protect the property of its inhabitants, the French state had failed to protect their dignity and humanity. The possession of property was central to both individuation and a public existence in three ways: one political, one social, and the last psychological. In the domain of politics, property had long been defined in the French political tradition as necessary for independent adult existence (one of the justifications for the exclusion of servants and, until later, women from the vote, for example, was that they were propertyless and therefore could not freely exercise their judgment).⁵⁹ The social necessity of property was newer, a product of consumer society. The central definition of consumer society is one in which selves and groups are made as much through the goods a person owns as through the way he or she earns a living.⁶⁰ Consumers choose the furnishings of everyday life—clothing, furniture, jewelry, cutlery, dishware—both to reflect back to themselves and to convey to others the person they think they are (or hope to be). Goods were not, then, merely the expression of a preexisting self, but one of

⁵⁹ Pierre Rosanvallon, *Le Sacre du citoyen: Histoire du suffrage universel en France* (Paris, 1992).

⁶⁰ For an elaboration of this argument and relevant bibliography, see my *Taste and Power* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996), especially the introduction.

the means by which the self was constituted. In a consumer society, therefore, the loss of one's possessions entails the partial loss of self. The recounting of every spoon, sock, doll, book, pot, earring, blanket, and chair in a home, the sketching of the sideboard, the recollection of the color of the curtains, the telling of the maker, the model, and the site of purchase of the wedding china—all was a way of trying to reclaim the materiality of life in the abstraction of prose. It was a work of mourning as much as a claim for restitution.

The letters accompanying these inventories support this reading. They, too, did not simply provide the information required by the state; rather, they were used at least to assert rights and often to rage, sometimes at length, against the state and society that had betrayed their authors. In other words, Parisian Jews used the forum inadvertently offered them by the provisional government to start to mourn the passing of lost lives and to imagine the future. They started the process of narrativizing loss. Some of them continued that process for years, in further restitution and then reparations claims, in memoirs, oral histories, research, and fiction.⁶¹

Any effort to understand the wartime and postwar experience of French (and European) Jews that does not take into account the processes by which they were dispossessed of their things and how they lived that dispossession during and after the war will be but a partial and impoverished history. Thus, the apparent incongruity of using this example in which objects exist only in their dematerialized, narrativized form in an essay attempting to persuade historians of the importance of studying objects is not so incongruous after all. That objects can speak so loudly even when they no longer exist is a clear indication of their importance in human lives and histories.

THE TWO EXAMPLES TOGETHER DEMONSTRATE that historians can learn a great deal both from the objects with which people interact every day and from the insights that other disciplines bring to their study. A study of both the contemporary discourse on material culture and a variety of objects themselves in the period of the French Revolution reveals the complexity of the boundary between public and private and the politicization of both during the revolutionary decade. The evidence suggests that those advocating the transformation of the everyday were both more limited in their ambitions and more persuasive than has been thought. "Ordinary" producers and consumers took the mandate for a republican aesthetic seriously and sought not only to experience it in the street, at festivals, or in government buildings, but to live with it in the intimacy of their homes. It further suggests that assumptions concerning both the coercive politicization of everyday life "from above" and the ubiquity of that politicization are in need of additional research and reflection. The second example demonstrates the capacity of material culture both to provide new perspectives on classic questions and to open new domains to historical analysis. A reading, from the standpoint of material culture, of the texts

⁶¹ For a parallel account of the importance of narrating lost homes, see Bahloul, *La maison de mémoire*, particularly chap. 9.

that historical subjects produced about their things and their homes provides insight into the relationship between Jewish returnees and the French state and society and into the relationship between people and their homes as well as processes of mourning and healing.

Finally, these two examples also demonstrate that historians should not understand ourselves to be simply the consumers of other disciplines' theories, analyses, knowledge base, and techniques. We also have, I would argue, a particular contribution to make to interdisciplinary reflection on material culture. That contribution lies in our discipline's capacity to move among object, theory, and a wide variety of texts. While archaeologists often have objects but not texts, art historians representations but not objects, scholars of literature texts but no objects (and generally only texts of a limited kind), historians most often have access to both text and object as well as the craft skill to read wills, inventories, minutes of committee meetings, and tax returns with as much facility as novels or political treatises. Equally important is our discipline's continued commitment, despite the theoretical and methodological challenges such an effort poses, to the goal of understanding, interpreting, and perhaps even explaining the world beyond the text or the object. A willingness to think abstractly about the universal and particular meanings of things, to think technically and precisely about material culture, and to continue to engage in the textual analysis and archival work that is our stock-in-trade will enable us to provide better answers to existing historical questions and to pose new ones, as well as to contribute to ongoing discussions of the material world.

A final step remains. There is, of course, a paradox embedded within this essay. I have argued that historians should include material culture within our range of canonical sources because people use things differently than words, and because such usages are not fully translatable into words. And yet, not only do words play a key role in both of my examples, but the essay is argued in prose and images (and not in objects). This is, in part, a product of the conventions of our profession and of current technical limits; scholarly journals are still produced on paper. Media with three-dimensional imaging are available, however, and may enter mainstream scholarly usage soon. The existence of these technologies will enable and oblige us to think more clearly about the nature of communication and expression, in both the past and the present, by both the subjects/objects of our analysis and ourselves.

Leora Auslander is Professor of Modern European Social History at the University of Chicago. This essay is a product of her long-standing engagement with the question of the meaning of things and the possibilities of material culture as a source for historians. The cases in the essay are drawn from her two current projects, the first on the place of material culture in the English, American, and French Revolutions (to be published by Berg Press in the coming year) and the second on Jews, material culture, and memory in France and Germany in the interwar and postwar years. Among her previous publications on the topic is *Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France* (Berkeley, 1996).

AHR Forum
**The Debate over the Constitutional
Revolution of 1937**

Introduction

ALAN BRINKLEY

MOST HISTORIANS AND LEGAL SCHOLARS AGREE that a major change in constitutional jurisprudence occurred in the 1930s. For decades before the Great Depression, according to this almost uncontested story, the Court had been resolute in its defense of the doctrine of liberty of contract—a position most clearly articulated by the 1905 *Lochner* decision and sustained ever since. The Court had also been generally, if not consistently, committed to a narrow reading of the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution, exemplified by the *E. C. Knight* decision of 1895. Together, these convictions sustained a constitutional regime that consistently limited the power of the state to intervene in the affairs of the private economy. That regime survived largely unchanged through the first third of the twentieth century and into the early years of the New Deal. By the end of 1936, the Court had struck down a series of legislative efforts by the Roosevelt administration to extend the federal government's role in shaping and regulating economic life. The president and his allies feared that the justices were on the verge of dismantling the New Deal's achievements altogether.

Beginning in 1937, however, the Court appeared conspicuously to change course. Over the next decade and beyond, it dramatically expanded its view of Congress's power over economic activity. The Court also became more active in incorporating new, but far from universal, social and cultural norms into its reading of the Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth Amendment. Although the Warren Court of the 1950s and 1960s is the most renowned example of a modern "liberal" jurisprudence, the changes in the Court were becoming visible more than a decade before Earl Warren became chief justice.

But if there is relatively little disagreement about the timing and significance of this jurisprudential change, there has been considerable debate in recent years over why it happened. This debate came as something of a surprise to many historians, most of whom had long accepted the arguments of Roosevelt's contemporaries and of the first great historians of the New Deal—most notably William E. Leuchten-

burg¹—that there was a reasonably simple, political explanation for the Court's change of course.

In early 1937, shortly after his landslide reelection victory, Franklin Roosevelt introduced to Congress what became known as the "Court-packing plan," which would have permitted the president to nominate a new justice to the Court for every sitting justice over the age of seventy. Since the Court in 1937 was unusually aged, the plan would have allowed Roosevelt to appoint six new members immediately, and thus decisively shift the ideological balance among the justices. The plan created a political firestorm and did considerable damage to the president's standing within his own party and among the public. But according to more than a generation of scholars, it also frightened the justices themselves, at least one of whom, Owen Roberts, appeared to switch positions in response to the growing political pressure and to begin supporting New Deal legislation. Since many of the anti-New Deal decisions of the Court prior to 1937 had been the result of 5–4 decisions, Roberts's shift proved decisive in changing the balance of the justices. This "switch in time," as a columnist allegedly quipped in the 1930s, had "saved nine," dooming Roosevelt's Court-packing plan, but also removing the Court as an obstacle to New Deal legislation.

Over the last decade or so, this comfortable consensus has come under attack, as a group of historians and legal scholars have argued that the Court's changing positions were not a response to Court packing at all, but a natural and understandable evolution of constitutional thinking that began long before 1937 and continued for many years after. The Court did not change because of politics. It changed because of an intellectual evolution within the judicial world itself over the proper relationship between the state and the national economy, evidence of which was the narrow balance of many of its decisions in the 1930s. Roberts's apparent shift in 1937 was a logical continuation of a change in his legal thinking, and the thinking of others, that had been in progress for some time.²

This Forum brings together several of the leading figures in this lively new debate. Laura Kalman, an eminent legal historian, attempts to reconcile the two arguments, while conceding that the truth behind the motivations of Owen Roberts, the key figure in this story, may never be known. William E. Leuchtenburg, the most eminent proponent of the earlier view of a Court responding to political threats, offers a richly documented picture of a Court stubbornly resisting change until the political pressures on it grew nearly intolerable. And G. Edward White, who is among the group of scholars now challenging the traditional "switch in time" position, offers a portrait of a Court struggling to adapt its positions to changing times, but doing so firmly within the boundaries of "the doctrinal and interpretive edifice of constitutional decisions."

What is at stake in this argument? Not, certainly, the question of whether the

¹ William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Supreme Court Reborn: The Constitutional Revolution in the Age of Roosevelt* (New York, 1996).

² See, e.g., Barry Cushman, "Rethinking the New Deal Court," *Virginia Law Review* 80 (1994): 201, 260–261; Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court: The Structure of a Constitutional Revolution* (New York, 1998); Richard Friedman, "Switching Time and Other Thought Experiments: The Hughes Court and Constitutional Transformation," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 142 (1994): 1891–1984; G. Edward White, *The Constitution and the New Deal* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000).

Court changed directions in the 1930s. Virtually all scholars accept that it did. Nor is the central question as simple as whether the shift in judicial thinking in 1937 was sudden or gradual. What drives this debate are more basic questions that have been at the forefront of both political and scholarly debate for generations.

One of these questions involves the role of the judiciary in U.S. history. At almost every moment during the more than two hundred years since the adoption of the Constitution, judges and justices have encountered criticism and, at times, organized opposition from those who believe that they have made political rather than legal judgments and that they have exercised undemocratic power by thwarting the will of the people and their elected leaders. In the first decades of the republic, a movement emerged to strip the power of interpretation from judges by codifying common law—transforming legal principles based on careful reading of precedents into statutes written and enacted by legislatures. “In republics,” one critic wrote in the early nineteenth century, “the very nature of the constitution requires the judges to follow the letter of the law.” Judicial interpretation, another argued, was a violation of “the prerogative of the legislature, for those that made the laws ought to give them meaning when they are doubtful.”³ The codification movement failed, but it was only one of many examples of assaults on what some citizens of the early republic called “judge-made law” as an undemocratic force in American life.

As William Novak has shown, community leaders and local judiciaries through much of the nineteenth century felt almost wholly unconstrained by the federal courts in asserting an extensive local police power over speech, behavior, and economic life in ways that were often at odds with national constitutional norms.⁴ Greenbackers, Knights of Labor, Populists, Socialists, progressives, and many others, all at times expressed dismay at the behavior of the courts, and of the federal courts in particular, denouncing them as bulwarks of conservatism and protectors of the interest of moneyed elites.

The New Deal assault on the Court in 1937—although the most legislatively significant challenge to the institution—was only one of many twentieth-century expressions of unhappiness with the seemingly antidemocratic impact of the judiciary. After World War II, when the Court itself moved to the left, the attacks on the justices began to come primarily from the right, but with similar justifications. Since the 1980s, as the Court—and the judiciary generally—have moved to the right, contempt for the institution has emerged again from the left. These consistent criticisms, running throughout U.S. history, have placed a heavy burden on those who believe in the integrity and necessity of an independent judiciary. They have had to struggle against powerful opposition in their efforts first to legitimize and then to defend the role of the courts.

The debate over the courts has, unsurprisingly, closely paralleled the continuing debate over the meaning of the Constitution. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, in particular, skeptics have challenged the long-held belief that the

³ Morton J. Horwitz, *The Transformation of American Law, 1780–1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), 17–18, 257–258.

⁴ William Novak, *The People's Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996).

Constitution provides a kind of fundamental law for the United States.⁵ Many have come to argue, instead, that the Constitution is little more than an institutional framework for an ever-changing set of legal norms. The law, such critics have argued, is neither pure nor timeless. It is, and has always been, the product of a political process, in which judges are only a part. The legal realists of the 1930s—many of whom became part of the Roosevelt administration and whose ideas Laura Kalman has so successfully illuminated⁶—provided an early intellectual justification for this view. The critical legal theorists of more recent decades have posed even more radical challenges to the traditional notion that the evolution of the law is a largely internal process, insulated from politics and based on constitutional principles and the gradual accumulation of precedent.

But scholarly debates, particularly when they mirror impassioned political debates, often create sharper differences than historical evidence supports. The impressive scholarly arguments presented here most starkly by William Leuchtenburg and G. Edward White are, in fact, not nearly as incompatible with one another as the rhetoric surrounding this issue suggests. The members of the Supreme Court in the 1930s were surely aware of the power of the New Deal and the threat it had raised in 1937 to their power and traditions. The justices certainly knew, and resented, the savage attacks they were receiving from their critics. But that is not itself conclusive evidence that the *West Coast Hotel* decision, or any other decision, can be understood simply as a pragmatic response to political pressure. Similarly, the doctrinal evolution that White describes—like all doctrinal evolutions—did not exist in a vacuum. It represented, as all political and judicial thinking does, an awareness of changing social and political norms. Judicial decisions are almost always a result of both “internal” constitutional principles and “external” social, cultural, and political influences. Stark disagreements in scholarly discourse, much like stark disagreements in popular political discourse, often mask a far more complex reality in which two seemingly opposed positions are in fact more compatible with one another than they seem.

The debate over the so-called constitutional revolution of 1937 is about a great deal more than what Owen Roberts was thinking when he voted in *West Coast Hotel Co. v. Parrish* to support a Washington State minimum wage law, thus signaling a significant departure from the 1905 *Lochner* decision and limiting the power of “freedom of contract” to prevent legislatures from regulating economic behavior.⁷ The so-called internalist argument—that the road to *West Coast Hotel* was paved with a gradual series of prior judicial rulings that made the 1937 decision unsurprising and without need of political explanations—is, intentionally or not, a defense of

⁵ In response to the growing demand from the right in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries for a “literal interpretation” of the Constitution, historians have sought to demonstrate that even among the framers themselves, there were many different interpretations of the document—that there is, in fact, no clear “original intent” to which later generations can usefully refer. See, for example, Jack Rakove, *Original Meanings: Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution* (New York, 1996), and Lance Banning, *The Sacred Fire of Liberty: James Madison and the Founding of the Federal Republic* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995).

⁶ Laura Kalman, *Legal Realism at Yale, 1927–1960* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986).

⁷ Charles Evans Hughes, in his majority opinion arguing that freedom of contract had to compete against other interests, wrote: “What is this freedom? The Constitution does not speak of freedom of contract.” *West Coast Hotel Co. v. Parrish*, 300 U.S. 379 (1937).

a view of the law as a self-regulating process that is not fundamentally shaped by the politics of the moment. The so-called externalist argument—that the “constitutional revolution of 1937” was a product of political pressure from the New Deal, and from the particular threat that the Court-packing plan raised—is, again intentionally or not, part of the long-standing claim that the courts and the law have always been part of the political world, and that the claim of judicial insulation from the hurly-burly of a constantly changing society is a mythological construct with no basis in reality.

Rather than choosing between these two well-developed arguments (a choice that Laura Kalman maintains is virtually impossible to make on the basis of the available evidence), scholars might do better to consider how these seemingly conflicting claims are really two complementary parts of the complex process by which the Constitution is, and has always been, interpreted by the Courts.

Alan Brinkley is the Allan Nevins Professor of History and Provost at Columbia University. He is the author of *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and the Great Depression* (1982), *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War* (1995), and *Liberalism and Its Discontents* (1998).

"SAY! I'M FLYIN' THIS KITE!"



"Say! I'm Flyin' This Kite!" Drawing by unknown artist, originally published in the *Memphis Commercial Appeal* on March 11, 1937. Reproduced courtesy of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

AHR Forum
The Constitution, the Supreme Court, and the New Deal

LAURA KALMAN

The central problem of modern constitutional law is how to reconcile the idea of fundamental law with the modernist insight that meanings are fluid and historically changing.¹

THE “CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION OF 1937” MAKES FOR DRAMATIC LECTURES. According to the abridged story line, first the Court led liberals to hope for the best by upholding state legislation aimed at fighting the Depression in 5–4 opinions in *Blaisdell* and *Nebbia* in 1934. Then it vitiated the National Industrial Recovery Act and the Agricultural Adjustment Act—the centerpieces of the early New Deal—in *Schechter* and *Butler* in 1935–1936, and struck down the Railroad Retirement Act as well in *Alton*. Soon afterward, a bare majority bent on protecting property rights and privileging the market routinely struck down New Deal and state redistributive legislation designed to cope with the Depression. Thus Justice Owen Roberts joined the “conservative” Willis Van Devanter, George Sutherland, Pierce Butler, and James McReynolds to invalidate a state minimum wage law for women and children in the June 1936 *Tipaldo* decision as an unconstitutional violation of the “liberty” interest in the Fourteenth Amendment’s due process clause—just as five justices had struck down a state law establishing a ten-hour day for bakers in the 1905 *Lochner* case and a federal minimum wage statute for women and children in the 1923 *Adkins* case. But suddenly, a year after *Tipaldo*, “it became clear that *Lochner* and progeny were dead or dying.” On March 29, 1937, the justices stupefied many by handing down *West Coast Hotel v. Parrish*, a 5–4 decision by Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, joined by Roberts, overruling *Adkins* and sustaining a state minimum wage statute for women virtually identical to the one invalidated in *Tipaldo*. Although the Court did not overrule *Lochner* in *Parrish*, it began the process of laying “the *Lochnerian* Constitution” to rest, breaking with the liberalism of the Progressive Era and apparently constitutionalizing the New Deal—a process

I am very grateful to Michael Les Benedict, John Blum, Elizabeth Borgwardt, Alan Brinkley, W. Elliot Brownlee, Elizabeth Cafer du Plessis, Gregory Caldeira, Barry Cushman, Daniel Ernst, Barry Friedman, W. Randall Garr, Howard Gillman, Sarah Barringer Gordon, Mark Graber, Michael Grossberg, James Kloppenberg, Pnina Lahav, Sanford Levinson, William Leuchtenburg, Jane Lyle, Serena Mayeri, Donald Powell, P. C. Rowley, John Schlegel, Maxwell Stearns, G. Edward White, Keith Whittington, Rosemarie Zagari, and the anonymous readers for the *AHR* for their help with this essay.

¹ Morton Horowitz, Foreword, “The Constitution of Change: Legal Fundamentality without Fundamentalism,” *Harvard Law Review* 107 (1993): 32–117, 116.

completed by Memorial Day. An amazed Felix Frankfurter said that Roberts's "somersault" bore no relation to the judicial process.²

When did the Court shift and why? In the 1930s, most Court watchers agreed with Frankfurter. They looked to political pressures. They pointed out that *Parrish* was announced five months after Franklin Delano Roosevelt had won his huge victory in 1936, and seven weeks after the president had announced his plan to add one justice to the Supreme Court for each one over the age of seventy who did not retire, up to fifteen justices. Further, two weeks after *Parrish*, Hughes and Roberts joined just three colleagues to uphold the constitutionality of the National Labor Relations Act in *Jones & Laughlin*, a decision that took an expansive view of the commerce clause and national power seemingly at odds with their recent positions in *Carter Coal* and, additionally, for Roberts, in *Alton*. Six weeks later, on May 24, with Roberts again in the majority, the Court upheld the unemployment insurance and old age insurance provisions of Social Security, apparently taking a broader view of the taxing and spending power than Roberts had in *Butler*.³

The cumulative effect was to convince many that Hughes and Roberts had "gone over" to join the three "liberal" justices acceptant of the New Deal. It was the Court, it seemed, that had somersaulted, signaling its willingness to uphold the

² *Home Building & Loan Assn. v. Blaisdell*, 290 U.S. 398 (1934) (upholding the Minnesota Moratorium Law of 1933, which provided for a conditional moratorium on debtors' mortgage payments against a charge that it violated the contracts clause); *Nebbia v. New York*, 291 U.S. 502 (1934) (upholding emergency New York legislation during the Depression that set milk prices against the claim that it violated due process); *A.L.A. Schechter Poultry Corp. v. U.S.*, 295 U.S. 495 (1935) (invalidating the National Industrial Recovery Act because the statute unconstitutionally delegated legislative power to the president, and the poultry code at issue had only an indirect connection to interstate commerce); *U.S. v. Butler*, 297 U.S. 1 (1936) (striking down the processing tax at the heart of the Agricultural Adjustment Act); *Railroad Retirement Board v. Alton Railroad Company*, 295 U.S. 330 (1935) (striking down the Railroad Retirement Act of 1934 as a violation of the Fifth Amendment's due process clause and the commerce clause); Daniel Farber, "Who Killed *Lochner*? The Constitution and the New Deal," *Georgetown Law Journal* 90 (2002): 985–1005, 985 ("progeny"); *Lochner v. New York*, 198 U.S. 45 (1905); *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*, 261 U.S. 525 (1923) (invalidating the District of Columbia's minimum wage for women and children); *Morehead v. New York ex rel. Tipaldo*, 298 U.S. 587 (1936) (applying *Adkins* to strike down a New York minimum wage law for women); *West Coast Hotel v. Parrish*, 300 U.S. 379 (1937) (upholding the Washington State minimum wage law for women); Bruce Ackerman, *We the People: Transformations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), 342 ("*Lochnerian*"); James Henretta, "Charles Evans Hughes and the Strange Death of Liberal America," *Law and History Review* 24 (forthcoming, 2006) (developing the argument about the break with progressivism); Barry Friedman, "The History of the Countermajoritarian Difficulty, Part Four: Law's Politics," *Pennsylvania Law Review* 148 (2000): 971–1064, 1026, n. 247 (Frankfurter). The phrase "constitutionalizing the New Deal," of course, leaves unanswered the questions of what the New Deal and its constitutional vision were. See Colin Gordon, "Rethinking the New Deal," *Columbia Law Review* 98 (1998): 2029–2053, 2033–2036; William Forbath, "The New Deal Constitution in Exile," *Duke Law Journal* 51 (2001): 165–221.

³ *NLRB v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.*, 301 U.S. 1 (1937) (upholding the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, which guaranteed collective bargaining rights to employees producing goods for interstate commerce, and one of a series of cases involving the National Labor Relations Act; the others were *NLRB v. Fruehauf Holding Trailer Co.*, 301 U.S. 49 [1937]; *NLRB v. Friedman-Harry Marks Clothing Co.*, 301 U.S. 58 [1937]; *Associated Press v. NLRB*, 301 U.S. 103 [1937]; *Washington, Virginia & Maryland Coach Co. v. NLRB*, 301 U.S. 142 [1937]; *Carter v. Carter Coal Co.*, 298 U.S. 238 (1936) (striking down the Guffey Coal Act's wage, hours, and price regulation provisions; see especially the majority opinion at 302 insisting that "[m]ining is not interstate commerce, but like manufacturing, is a local business, subject to local regulation and taxation"); *Steward Machine Co. v. Davis*, 301 U.S. 548 (1937) (unemployment insurance); *Helvering v. Davis*, 301 U.S. 619 (1937) (old-age insurance); and see *Carmichael v. Southern Coal & Coke Co.*, 301 U.S. 495 (1937) (upholding an Alabama state unemployment insurance act).

same sweeping national/state economic regulation under the due process clause, the commerce clause, and the taxing and spending power that it had previously invalidated. And this flip-flop drained public and congressional support for Court packing. Indeed, the Court's behavior seemed calculated to undermine that support, since it became harder for FDR to claim that he needed additional justices to protect his program. The Court had engaged in "self-salvation by self-reversal," realizing that if it "balked, the court bill would surely pass." It beat the president "by surrendering to him," particularly after Van Devanter's resignation in May 1937—another step planned by Roosevelt's opponents to defeat Court packing—gave the president his first judicial vacancy. Thus Court packing failed. The tangled skeins of legal doctrine, the New Dealers crowed, in a judgment echoed at the time by political scientists Edward Corwin and Benjamin Wright, had capitulated to political exigency. A "constitutional revolution" had occurred.⁴

But that was hardly the last word. Once on the Court, Frankfurter himself somersaulted. He grew close to Justice Roberts, who wrote a memorandum insisting that he had been unswayed by politics. Roberts maintained that his positions in *Tipaldo* and *Parrish* were actually reconcilable. The Court had not been asked to overrule *Adkins* in the former, as it had been in the latter. Further, he had originally cast his vote in *Parrish* to overturn *Tipaldo* in December 1936, before Roosevelt announced his Court-packing plan; the normal business of the Court delayed announcement of *Parrish* until afterward. Frankfurter published the document when Roberts died in 1955, at a time when the Court was under attack—this time for "liberal" judicial activism, as opposed to the "conservative" judicial activism of the 1935–1936 Court. Frankfurter hoped to prove that his colleague had remained true to "law." Meanwhile, Hughes and his authorized biographer maintained that the chief justice had also demonstrated consistency throughout the controversy, and that "[t]he Court acted with complete independence." Predictably, some found Frankfurter, Roberts, and Hughes unpersuasive, pointing out, for example, that while Roberts did indeed cast his vote in *Parrish* before Roosevelt's announcement of his plan, he did so after the 1936 election. Thus it was that a vigorous debate occurred about the timing of, and reasons for, the Court's behavior.⁵

Instead of dying down, the controversy has, of late, been reignited. Today there is even a shorthand by which those involved in it often identify our position. We are either "externalists" or "internalists." Externalists argue for the importance of politics, making the case that Roberts and Hughes, and therefore the Court,

⁴ Joseph Alsop and Turner Catledge, *The 168 Days* (New York, 1938), 147, 143, 206; Leonard Baker, *Back to Back: The Duel between FDR and the Supreme Court* (New York, 1967), 179 ("defeated"); Edward Corwin, *Constitutional Revolution, Ltd.* (Claremont, Calif., 1941), 12, 64; Benjamin Wright, *The Growth of American Constitutional Law* (New York, 1942), 200–208, 256–258.

⁵ Felix Frankfurter, "Mr. Justice Roberts," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 104 (1955): 311–317; and see Michael Ariens, "A Thrice-Told Tale, or Felix the Cat," *Harvard Law Review* 107 (1994): 620–676, coming close to suggesting that Frankfurter himself wrote the Roberts memorandum, a theory that Richard Friedman has disputed in "A Reaffirmation: The Authenticity of the Roberts Memorandum, or Felix the Non-Forger," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 142 (1994): 1985–1995; Charles Evans Hughes, *The Autobiographical Notes of Charles Evans Hughes*, ed. David Danelski and Joseph Tulchin (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), 313 ("independence"); Merlo Pusey, *Charles Evans Hughes*, 2 vols. (New York, 1951), 2: 766–772; John Chambers, "The Big Switch: Justice Roberts and the Minimum-Wage Cases," *Labor History* 10 (1969): 44–73.

dramatically changed course during the “constitutional revolution of 1937” because of the threat posed by the 1936 election and/or the Court-packing plan. Internalists highlight the primacy of law over politics, pointing to doctrinal changes that began well before 1937 and continued afterward, to say that there were plausible intellectual reasons for the Court’s journey and that no sudden shift took place.

In this article, I explore the debate’s recent history. To make the case for the desirability of interdisciplinary scholarship, and despite the risk of reifying disciplinary boundaries, I stress how participants’ disciplinary homes affect their contentions. First I consider the case made by externalist political historians for the Court’s “switch” under political pressure. Then I show how constitutional law professors and the Supreme Court itself became increasingly interested in the Court-packing episode and its significance during the 1980s and 1990s. Next I examine the internalist case made by historians in law schools during the 1990s. I then maintain that internalists, externalists, and law professors ignored evidence from political science casting Court packing in a different light. I conclude that the “externalist” and “internalist” categories are useless and intertwined and do not describe our approaches, and that we should adopt the standard postrevisionist tactic of aiming for synthesis.

BY THE 1980s, THE DEBATE ABOUT whether “law” or “politics” caused what happened on the Court was losing steam. Despite Paul Murphy’s insistence on the timeliness of reclaiming it, constitutional history was as unfashionable as its sibling political history. Insofar as there was interest in the Court, the focus was on the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era. Historians demonstrated that the justices whom Charles Beard and other Progressives had vilified as the willing servants of the rich were in fact defending older U.S. constitutional values of individualism, liberty, economic opportunity, state neutrality, federalism, and free labor. Like Charles Warren before them, they stressed that *Lochner* was the exception rather than the rule, and that the “old Court” Progressives so despised had actually upheld a great deal of regulation. But revisionists left the New Deal alone.⁶

⁶ Paul Murphy, “Time to Reclaim: The Current Challenge of American Constitutional History,” *AHR* 69 (October 1963): 64–79. Early revisionists included Alan Jones, Charles McCurdy, and Michael Les Benedict. Alan Jones, “Thomas M. Cooley and the Interstate Commerce Commission: Continuity and Change in the Doctrine of Equal Rights,” *Political Science Quarterly* 81 (1966): 602–627; “Thomas M. Cooley and the Michigan Supreme Court, 1865–1885,” *American Journal of Legal History* 10 (1966): 97–121; “Thomas M. Cooley and ‘Laissez-Faire Constitutionalism’: A Reconsideration,” *Journal of American History* 53 (1967): 751–771; Charles McCurdy, “Justice Field and the Jurisprudence of Government-Business Relations: Some Parameters of Laissez-Faire Constitutionalism, 1863–1897,” *Journal of American History* 61 (1976): 970–1005; “American Law and the Marketing Structure of the Large Corporation, 1875–1890,” *Journal of Economic History* 38 (1978): 631–649; “The Knight Sugar Decision of 1895 and the Modernization of American Corporation Law, 1869–1903,” *Business History Review* 53 (1979): 304–342; Michael Les Benedict, “Laissez-Faire and Liberty: A Re-evaluation of the Meaning and Origins of Laissez-Faire Constitutionalism,” *Law and History Review* 3 (1985): 293–331. For Warren, see William Novak, “The Legal Origins of the Modern American State,” in Austin Sarat, Bryant Garth, and Robert Kagan, eds., *Looking Back at Law’s Century* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2002), 249–283, 262; for *Lochner* as an exception, see John Semoneche, *Charting the Future: The Supreme Court Responds to a Changing Society, 1890–1920* (Westport, Conn., 1978), 181, 429–430, 434; Melvin Urofsky, “Myth and Reality: The Supreme Court and Protective Legislation in the Progressive Era—A Reinterpretation,” 1983 *Yearbook of the Supreme Court Historical Society*, 53–72; and Urofsky, “State

At this point, most historians of the Constitution and the New Deal probably agreed that the Court had changed course quite suddenly in 1937 because of political pressure. William Leuchtenburg had convinced us that such was the case. In a dazzling series of essays based on exhaustive research in the most out-of-the-way archives, Leuchtenburg showed how the battle lines between FDR and the Court hardened before the 1936 election; the long gestation of the Court-packing plan; why FDR did not confront the Court sooner; why, when he did, he launched a disingenuous and frontal attack, initially requesting additional justices to help the Court handle its overcrowded docket, rather than because the Court was overturning the New Deal, and instead of a constitutional amendment limiting judicial power; how FDR ingeniously paved the way for a compromise plan that would have permitted the appointment of new justices just when his fortunes were lowest; and the consequences of the failure of Court packing.⁷

While the president lost the skirmish with the Court, he won the battle. The election of 1936 may have played a role. After reviewing Van Devanter's papers, Leuchtenburg was convinced that "he and men like him seriously thought a Republican victory possible in 1936," and although FDR stayed silent about the Court during the 1936 campaign, others did not. But the real threat, in Leuchtenburg's view, came after the election. In 1970, Leuchtenburg said that the Court, led by Chief Justice Hughes, "a very adroit politician and also a man with a sense of the need to preserve the integrity of the Court as an institution," beat "a strategic retreat . . . largely in response to the Court-packing plan." The result was the Court's "astonishing about-face" and the "constitutional revolution of 1937," which

Courts and Protective Legislation in the Progressive Era," *Journal of American History* 72 (1985): 63–91. For excellent surveys of this literature, which discusses later revisionist work as well, see William Wiecek, *The Lost World of Classical Legal Thought: Law and Ideology in America 1886–1937* (New York, 1998), 254–270; Gary Rowe, "The Legacy of *Lochner*: *Lochner* Revisionism Revisited," *Law & Social Inquiry* 24 (1999): 221–252; Barry Friedman, "The History of the Countermajoritarian Difficulty, Part Three: The Lesson of *Lochner*," *New York University Law Review* 76 (2001): 1383–1455; Stephen Siegel, "The Revision Thickens," *Law and History Review* 20 (2002): 631–637.

⁷ The most important of these were Leuchtenburg, "The Origins of Franklin D. Roosevelt's 'Court-Packing' Plan," *The Supreme Court Review*, 1966, 347–399; Leuchtenburg, "FDR's 'Court-Packing' Plan," in Harold Hollingsworth and William Holmes, eds., *Essays on the New Deal* (Austin, Tex., 1969), 69–115; and Leuchtenburg, "FDR's Court-Packing Plan: A Second Life, a Second Death," *Duke Law Journal* 1985 (1985): 673–689. Versions of these essays were included in Leuchtenburg, *The Supreme Court Reborn: The Constitutional Revolution in the Age of Roosevelt* (New York, 1995). Michael Parrish provided an excellent survey of the earlier literature about Court packing in history and political science, while noting the tendency of revisionist political historians of the New Deal to ignore it, in "The Hughes Court, the Great Depression, and the Historians," *The Historian* 40 (1977): 286–308. Parrish himself made the case for a "constitutional revolution of 1937," while also crediting the Hughes Court with important advances in civil liberties and civil rights, in "The Great Depression, the New Deal, and the American Legal Order," *Washington Law Review* 59 (1984): 723–750, 728–735. Parrish has reevaluated the evidence more recently in light of the internalist evidence in *The Hughes Court: Justices, Rulings, and Legacy* (Santa Barbara, Calif., 2002). He suggests that the Court-packing plan and "external" political events, such as "rising Democratic majorities in Congress, Roosevelt's decisive reelection, [and] mounting evidence of real class warfare," including the sit-down strikes of December 1936–1937, may have influenced the Court's 1937 decisions, while maintaining that neither Hughes nor Roberts engaged in "a dramatic jurisprudential leap. The evidence is considerably stronger in this regard for Hughes than for Roberts, but the behavior of both justices remains something of a mystery." *Ibid.*, 178–179, 183, 38. In the disagreement over the Hughes Court, its expansion of civil liberties and civil rights is not in contention. See, e.g., Leuchtenburg, *The Supreme Court Reborn*, 245–252; Barry Cushman, "The Secret Lives of the Four Horsemen," *Virginia Law Review* 83 (1997): 559–584; Parrish, *The Hughes Court*, 128, 177.

transformed the Court's business, "ended, apparently forever, the reign of laissez faire," and legitimated the arrival of "the Leviathan State."⁸

Yet although the battle was won, the war was lost. As Leuchtenburg also demonstrated, Court packing divided Democrats and undermined middle-class and bipartisan support for the New Deal. It shattered FDR's aura of invincibility, helped "blunt the most important drive for social reform in American history," and "squandered" the president's 1936 triumph by welding together a coalition of conservative Southern Democrats and Republicans that blocked reform in Congress until 1964.⁹

These essays appeared between the late 1960s and the mid-1980s as offshoots of Leuchtenburg's two-volume constitutional history of the 1930s in progress. In 1995, he collected them in *The Supreme Court Reborn: The Constitutional Revolution in the Age of Roosevelt*. Among historians, the timing was good. Political history was just beginning to rebound.¹⁰ The emphases on ideology, thought, institutions, language, politics, and culture in the profession proved more compatible with political history than social history had been. Most of Leuchtenburg's fellow twentieth-century political historians, such as Alan Brinkley, were inclined to accept his conclusions. Their books, textbooks, and biographies have continued to maintain that the Court prudently shifted its "ideological ground" under pressure.¹¹ Historians in law schools reacted more skeptically.

BY THIS TIME, LEGAL HISTORY IN LAW SCHOOLS had expanded to include constitutional history. G. Edward White and others like him, who had received their Ph.D.s in history or American Studies and gone to law school as the job market for historians collapsed, had revived American legal history when they became law professors.

⁸ William Leuchtenburg, "The Great Depression and the New Deal," reprinted in Leuchtenburg, *The FDR Years: On Roosevelt and His Legacy* (New York, 1995), 208–235, 222–223 (Van Devanter, "adroit," "strategic"); Leuchtenburg, *The Supreme Court Reborn*, 216, 235–236.

⁹ Leuchtenburg, *The Supreme Court Reborn*, 157.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, ix. See Mark Leff, "Revisioning U.S. Political History," *AHR* 100 (June 1995): 829–853. One indicator of the rebound was a 1995 OAH panel on the fortunes of political history, organized by Steven Gillon, in which Brinkley, Elizabeth Cohen, Sara Evans, Leuchtenburg, James Patterson, and I participated. The room was full. One had the feeling that political historians were celebrating our return from the wilderness. "Scholars Pack Historians' Meeting," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, April 14, 1995. But only Leuchtenburg and I showed any interest in Court packing. Consequently, I disagree with G. Edward White, who suggests that externalists' defensiveness is a function of both the rise of "revisionist work in constitutional jurisprudence and the disaffection of current political historians with mainstream versions of the conventional account." G. Edward White, *The Constitution and the New Deal* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), 22. The point is not that contemporary political historians lack interest in *mainstream* versions of the account. It is that they lack interest in the constitutional account, whether "mainstream" or "internalist," because "mainstreamers" and "internalists" have been so busy lobbying criticisms at each other that we have not taken the time to try to convince political historians of the relevance of New Deal constitutional history for their work.

¹¹ Roger Corley, "Was There a Constitutional Revolution in 1937?" in Stephen Shaw, William Pederson, and Frank Williams, eds., *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Transformation of the Supreme Court* (Armonk, N.Y., 2004), 36–59, 36. See, e.g., David Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War* (New York, 1999) ("ideological ground"), 337 ("ideological pressure"); Alan Brinkley, *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War* (New York, 1995), 19; James Davidson, William Gienapp, Christine Heyrman, Mark Lytle, and Michael Stoff, *Nation of Nations: A Narrative History of the American Republic* (New York, 2001), 844; Conrad Black, *Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Champion of Freedom* (New York, 2003), 413.

Most such individuals originally stayed away from constitutional history, perhaps because constitutional scholarship in the 1970s was “relentlessly ahistorical,” and perhaps because, except during Watergate, constitutional history had joined political history in the dumpster. Legal historians were having enough trouble making their own field less marginal without teaching constitutional history, which would have been dismissed as irrelevant and old-fashioned. Most historians who landed in law schools wrote about private law.¹²

But in the 1980s, there was a resurgence of interest in history in the academy. “Interdisciplinarity” became a buzzword in law schools, with history seen as indispensable to constitutional scholarship. For one example, Bruce Ackerman turned from political philosophy to constitutional law in the 1980s and drew upon history to advocate a theory of popular sovereignty, which allegedly empowered a mobilized “we the people” to engage in creative “higher lawmaking” during the Founding, Reconstruction, and the New Deal, and which had the practical effect of amending the Constitution. In such “constitutional moments,” Ackerman said, the judiciary fulfilled the function that Alexander Hamilton envisioned for it in *Federalist* 78 by serving as the voice of the people.¹³

Such work reflected constitutional scholars’ sense that their field had reached a dead end for which history offered a fix. For liberals, it also arguably reflected an effort to fight the fire of the Reagan administration’s politically conservative celebration of original intent with fire—or liberal originalism.¹⁴ It all meant that legal history could no longer be relegated to the children’s table in law schools, and constitutional history got to sit with the grownups, too.

Another key moment occurred in 1992, when the Supreme Court handed down *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, which reaffirmed the constitutional right to abortion upheld in *Roe v. Wade*. The joint opinion by Justices Sandra Day O’Connor, David Souter, and Anthony Kennedy and the dissents by Chief Justice William Rehnquist and Justice Antonin Scalia addressed the “lessons” of “1937.” All the Reagan-Bush appointees had obviously thought about the “constitutional revolution of 1937” and, like Leuchtenburg, concluded that the Court had changed direction because of political pressure and to save itself as an institution. And all seemed emphatically grateful that their New Deal predecessors had “switched.”¹⁵

That was not to say that the Rehnquist Court endorsed the New Deal agenda or

¹² G. Edward White, “Cabining the Constitutional History of the New Deal in Time,” *Michigan Law Review* 94 (1996): 1392–1421, 1394, n. 6 (marginalization); White, “The Arrival of History in Constitutional Scholarship,” *Virginia Law Review* 88 (2002): 485–632, 560 (“relentlessly”). White links the ahistorical nature of constitutional scholarship during this period to the triumph of modernism during the 1930s, *ibid.*, 558–570; I discuss the approach of the legal academy to history during this period in Kalman, *The Strange Career of Legal Liberalism* (New Haven, Conn., 1996), 68–77. See also Harry Scheiber, “Introduction: The Bicentennial and the Rediscovery of American Constitutional History,” *Journal of American History* 74 (1987): 667–674. While White has shown interest in constitutional thought, law, and judging throughout his career, he wrote at length about private law at the beginning. G. Edward White, *Tort Law in America: An Intellectual History* (New York, 1980).

¹³ Bruce Ackerman, *Social Justice in the Liberal State* (New Haven, Conn., 1980); Ackerman, “The Storrs Lecture: Discovering the Constitution,” *Yale Law Journal* 93 (1984): 1013–1072. I discuss Ackerman’s intellectual journey throughout Kalman, *The Strange Career of Legal Liberalism*.

¹⁴ For my version of this story, see Kalman, *The Strange Career of Legal Liberalism*, 132–163; for White’s, see “The Arrival of History in Constitutional Scholarship,” 570–614.

¹⁵ *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, 505 U.S. 833, 862, 961–962, 998 (1992); *Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113 (1973).

a broad vision of constitutional change. Simultaneously and suddenly, it struck a blow for federalism. In 1995, in *U.S. v. Lopez*, and for the first time since “1937,” the Court stunned many by invalidating the Gun-Free School Zones Act on the grounds that Congress had exceeded its power under the commerce clause. The decision augured poorly for Congress and the regulatory state. The Supreme Court struck down twenty-three congressional statutes in the next five years in a “constitutional counterrevolution” that, at least in terms of the number of times the battle was joined, proved more vigorous than that launched by any other Court over a comparable period. “All of the sudden, the talk *among progressives* is of complaints about judicial supremacy and the hegemony of the Supreme Court,” one progressive law professor noted. It was “the early 1900s all over again, and one might as well forget that the Warren Court happened in the middle.” Progressives became even more alarmed in 1995, when Judge Douglas Ginsburg of the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals spoke wistfully of restoring “the Constitution in Exile” that had existed before the Supreme Court constitutionalized the federal and state regulatory legislation of the New Deal. Consequently, the legacy of the New Deal came under attack by the Court at just the moment that the Court signaled its interest in constitutional change during the New Deal.¹⁶

So New Deal scholarship became hot in the early 1990s—not just for political historians, but for constitutional law scholars, too. But as one of the latter said, the externalist approach seemed “too historically contingent.” Did law professors really want to believe that the big questions could be “answered primarily by what Owen Roberts was thinking in 1937”? Perhaps not, but the *Casey* opinions showed that “1937” had become a parable for those who sought to make claims about the relationship between law and politics. Where Leuchtenburg had focused on their interrelationship during the New Deal, some would extrapolate, using the evidence about the Court’s behavior during the 1930s as a building block toward the argument that it always acted politically. At such charged moments, revisionist historians who challenge the consensus often receive considerable attention. Thus it was that 1937 became “a battleground.”¹⁷

¹⁶ *New York v. U.S.*, 505 U.S. 144 (1992) (ruling that certain provisions of the Low-Level Radioactive Waste Policy Amendments, enacted by Congress to rationalize radioactive waste disposal, exceeded congressional power and violated the Tenth Amendment); *U.S. v. Lopez*, 413 U.S. 549 (1995); Neal Devins, “Congress as Culprit: How Lawmakers Spurred On the Court’s Anti-Congress Crusade,” *Duke Law Journal* 51 (2001): 435–464, 440 (“counterrevolution”); Thomas Keck, *The Most Activist Supreme Court in History: The Road to Modern Judicial Conservatism* (Chicago, 2004), 40, 203–208; Barry Friedman, “The Cycles of Constitutional Theory,” *Law and Contemporary Problems* 67 (2004): 149–174, 162 (“All” [emphasis in the original], “early”); Jeffrey Rosen, “The Unregulated Offensive,” *New York Times*, April 17, 2005, sec. 6, col. 1, 42 (“Constitution in exile” movement); see also Randy Barnett, *Restoring the Lost Constitution: The Presumption of Liberty* (Princeton, N.J., 2004). Of course, there were also progressive “shadow constitutions or constitutions-in-exile.” Mark Graber, “Rethinking Equal Protection in Dark Times,” *University of Pennsylvania Journal of Constitutional Law* 4 (2002): 314–339, 334; Forbath, “The New Deal Constitution in Exile”; Mark Tushnet, *Taking the Constitution Away from the Courts* (Princeton, N.J., 1999); Larry Kramer, *The People Themselves: Popular Constitutionalism and Judicial Review* (New York, 2004).

¹⁷ Friedman, “The History of the Countermajoritarian Difficulty, Part Four,” 1048, 972; and see Morton Horwitz, address at the 1998 Association of American Law Schools Annual Meeting, Law & Interpretation: “Interpreting ‘1937,’” January 1998, tape 182.

THE TURN TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE NEW DEAL by historians teaching in law schools became apparent in 1994, when the University of Virginia held a symposium on the topic. It showcased the work of Barry Cushman, a thirty-four-year-old Virginia J.D.-Ph.D. His dissertation director had been Charles McCurdy, one of the few in a history department who had continued writing constitutional history during its lean years and whose work challenged the Progressive understanding of the Gilded Age Supreme Court as the agent of the trusts, while underlining how attorneys for big business had nonetheless manipulated the Court to their advantage. Cushman had not chosen his dissertation to be trendy. In fact, he had originally set out to write about the constitutional culture of the 1920s. But the developments described here may have helped to create interest in Cushman's work, which argued for the same kind of investigation of ideology and the "internal component" of the New Deal cases that revisionists had undertaken of the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era. "The initial conceptualization of the 1937 decisions in externalist terms—as a political response to political pressures—has deflected scholars from inquiring into the plausibility of an internal component to a more comprehensive explanation of the New Deal Court's behavior," Cushman maintained. He criticized "externalist[s]," such as Leuchtenburg, for "substitut[ing] the language of political science for the legal language in which the Justices discussed these issues" and reducing "constitutional jurisprudence to a political football."¹⁸

Cushman blamed "our stalled and impoverished understanding of the New Deal Court" on externalists who attributed it to the 1936 election and/or to Court packing. Instead of laying out a full alternative explanation, he launched a detailed challenge against "anachronistically unsophisticated" externalism. "For the past fifty years, we have heard reiterated a constitutional bedtime story with a happy ending for New Deal liberals," he concluded. "Unfortunately, it has put us to sleep."¹⁹

Those were fighting words. Responding, Leuchtenburg charged in *The Supreme Court Reborn* that Cushman had "contemptuously dismissed the conclusion of two generations of scholars." And, he said, Cushman "reached that judgment without the benefit of any original research in the papers of the Justices, . . . without scrutinizing most of the cases of the era and, in particular, without coping with the arguments of Justices such as Stone who had no doubt" that the Court had suddenly switched direction.²⁰

Leuchtenburg and Cushman would write about each other's work more respectfully later, but in the meantime, others poured oil on the flames. I entered the fray with a four-page footnote hailing Leuchtenburg's narrative and characterizing Cushman's as "unpersuasive." Then G. Edward White, a University of Virginia Law School legal and constitutional historian, published a review of *The Supreme Court Reborn* contending that Leuchtenburg provided "a conventional, traditionalist

¹⁸ Barry Cushman, "Rethinking the New Deal Court," *Virginia Law Review* 80 (1994): 201–261, 205–206, 257; Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court: The Structure of a Constitutional Revolution* (New York, 1998) (1920s).

¹⁹ Cushman, "Rethinking the New Deal Court," 208, 261.

²⁰ Leuchtenburg, *The Supreme Court Reborn*, 317–318, n. 95.

view” that did not even attempt “the task of any new history, that of cabining a historical era in time.”²¹

The full statement of what would be considered the “internalist” case—despite the fact that it was not completely “internalist”—came in 1998, with publication of Cushman’s revised dissertation, *Rethinking the New Deal Court: The Structure of a Constitutional Revolution*. It turned out that Cushman had done a great deal of research indeed. He argued that the “constitutional revolution” began not in 1937 but in 1934, in *Nebbia v. New York*. Central to Roberts’s 5–4 opinion for the majority, there was a rejection of the “public/private distinction,” which had characterized classical legal thought since the 1870s, with law supposedly relegated to the public sphere, and the Court insisting that the state could regulate private property only when it was “affected with the public interest.” Roberts abandoned the “affected with the public interest” doctrine in *Nebbia*, announcing that regulations of private property would violate due process only if they were arbitrary or discriminatory. He pulled the doctrinal thread that eventually unraveled the old jurisprudence in *Parrish*. Using battle metaphors, Cushman concluded: “The empire of substantive due process was already in a state of collapse when the *Parrish* decision officially lowered the flag over its last colony.”²²

What was more, Cushman said, the Social Security cases, which were handed down in May when “backing for the Court-packing plan was at its ebb,” were easy and marked no real reversal in taxing and spending power jurisprudence. Some of the supposedly most conservative justices approved of the unemployment insurance provisions of the Social Security Act. In his dissent, Justice Sutherland, joined by Justice Van Devanter, objected “only to certain easily correctable provisions of the Act.” Sutherland and Van Devanter were part of the seven-person majority voting to uphold the act’s old-age provisions. *Jones & Laughlin*, too, was consistent with what had gone before. The real transformation in commerce clause doctrine, according to Cushman, did not come until FDR put new justices on the Court who decided *Darby* and *Wickard* in the early 1940s. Here was the “jurisprudential Rubicon”: small wonder that the Court upheld every economic regulation enacted pursuant to the commerce clause until *Lopez*. Thus the three externalist landmarks of 1937—*Parrish*, *Jones & Laughlin*, and the Social Security cases—were no milestones. The “constitutional revolution of 1937” was an act of doctrinal evolution occurring between 1934 and 1942.²³

Neither FDR’s 1936 triumph nor Court packing had much to do with this evolution. The Court had gutted New Deal legislation after “the Democrats’

²¹ Kalman, “Law, Politics, and the New Deal(s),” *Yale Law Journal* 108 (1999): 2165–2213, 2165–2166, n. 3 (Leuchtenburg and Cushman’s subsequent discussions of each other’s work); Kalman, *The Strange Career of Legal Liberalism*, 348–351, n. 70; White, “Cabining the Constitutional History of the New Deal in Time,” 1392.

²² The book won the AHA’s Littleton-Griswold Prize.

²³ Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 22, 20, 217; *U.S. v. Darby*, 312 U.S. 100 (1941) (upholding the application of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which provided wages and hours regulation for all employees in industries involving products shipped in interstate commerce, to the hours and wages of workers in a Georgia lumberyard, whose operations were exclusively intrastate, and overruling *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, 247 U.S. 251 [1918]); *Wickard v. Filburn*, 317 U.S. 111 (1942) (upholding the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 against the challenge that federal power to regulate commerce did not extend to a farmer who produced and consumed wheat he never marketed). See note 28 for discussion of Cushman’s analysis of *Jones & Laughlin*.

spectacular success in 1934.” Why would Roosevelt’s landslide have changed the Court’s behavior? Law moved the Court. Cushman blamed the Court’s 1935–1936 decisions on the fact that, unlike the 1935 legislation that the Court upheld in 1937, the early New Deal statutes were badly drafted, and the government chose bad test cases and argued them poorly.²⁴

Fear of Court packing could not have explained the Court’s actions in 1937 any more than the election did, according to Cushman. Despite the timing of their announcement, the 1937 decisions that externalists fetishized were reached either before FDR announced his Court-packing plan, in which case Court packing could not have caused them, or after it became clear that Congress would not sustain it. According to Cushman, the justices knew by late February “that the opposition had the votes to sustain a successful filibuster, if not to defeat the bill outright.” If true, this might have persuaded some that the justices were anything but inattentive to politics and congressional tea leaves. But for Cushman, it supported the conclusion that since the justices had “ample reason” to doubt FDR’s success, the Court-packing plan was “unlikely to have been the proximate cause of the Constitutional Revolution of 1937,” which was not a constitutional revolution anyway. The externalist hypotheses about 1936 and Court packing, he insisted, were as implausible as the theory “that the Court decided cases the way it did . . . because the Yankees won the 1936 World Series.”

Thus Cushman brilliantly poked holes in the externalist hypothesis. He said that the Court’s regulatory decisions were more complicated and the jurisprudential changes more subtle than the externalists maintained. And in a surprising twist, while criticizing the externalists for equating law with politics, Cushman maintained that politics helped explain the Court’s behavior. Ultimately, his explanation for jurisprudential change focused on Hoover’s appointment of Roberts, Hughes, and Benjamin Cardozo and FDR’s eight appointments to the Court, who transformed commerce clause jurisprudence after the Court-packing crisis ended. So, Cushman concluded, ironically, the Supreme Court *had* followed election returns and law followed politics, just not the way externalists claimed.²⁵

CUSHMAN HAD COMPANY. BEGINNING IN 1994, Richard Friedman, a University of Michigan law professor whose Oxford dissertation had focused on Hughes’s chief justiceship, also called “the constitutional revolution of 1937” into question. Friedman’s tone was measured and experimental, and he thanked Leuchtenburg for reading his work in manuscript. Yet like Cushman, Friedman said that the significance of Roberts’s opinion in *Nebbia* had been overlooked. He also agreed that the Social Security cases reflected no major change in taxing and spending jurisprudence. As Friedman pointed out, Roberts had approved a broad, Hamiltonian approach to the general welfare clause in *U.S. v. Butler* even as he attacked

²⁴ Ibid., 25, 36–40. Oddly, Cushman relied on Schlesinger’s distinction between the “First New Deal” of 1933 and the “Second New Deal” of 1935 here, although it had long since been complicated by historians. See Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *The Politics of Upheaval* (Boston, 1960), 393–395; Kalman, “Law, Politics, and the New Deal(s),” 2196, n. 217.

²⁵ Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 20, 23, 32, 224–225.

federal legislation for the majority. When he became part of the majority that upheld Social Security, Roberts was simply implementing that view, which, as both Friedman and Cushman observed, had conservative support.²⁶

Unlike Cushman, however, Friedman did not agree that Court packing was so obviously doomed from the outset that the justices had no reason to fear it, although he subscribed to Cushman's "weaker conclusion, that the Justices had reason to believe that total and immediate surrender was not necessary." Friedman conceded, though, that there might have been *some* odd shifts, even acknowledging the possibility that Roberts's vote in *Parrish* might have been explained by the hostile reaction outside the Court to *Tipaldo*. But as he observed, Roberts would not have required the 1936 election results to understand the unpopularity of *Tipaldo*, which Democrats and Republicans reviled upon release.²⁷

The two scholars also disagreed over the commerce clause, with Friedman suggesting that Hughes's *Carter Coal* vote had been an anomaly corrected in *Jones & Laughlin*, while Roberts's *Jones & Laughlin* vote reflected a "legitimate change . . . in his views," which may have reflected his capacity for growth, rather than his surrender to political pressure. More significantly, Friedman and Cushman differed over *Jones & Laughlin*'s significance. Where Cushman did not find the case extraordinary, Friedman maintained that it represented the "climactic moment in the development of Commerce clause doctrine," while observing that it did not change everything. Even *Darby* and *Wickard*, Friedman said, "continued to articulate a demand that there be a real nexus between the matter regulated and interstate commerce," which meant "there was always a possibility that, sooner or later, a majority of the Court would rule that Congress had transcended the broad limits on its power," as it did in *Lopez*. Cushman remained certain that Thermidor did not occur until *Darby* and *Wickard* and maintained that "over time, *Wickard* came to be understood as standing for the proposition that there were no judicially enforceable federalism limitations on the commerce power." That was why *Lopez* stunned Court watchers.²⁸

²⁶ Richard Friedman, "Charles Evans Hughes as Chief Justice, 1930–1941" (D.Phil. diss., Oxford, 1979); Friedman, "Switching Time and Other Thought Experiments: The Hughes Court and Constitutional Transformation," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 142 (1994): 1891–1984, 1955–1957. Friedman is at work on the Holmes Devise volume about the Hughes Court.

²⁷ Richard Friedman, "Taking Decisions Seriously: A Review of *Rethinking the New Deal Court: The Structure of a Constitutional Revolution*," *Journal of Supreme Court History* 24 (1999): 314–324, 316 ("weaker"); Friedman, "Switching Time," 1947–1953. In explaining why Roberts did not seize on *Nebbia* at the close of the 1935–1936 term in *Tipaldo*, however, Cushman pointed not just to the Roberts memorandum (see note 5), but to the different approaches of Roberts and Hughes toward precedents they disliked (here, *Adkins*); Hughes's insistence on short conferences as chief justice and uneasiness about lobbying colleagues outside them; and the difficult and exhausting nature of the 1935–1936 term, which might well have made Hughes and Roberts even less inclined to communicate with each other about the desirability of disposing of *Adkins*, as opposed to distinguishing it, at its end. Cushman also suggested that the Roberts memorandum could have reflected an attempt by Roberts to protect Hughes from embarrassment by casting blame elsewhere. Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 92–104.

²⁸ Friedman, "Switching Time," 1973 ("legitimate"); Friedman, "Charting the Course of Commerce Clause Challenge," *Arkansas Law Review* 55 (2003): 1055–1096, 1056 ("climactic"); Friedman, "The Sometimes-Bumpy Road of Commerce Clause Doctrine," *ibid.*, 981–1007, 1004, 1005 ("continued," "possibility"); Cushman, "Small Differences?" *ibid.*, 1097–1148, 1146 ("time"); Cushman, "Continuity and Change in Commerce Clause Jurisprudence," *ibid.*, 1009–1054, 1043–1046.

How to explain the behavior of Hughes and Roberts in *Jones & Laughlin*? For Cushman, again, it

At bottom, as Friedman said, what united him and Cushman was more important than what divided them: "Like him, I believe that there is no persuasive evidence that the 1936 election or the Court-packing plan produced the celebrated decisions of the spring of 1937, and like him I believe that changes in the personnel of the Court were the principal cause of constitutional transformation." Beyond that, they agreed on the importance of "treating the work product of the Justices seriously." Indeed, Friedman cautioned readers against "chortling" over the disagreements and reaching the "weak inference" that if Cushman and Friedman differed about "why Hughes and Roberts acted as they did, it apparently makes more likely the hypothesis that political pressure accounted for their behavior. But that would be the wrong inference. The strongest reason for rejecting the overt political explanation is that there is no support for it other than a brief and not unprecedented flurry of liberal decisions while the Court-packing plan was pending."²⁹

comes back to *Nebbia*. He focuses on Hughes's "deformalization of the direct/indirect distinction" in commerce clause doctrine in *Jones & Laughlin*, "the first current of commerce case the Court saw in the post-*Nebbia* era." There, according to Cushman, Hughes drew on Roberts's "deformalization of the public/private distinction" in *Nebbia* and synthesized it with "the current of commerce" doctrine articulated in the Progressive Era case of *Swift & Co. v. United States* (196 U.S. 375 [1905]), making *Jones & Laughlin* consistent with what had gone before. Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 170, 174–175. Friedman, though, maintains that the chief justice's opinion in *Jones & Laughlin* was consistent with his "long-held views," characterizing his concurrence with the majority in *Carter Coal* as "mysterious." Friedman, "The Sometimes Bumpy Road," 995. He speculates that the concurrence may have reflected the chief justice's desire "to ask the public to consider changing the Constitution rather than blame the Court if it did not like the Court's decisions," perhaps intended as "more a public plea than a statement of legal conclusion." Friedman, "Charting the Course of Commerce Clause Change," 1083.

Roberts is another story. Friedman contends that Roberts's willingness to join the majority in *Jones & Laughlin* indicated "a sharp break in his thinking about national powers" and is difficult to reconcile with his previous "very right-wing opinion" in *Alton* striking down the Railroad Retirement Act. Friedman, "The Sometimes Bumpy Road," 995; "Switching Time," 1968. But he maintains that Roberts's behavior in *Jones & Laughlin* was largely unaffected by Court packing or the 1936 election. Friedman, "Switching Time," 1967–1974. Cushman remains confident that Hughes "meant what he appears to have meant" in *Carter Coal* and that *Jones & Laughlin* did not represent a major break for either Hughes or Roberts. Cushman, "Small Differences," 1124. Although he acknowledges that Justice Roberts "pummeled the Act to a bloody pulp" in *Alton*, Cushman nevertheless reminds us that Roberts's opinion left open the possibility that what the Court could not achieve through the Commerce Clause, it might nevertheless achieve through other means, as Congress subsequently did through the Carrier Taxing Act and Railroad Retirement Act. Cushman, "The Hughes Court and Constitutional Consultation," *Journal of Supreme Court History* 1 (1998): 79–111, 89; Cushman, "Lost Fidelities," *William and Mary Law Review* 41 (1999): 95–145, 130–131. More generally, Cushman contends that in striking down so many early New Deal statutes, the Hughes Court "was in fact cooperating with the political branches in seeking to formulate constitutional solutions to the economic crisis of the 1930s." Cushman, "The Hughes Court and Constitutional Consultation," 80. Of course, in the case of measures sponsored by the Roosevelt administration, as opposed to the Railroad Retirement Act, Cushman's argument is consistent with his point that the 1933–1934 legislation was poorly drafted. See Leuchtenburg, *The Supreme Court Reborn*, 42, for a discussion of the importance that the administration nevertheless attached to *Alton*, and its sense, from Roberts's opinion, that he was "permanently lost" and had gone over to "the Conservative Four."

²⁹ Friedman, "Taking Decisions Seriously," 315, 323 ("Like," "treating"); Friedman, "Charting the Course of Commerce Clause Challenge," 1095–1096.

ANOTHER CRUCIAL ENTRY IN THE INTERNALIST BIBLIOGRAPHY followed in 2000 with White's *The Constitution and the New Deal*. To view this book as another attempt to puncture the externalist balloon echoing Cushman's is to underestimate its significance. White acknowledged that only "an eccentric" would deny the major doctrinal changes between 1933 and 1943. He situated them among others stretching back to the early twentieth century. The shifts occurred, he wrote, not because of politics, but because of "modernism," a world view that "elevates human agency . . . to a position of causal primacy in the universe" and assumes that humans can control their environment and shape "their collective destinies."³⁰

Some might consider White's modernism synonymous with politics. Indeed, it bears some resemblance to some of the definitions of Progressivism we heard when we still thought that Progressivism existed and that we could define it. And interestingly, in law, modernism might take the name of legal realism, an early-twentieth-century jurisprudential movement that exposed the role of idiosyncrasy in judicial decision making and was inaccurately caricatured as proposing that judges made decisions on the basis of what they ate for breakfast. But oddly, given his own importance in explaining the emergence of legal realism and his emphasis on its centrality to the New Deal and legal thought, White largely avoided the phrase "legal realism" in his book.³¹ Legal realism was identified with the "political" approach to judging, and White may have chosen the term "modernism" because he saw modernism as prior to politics.

It was modernism, White said, that created a jurisprudential crisis between the early 1920s and World War II. The law of foreign affairs and administrative law had changed long before Court packing, and in some cases before the New Deal. The same was true of free speech, as Mark Graber and David Rabban had shown. Further, it was during the 1920s, White observed, that the "living Constitution" theory of constitutional interpretation emerged. Thus Hughes could say in his 1934 *Blaisdell* opinion for himself, Roberts, and the three "liberals" that "the Contracts Clause meant something different in the interdependent, depressed American economy of the 1930s from what it previously had meant."³²

At bottom, what happened, according to White, was "an interpretive revolution" that celebrated the "living constitution," a Constitution that changed to keep pace with the times and transformed the judge's role in constitutional interpretation. As Howard Gillman powerfully demonstrated, after 150 years, the New Deal witnessed

³⁰ White, *The Constitution and the New Deal*, 199, 5.

³¹ See Daniel Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," *Reviews in American History* 10 (1982): 113–132. See, e.g., G. Edward White, "From Sociological Jurisprudence to Realism: Jurisprudence and Social Change in Early Twentieth-Century America," *Virginia Law Review* 58 (1972): 999–1028; White, "The Evolution of Reasoned Elaboration," *Virginia Law Review* 59 (1973): 279–302; White, "From Realism to Critical Legal Studies: A Truncated Intellectual History," in White, *Intervention and Detachment: Essays in Legal History and Jurisprudence* (New York, 1994), 274–298. Legal realism makes an appearance in *The Constitution and the New Deal* on pp. 167–170, 188–196, and 210, but only on p. 210 does it seem to become central to White's fundamental argument. Perhaps White avoids the term because of its association with the behaviorist approach to judging that he dislikes. I have written about legal realism as movement and caricature in Kalman, *Legal Realism at Yale, 1927–1960* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986); Kalman, *The Strange Career of Legal Liberalism*; and Kalman, *Yale Law School and the Sixties: Revolt and Reverberations* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2005).

³² White, *The Constitution and the New Deal*, 213; Mark Graber, *Transforming Free Speech: The Ambiguous Legacy of Civil Libertarianism* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991); David Rabban, *Free Speech in Its Forgotten Years* (Cambridge, 1997).

"the collapse of constitutional originalism." White masterfully made Court packing the symptom, not the cause, of that interpretive revolution, which went, he pointed out, "far deeper and wider than any 'switch in time.'" In assuming that the Court "could be 'packed' with persons who sympathized with the New Deal," he reminded us, "New Dealers took it as a given that America was a government of men, not laws."

So the "constitutional revolution" was one of epistemology. And as winners, those taking the modernist "living constitution" view had so many followers, White alleged, that no one remembered that "there was even a crisis of adaptivity." White faulted externalist historians Leuchtenburg and Kalman with viewing the "constitutional issues" of the early twentieth century "from . . . their purported resolution" during the 1930s. We had branded the justices who lost out as "jurisprudentially obsolescent or 'reactionary,'" while saluting the winning justices as "modern" or "progressive." We had written winners' history, ignoring the world that was lost because we could not imagine it. We focused on judicial behavior instead of judicial opinions. We had also popularized the view of judges as politicians, uninfluenced by legal doctrine.³³

The triumph of modernism proved pernicious for constitutional scholarship, too, White observed. It brought us the problem "of a Supreme Court composed of unelected human political actors serving as the final arbiter" of key constitutional issues. That problem came to obsess constitutional commentators after World War II, many of whom had reached maturity during the 1930s and who had dedicated their lives to an anxious celebration of legal modernism.³⁴

Constitutional scholars' anxiety was easily understood. The dominant account of "1937," White stressed, taught us that judges were "political actors" who showed creativity in constitutional interpretation, and that most constitutional provisions were indeterminate. Consequently, White wrote, the "lodestar in constitutional interpretation . . . [became] conformity to the principles of democratic theory, which requires deference in many cases, as well as aggressive scrutiny, against a backdrop of normal deference, in a few." Federal judges read the Constitution to grant broad legislative and administrative authority over the economy and broad executive power over foreign policy. But the few cases that judges subjected to aggressive scrutiny involved the most important issues, civil rights and civil liberties. This post-New Deal settlement caused anxiety because the Germans' reduction of "their courts to tools of the Nazi party" showed what could happen when law became overtly intertwined with politics. In sum, the externalists had projected the New Deal backward and demonized the "conservative" justices of the 1930s, while also projecting it forward. We had made the New Deal "an inspirational example for twentieth-century governance." Instead of treating it as a period with "time-bound constitutional issues," we lauded it as one in which "new essentialist constitu-

³³ White, *The Constitution and the New Deal*, 234–236, 14–15, 19–20, 29–31; Howard Gillman, "The Collapse of Constitutional Originalism and the Rise of the Notion of the 'Living Constitution' in the Course of American State-Building," *Studies in American Political Development* 11 (1997): 191–247.

³⁴ White, *The Constitution and the New Deal*, 307, 311, 309; Barry Friedman, "The Birth of an Academic Obsession: The History of the Countermajoritarian Difficulty, Part Five," *Yale Law Journal* 112 (2002): 153–259; Barry Cushman, "Clerking for Scrooge," *University of Chicago Law Review* 70 (2003): 721–749, 739–743.

tional principles” were grasped. And here White seemed to want to drain law of politics, for he charged that externalists’ blindness prevented us from imagining a world in which legal actors did not adopt “behavioralist theories of law, judging, and constitutional interpretation.” White did not advance a normative theory of judging, but his implicit theory seemed antibehavioralist, even, at times, exclusively internalist.³⁵

MORE THAN ANY OTHER PARTICIPANT IN THE DEBATE, White linked Court packing to the central concern of constitutional scholarship: Should the Supreme Court possess such power in a democracy? *Lochner* continued to encapsulate that question. For despite the continued flowering of revisionist scholarship maintaining that *Lochner* and the rest of the output of the turn-of-the century Court “had a coherence and an inner logic—that should be understood not as an exercise of class justice but as an attempt to explicate and protect the constitutional ideal of liberty,” scholars in the late twentieth century still saw the *Lochner*-era Court as backward-looking, overly activist, and/or prohibiting “the government from altering common law entitlements or wealth redistribution.” As William Novak said, the Progressive critique of law as hindrance to politics between the end of Reconstruction and 1937 remained intact. Further, constitutional scholars, in particular, remained uneasy that the Court in *Lochner* struck down Progressive legislation arguably embodying “the will of the people.” Consequently, despite the apparent “death” of *Lochner* in 1937, the case still “hover[ed] over constitutional law like a ghost, . . . haunt[ing] every judge’s chambers and every constitutional law classroom.” Liberals dominated elite law school faculties until the 1970s, and many law professors who taught and wrote about *Lochner* and the anti-New Deal activism of the Supreme Court in the 1930s worried whether the “liberal judicial activism” of the Warren Court they so admired also defied majority will.³⁶

Brown v. Board of Education particularly tested such individuals. On the one hand, liberal law professors awarded iconic status to the decision declaring school segregation unconstitutional, maintaining that the Court had heroically shown the nation the future. On the other, many believed that the *Brown* Court defied the wishes of the majority, as articulated by both Eisenhower and Congress. While some academics celebrated Warren Court activism in *Brown* and its expansion of

³⁵ White, *The Constitution and the New Deal*, 307, 309; Robert Gordon, “Introduction: J. Willard Hurst and the Common Law Tradition in American Legal Historiography,” *Law and Society Review* 10 (1975): 9–56, 38 (“tools”). See Edward Purcell, *The Crisis of Democratic Theory: Scientific Naturalism and the Problem of Value* (Lexington, Ky., 1979), 159–178. White discussed behavioralist political science scholarship more specifically and at greater length in G. Edward White, “Unpacking the Idea of the Judicial Center,” *North Carolina Law Review* 83 (2005): 1089–1185, 1097–1117, 1127–1134.

³⁶ Owen Fiss, *Troubled Beginnings of the Modern State, 1888–1910* (New York, 1993), 19 (“coherence”); Howard Gillman, *The Constitution Besieged: The Rise and Demise of Lochner Era Police Powers Jurisprudence* (Durham, N.C., 1993); David Bernstein, “Lochner’s Legacy’s Legacy,” *Texas Law Review* 82 (2003): 1–64, 16 (“government”); Novak, “Legal Origins of the Modern American State,” 253–260; Rowe, “Legacy of Lochner,” 223 (“hover”). Whether the legislation in *Lochner* did represent “the will of the people,” and whether legislation ever does, remains open to question. See Paul Kens, *Lochner v. New York: Economic Regulation on Trial* (Lawrence, Kans., 1998), 47–66, 87–88; Daniel Farber and Philip Frickey, *Law and Public Choice: A Critical Introduction* (Chicago, 1991); Maxwell Stearns, *Public Choice and Public Law: A Commentary* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1987).

civil rights and civil liberties, others worried that activism detracted from the Warren Court's integrity, and that the Court they had despised in *Lochner* and when it was striking down New Deal legislation was usurping the power of federal and state lawmakers to legislate from the bench for "our crowd." In short, law professors worried that judicial review was antidemocratic, a fear that Alexander Bickel famously dubbed "the counter-majoritarian difficulty."³⁷

POLITICAL SCIENCE PROVIDED A POSSIBLE SOLUTION TO THAT DIFFICULTY, which, oddly, most law professors and historians ignored. Corwin's generation of political scientists both studied the Court's role in public life and took its opinions seriously. Yet, as White said, because of the perception that the Court had suddenly switched direction in 1937, many of those political scientists who continued to study it adopted behavioralist approaches to judging that focused on its political aspects.³⁸

Among them, Glendon Schubert laid the groundwork for what scholars working on law and courts would later variously call rational choice, social choice, public choice, or positive political theory, depending on their disciplines and methodologies. Applying game theory to the Court's 1936 term, Schubert devised the "Hughberts Game," which made Hughes and Roberts a sole player and examined how "Hughberts" would behave if he wished to heighten his authority on the Court, increase its unanimity, and move it in a direction designed to stave off Court packing. Given a bloc of three "liberals" and four "conservatives," a rational Hughberts could maximize the power of two. "Hughberts has a pure strategy, which in essence requires that he form a coalition with the Left when possible, that he form a coalition with the Right when splintering or non-participation makes it impossible for him to form a winning coalition with the Left, and that he always join the coalition of the Left, and the Right when other players do not choose to adopt conflicting strategies. In fact, the voting behavior of Hughes and Roberts conforms very closely to the prescriptions of the game model." Schubert believed that "both Hughes and Roberts switched, in order to protect the institutional integrity and authority of the Supreme Court from the threatened much greater danger presented by the President's proposal to subject the Court to *external* political

³⁷ *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954); Robert Harrison, "The Breakup of the Roosevelt Court: The Contribution of History and Biography" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1987), 333 ("crowd"); Alexander Bickel, *The Least Dangerous Branch: The Supreme Court at the Bar of Politics* (Indianapolis, 1962), 16. Among the revisionists, Fiss, a political liberal, explicitly linked *Lochner* to *Brown*. Fiss, *Troubled Beginnings of the Modern State*, 19; and see Stephen Siegel, "Let Us Now Praise Infamous Men," *Texas Law Review* 73 (1995): 661–708, 707–708. On *Brown* and the legal academy, see generally Kalman, *The Strange Career of Legal Liberalism*; Friedman, "The Birth of an Academic Obsession."

³⁸ Among those who noted the influence of the events of 1937 on political science as a discipline were Walter Murphy, C. Herman Pritchett, and Glendon Schubert. Murphy and Pritchett, *Courts, Judges, and Politics: An Introduction to the Judicial Process* (New York, 1961), 9; Schubert, "Academic Ideology and the Study of Adjudication," *American Political Science Review* 61 (1967): 106–129, 106–107. For an informative overview of political scientists' approaches to judicial behavior, see Nancy Maveety, "The Study of Judicial Behavior and the Discipline of Political Science," in Maveety, ed., *The Pioneers of Judicial Behavior* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2003), 1–51, and the valuable individual essays on each political scientist in *ibid.*, including Pritchett, Schubert, Harold Spaeth, Murphy, David Danelski, Edward Corwin, Robert McCloskey, and Robert Dahl.

domination.” But as he implied in his 1960 textbook, Frankfurter’s memorandum denying that Roberts had caved to political pressure cast a long shadow.³⁹

While Schubert himself obviously paid due attention to group dynamics and the Court’s relationship to other branches of government, “attitudinalists” inspired by him were less likely to do so. They used quantitative data and modeling to portray the Court as insulated and autonomous—a place where individual judges’ policy preferences, not law, explained outcomes. In the words of Jeffrey Segal and Harold Spaeth, “Rehnquist votes the way he does because he is extremely conservative; [Thurgood] Marshall votes the way he does because he is extremely liberal.” Between the 1960s and 1990s, the “attitudinalists” came to dominate the constitutional law subfield of political science.⁴⁰

This was not to say that all political scientists who studied courts became attitudinalists. Some behavioralists reacted against attitudinalism by pointing to the role of strategic decision making when the justices interacted with each other and when the Court considered its relationship with other branches of government. Princeton’s Walter Murphy, another forerunner of rational/public choice, highlighted “the most dramatic and important reversal in Court history,” along with Hughes’s “attack against President Roosevelt’s Court-packing proposal,” as “the neatest example of judicial intervention in the legislative process to kill a bill.” Fusing the strategic approach with social psychology, David Danelski focused on the different forms of leadership a skilled chief justice such as Hughes could provide, particularly given his determination that the Court “maintain public confidence and not suffer ‘self-inflicted wounds,’” a phrase Hughes himself had coined. Traditional institutionalist approaches to public law also survived, although Corwin’s successor at Princeton, Alpheus Mason, who used his nearly unprecedented and completely unrestricted access to a Supreme Court justice’s papers and private correspondence to examine Court packing through the prism of judicial biography, came in for rough sledding from law professors. (Their favorite political scientist was probably Harvard’s Robert McCloskey, who combined doctrinal analysis with intellectual and institutional history, and who saw 1935–1936 as the time when the Court “finally and dangerously overstepped the line that marks the limits of its authority.”) Nevertheless, academic lawyers were probably correct to assume attitudinalism’s hegemony.⁴¹

³⁹ Glendon Schubert, “The Study of Judicial Decision-Making as an Aspect of Political Behavior,” *American Political Science Review* 52 (1958): 1007–1025, 1022–1023; Schubert, *Constitutional Politics: The Political Behavior of Supreme Court Justices and the Constitutional Policies That They Make* (New York, 1960), 165 (“both,” emphasis in the original) (Schubert reprinted the Frankfurter memorandum in *ibid.*, 168–171).

⁴⁰ Jeffrey Segal and Harold Spaeth, *The Supreme Court and the Attitudinal Model* (Cambridge, 1993), 64 (“Rehnquist votes”); Symposium, “The Supreme Court and the Attitudinal Model,” *Law & Courts: Newsletter of the Law and Courts Section of the American Political Science Association* 4 (Spring 1994): 3–12; and see Segal and Spaeth, *The Supreme Court and the Attitudinal Model Revisited* (Cambridge, 2002).

⁴¹ Walter Murphy, *Congress and the Court: A Case Study in the American Political Process* (Chicago, 1962), 247, 59–61 (“dramatic”); Murphy, *Elements of Judicial Strategy* (Chicago, 1964), 162 (“attack,” “neatest”); David Danelski, “The Influence of the Chief Justice in the Decisional Process,” reprinted in abridged form in Murphy and Pritchett, *Courts, Judges, and Politics*, 497–508, 500; Danelski and Tulchin, “Editors’ Introduction,” in Hughes, *The Autobiographical Notes*, xxv (“maintain”); Alpheus Mason, *Harlan Fiske Stone: Pillar of the Law* (New York, 1956), 437–464; Clyde Spillenger, “Lifting the Veil: The Judicial Biographies of Alpheus T. Mason,” *Reviews in American History* 21 (1993): 723–734;

And despite the accuracy of attitudinalism in predicting final judicial votes, law professors and political scientists were disinterested. While acknowledging that “there is something to this kind of argument,” even those on the left associated with the “law is politics” view of critical legal studies accused “the vote-counters” of “unbearable simple-mindedness” and of ignoring “the richness of the systems of legal rules and institutions.” So, too, in the early 1990s, Martin Shapiro bemoaned the existence of “the marginalized constitutional law-Supreme Court ghetto of little interest to other political scientists.”⁴²

Help was on the way. Gerald Rosenberg, a lawyer with a Ph.D. in political science, would attack left-of-center law professors’ idea of a transformative Court bringing social justice with his 1991 book *The Hollow Hope: Can Courts Bring About Social Change?* Rosenberg found that liberal lawyers wrongly counted on courts to do so: “At best, they can second the social reform acts of other branches of government.” Rosenberg maintained, for example, that in *Brown*, the Court reflected, rather than created, social, economic, and political pressures for change, and that the decision had little immediate impact until Congress and the executive accepted desegregation in the 1960s because of “the fear of violence, not the inspiration of Court action.” Courts acted “as ‘fly-paper’ for social reformers who succumb to ‘the lure of litigation.’” Rosenberg insisted that “the broad and untested generalizations offered by constitutional scholars about the role, impact, importance, and legitimacy of courts and court opinions . . . must be rejected.”⁴³

More important for Court packing, just as some younger political scientists were “bringing the state back in,” recognizing its importance as an actor in its own right and creating the field of American political development, so “new institutionalists” in political science began “bringing the law back in.” Like Rosenberg, they situated the distinctive story of the Court in the context of “regime politics” and “a more general set of stories about how regimes organized, exercise, and protect their power.” They highlighted the Court’s usefulness to governing elites in promoting

Robert McCloskey, *The American Supreme Court* (Chicago, 1960), 174 (“finally”); McCloskey, “Economic Due Process and the Supreme Court: An Exhumation and Reburial,” in Philip Kurland, ed., *Supreme Court Review* (Chicago, 1962), 34–62; McCloskey, “The Supreme Court, 1961 Term, Foreword: The Reapportionment Cases,” *Harvard Law Review* 76 (1962): 54–74.

⁴² The critical legal scholar was Mark Tushnet. Tushnet, “Post-Realist Legal Scholarship,” *Wisconsin Law Review* 1980 (1980): 1383–1401, 1398. As Cornell Clayton said, “The ultimate irony is that as political science sought more predictive, ‘scientific’ ways of understanding judicial decision-making, it became of less utility and notice to those actually engaged in the practice of law and to those elected officials who appoint judges. Political scientists, who in the days of Corwin and Haines were considered the leading experts on the Supreme Court and the Constitution, have been increasingly pushed to the sidelines by academic lawyers.” Cornell Clayton, “The Supreme Court and Political Jurisprudence: New and Old Institutionalisms,” in Cornell Clayton and Howard Gillman, eds., *Supreme Court Decision-Making: New Institutional Approaches* (Chicago, 1999), 15–41, 29. See also Howard Gillman, “What’s Law Got to Do with It? Judicial Behavioralists Test the ‘Legal Model’ of Judicial Decision Making,” *Law & Social Inquiry* 26 (2001): 465–498. For a positive view of attitudinalism and what it can offer academic lawyers, see Frank Cross, “Political Science and the New Legal Realism: A Case of Unfortunate Interdisciplinary Ignorance,” *Northwestern University Law Review* 92 (1997): 251–326; for a more critical one, see Michael Gerhardt, “Attitudes about Attitudes,” *Michigan Law Review* 101 (2003): 1733–1763. Shapiro is quoted in Howard Gillman, “Martin Shapiro and the Movement from ‘Old’ to ‘New’ Institutional Studies in Public Law Scholarship,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 7 (2004): 363–382, 374.

⁴³ Gerald Rosenberg, *The Hollow Hope: Can Courts Bring About Social Change?* (Chicago, 1991), 338, 169, 123, 341, 342.

their aims while they were in power, “entrenching” their most vulnerable policies after they had lost that power, bringing regional outliers into line, and resolving difficult issues that divided the public. Calling for “post-attitudinalism,” the new institutionalists also challenged externalism: they stressed the Court’s concern with its institutional integrity, its need to legitimize and justify its behavior to the legal profession, the significance of ideology, as well as the role of “regime-sustaining scholars.” With law professors, historians, and other social scientists, many new institutionalists in political science also made the interpretive and “historic turns.”⁴⁴

Building on a 1957 essay by Robert Dahl pointing out that it was “unrealistic to suppose that a Court whose members are recruited in the fashion of Supreme Court justices would long hold to norms of Right or Justice substantially at odds with the rest of the political elite,” Mark Graber observed how much the Court could do for governing regimes. “Rather than treat judicial review as a practice that either sustains or rejects the measures favored by lawmaking majorities, theoretical and descriptive studies of the Supreme Court should pay closer attention to the constitutional dialogues that take place between American governing institutions on crosscutting issues that internally divide the existing lawmaking majority,” he contended. “Historically, the justices have most often exercised their power to declare state and federal practices unconstitutional only when the dominant national coalition is unable or unwilling to settle some dispute” and then “foist[ed] disruptive political debates on the Supreme Court,” as, for example, in *Roe v. Wade*.⁴⁵

In fact, according to Graber, there generally was no countermajoritarian difficulty. Bickel and Dahl had belonged to a luncheon group of law professors and political scientists at Yale, but it devoted no attention to the Court. Had it done so

⁴⁴ Keith Whittington, “Once More into the Breach: Postbehavioralist Approaches to Judicial Politics,” *Law & Social Inquiry* 25 (2000): 601–634, 619 (“bringing”); Howard Gillman, “Elements of a New ‘Regime Politics’ Approach to the Study of Judicial Politics” (paper presented at the American Political Science Association, 2004) (“regime,” “stories”); Gillman, “The New Institutionalism, Part I: More and Less than Strategy—Some Advantages to Interpretive Institutionalism in the Analysis of Analysis of Judicial Politics,” *Law & Courts* 7 (Winter 1996–1997): 6–10; Cornell Clayton and Howard Gillman, “Introduction,” in Gillman and Clayton, *The Supreme Court in American Politics: New Institutional Approaches* (Lawrence, Kans., 1999), 1–11, 3–5; Ken Kersch, *Constructing Civil Liberties: Discontinuities in the Development of American Constitutional Law* (Cambridge, 2004), 360 (“regime-sustaining”); Kalman, *The Strange Career of Legal Liberalism*, 101–163; Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek, *The Search for American Political Development* (Cambridge, 2004); Terence McDonald, *The Historic Turn in the Human Sciences* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1996); James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, eds., *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge, 2003).

⁴⁵ Robert Dahl, “Decision-Making in a Democracy: The Supreme Court as a National Policy-Maker,” *Emory Law* 50 (2001): 563–582, 578, reprinting the original article from *Journal of Public Law* 6 (1957): 279–295; Mark Graber, “The Nonmajoritarian Difficulty: Legislative Deference to the Judiciary,” *Studies in American Political Development* 7 (1993): 35–73, 36, 37, 56; and see George Lovell, *Legislative Deferrals, Statutory Ambiguity, Judicial Power, and American Democracy* (Cambridge, 2003) (demonstrating Graber’s point in a series of case studies drawn from the history of twentieth-century labor law); Charles Epp, *The Rights Revolution: Lawyers, Activists, and Supreme Courts in Comparative Perspective* (Chicago, 1998) (examining the relative strength of the rights revolution in the United States, Canada, Britain, and India, and pointing to the importance of a broader support structure from below in creating pressure for, and making meaningful, judicial declarations of rights). Rogers Smith is credited with launching the movement to apply the new institutionalism to public law in Smith, “Political Jurisprudence, the ‘New Institutionalism,’ and the Future of Public Law,” *American Political Science Review* 82 (1988): 89–108; Clayton, “The Supreme Court and Political Jurisprudence,” 30–31. See also Rogers Smith, *Liberalism and American Constitutional Law* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 6–7.

and had Bickel been won over, he might have turned constitutional theory in different directions. For the mantra of the new institutionalists was that “judicial review is politically constructed,” not antidemocratic.⁴⁶

Yet while the work of law professors during the 1990s occasionally reflected the arrival of the new institutionalism in political science beginning in the 1990s, the new institutionalists showed little interest in revising the account of the 1937 constitutional crisis for obvious reasons. As Graber explained it, the Supreme Court of 1935 and 1936 was the exception rather than the rule, its behavior understandable because, unusually, there was only one appointment to the Court between 1930 and 1937. “When the Court is temporarily dominated by ‘holdover[s] from the old coalition,’ justices ‘perform the counter-majoritarian functions ascribed to it by traditional theory.’” And even here, the record of the New Deal, once affirmed by the electorate in 1936, indicated that resistance was futile. “The Supreme Court is simply not structured to impede a determined majority for any length of time.”⁴⁷

At the same time that they exploded the countermajoritarian difficulty, then, political scientists who adopted “the historical/interpretivist ‘new institutionalism’” and risked their colleagues’ disapproval by eschewing models and cautiously embracing historical contingency lent credence to the concept of the “constitutional revolution of 1937.” Indeed, whatever their approaches, virtually all political scientists and public/rational choice experts who focused on the period from the Bicentennial onward did. Michael Nelson explained the failure of Court packing as the classic overreaching of a two-term president elected by an extraordinary majority. Kevin McMahon, however, maintained that Court packing failed not so much because of FDR’s missteps, but because his opponents saw it as part of his effort to strengthen the power of the presidency and administrative state. But

⁴⁶ That was the memory of John Blum, the lone historian in the group. See Richard Merelman, *Pluralism at Yale: The Culture of Political Science in America* (Madison, Wis., 2003); Geoffrey Kabaservice, *The Guardians: Kingman Brewster, His Circle, and the Rise of the Liberal Establishment* (New York, 2004); Warren Goldstein, *William Sloan Coffin Jr.: A Holy Impatience* (New Haven, Conn., 2004); and Kalman, *Yale Law School and the Sixties*, for discussion of the atmosphere at Yale during this period. “Constructed” is from Mark Graber, “Constructing Judicial Review,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 8 (2005): 425–451, 446.

⁴⁷ Graber, “The Nonmajoritarian Difficulty,” 68, 72. Constitutional law professors influenced by the new institutionalism included Barry Friedman, Michael Klarman, Mark Tushnet, and Darren Hutchinson. Friedman drew on it to remind law professors that “the judicial process tends to ratify popular preference” in many articles. See, e.g., Friedman, “The History of the Countermajoritarian Difficulty, Part One: The Road to Judicial Supremacy,” *New York University Law Review* 73 (1998): 333–433, 338. Klarman won the Bancroft Prize for insisting, with Rosenberg, that *Brown v. Board of Education* reflected an emerging national consensus. Klarman, *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights: The Supreme Court and the Struggle for Equality* (New York, 2004). Tushnet explained that the Rehnquist Court’s “economic conservatives won and . . . cultural conservatives lost” through 2005 because in the larger political arena, “economic conservatives were winning and cultural conservatives were losing.” Tushnet, *A Court Divided: The Rehnquist Court and the Future of Constitutional Law* (New York, 2005), 10. Hutchinson addressed the majoritarian nature of the Rehnquist Court’s recent decisions about affirmative action and gay rights in “The Majoritarian Difficulty: Affirmative Action, Sodomy, and Supreme Court Politics,” *Law & Inequality* 23 (2005): 1–93. And while he denounced political scientists, Lucas Powe maintained that the Warren Court was the judicial arm of Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society. Powe, *The Warren Court and American Politics* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), xii–xvi. For a critical reaction to Powe’s treatment of political scientists, see Mark Graber, “Constitutional Politics and Constitutional Theory: A Misunderstood and Neglected Relationship,” *Law & Social Inquiry* 927 (2002): 309–333. For discussion of the citation of political scientists in law reviews, see Keith Whittington, “Crossing Over,” *Law & Courts* 14 (Spring 2004): 5–10.

Nelson and McMahon, both political scientists, alluded to “the switch in time.” Business school professors Pablo Spiller and Rafael Gely demonstrated that the chance of a constitutional amendment constraining the Court became increasingly apparent after the 1936 presidential election, and it was important that “the shift in Justice Roberts’s position occurred *after* the election of 1936 but *before* Roosevelt’s announcement” of his plan to pack the Court. From another public choice perspective, that of political scientists Jamie Carson and Benjamin Kleinerman, on the other hand, “Roosevelt, as the initiator of the court-packing plan, obtained what he wanted politically (a shift in policy direction on the Court), while allowing both Congress and the Court to believe they had successfully outmaneuvered him.” Meanwhile, Gregory Caldeira’s analysis of public opinion showed that support for Court packing dropped in the aftermath of *Jones & Laughlin* and Justice Van Devanter’s resignation, although “[i]t is not at all clear what the public would have done if the Court had insisted on continuing its opposition to the New Deal.” But like Gely and Spiller and Carson and Kleinerman, Caldeira treated 1937 as a “watershed.” The internalist-externalist debate was left to historians.⁴⁸

AMONG HISTORIANS, OF COURSE, the “ahistorical” label that internalists pinned on externalists stung.⁴⁹ The “my way or the highway” tone of the debate is unfortunate. Especially since I have contributed to it, I may just make matters worse by calling

⁴⁸ Rogers Smith, “If Politics Matters: Implications for a ‘New Institutionalism,’” *Studies in American Political Development* 6 (1992): 1–36, 3 (“historical/interpretivist”); Gillman, “The Court as an Idea, Not a Building or a Game: Interpretive Institutionalism and the Analysis of Supreme Court Decision-Making,” in Clayton and Gillman, *Supreme Court Decision-Making*, 65–87, 67, 87 (contingency). For example, Gillman explained that “the *Lochner* era is the story of how a changing social structure exposed the conservatism and class bias inherent in the dominant ideological structures first formulated and institutionalized by the framers of the U.S. Constitution; it is the story of how an ideology that was fairly (albeit not completely) inclusive around the time of the founding became more and more exclusive as the century progressed and capitalist forms of production matured; and it is the story of how the Court, loyal to a historically defined conception of political legitimacy, struggled to maintain the coherence of this authoritative ideology in an era that witnessed an unprecedented intensification of class conflict.” He recognized the autonomous influence of legal ideology as understood by interpretive communities existing in particular historical contexts, as well as the interdependence of law and politics. But Gillman still maintained that “the United States underwent a true constitutional revolution” in 1937, “the moment when the founders’ conception of a faction-free American Republic collapsed under the onslaught of corporate capitalism.” Gillman, *The Constitution Besieged*, 199–201. And see Michael Nelson, “The President and the Court: Reinterpreting the Court-Packing Episode of 1937,” *Political Science Quarterly* 103 (1988): 267–293, 293; Kevin McMahon, *Reconsidering Roosevelt on Race: How the Presidency Paved the Way for Brown* (Chicago, 2004), 65, 84; Rafael Gely and Pablo Spiller, “The Political Economy of Supreme Court Constitutional Decisions: The Case of Roosevelt’s Court-Packing Plan,” *International Review of Law and Economics* 12 (1992): 45–67, 57, 65, n. 63; Jamie Carson and Benjamin Kleinerman, “A Switch in Time Saves Nine: Institutions, Strategic Actors, and FDR’s Court Packing,” *Public Choice* 113 (2002): 301–324, 302; Gregory Caldeira, “Public Opinion and the US Supreme Court: FDR’s Court-Packing Plan,” *American Political Science Review* 81 (1987): 1139–1153, 1150, 1148.

⁴⁹ I would not presume to answer the charge for Leuchtenburg, but I note that for him, scholarship and politics stay separate. And certainly he has kept his eye trained on the 1930s, avoiding grand claims about judicial behavior. William Leuchtenburg, “The Historian in the Public Realm,” *AHR* 97 (February 1992): 1–18. White is correct that I am a liberal and that I also believe one’s politics affects one’s scholarship. I have also adopted a behavioralist approach to judging. In my view, however, he exaggerates the extent of behavioralism’s triumph on the Supreme Court during the 1930s and afterward. While an Abe Fortas and his biographer might show little regard for legal doctrine and treat judging as political, not every post-1937 judge was a Fortas, and many of their biographers have taken

attention to it. Yet surely style can affect substance, even prevent scholars from taking each other's positions seriously and perhaps finding common ground.

One factor contributing to the polemics may be that those in law schools and history departments employ different standards of criticism. To a historian, legal argumentation may seem at once too confident and insecure, overly tendentious and footnoted. Yet while strong attacks typically undermine the credibility of historians' work, such critiques mean that a law professor's scholarship is "provocative" and "important." Those historians in law schools who did embrace the internalist view approached Court packing as they would any controversy. Although those historians in history departments who advocated externalism sometimes treated Roberts sarcastically—I once speculated that he had undergone a "jurisprudential lobotomy"—externalists may have expected more respect from other scholars. Kicking a dead historical figure is one thing; kicking a live historian is another. The debate reminds us that even those in the same disciplines residing in different academic homes write differently.⁵⁰

Beyond that, political, legal, and constitutional historians, political scientists, and professors of constitutional law take different approaches to the New Deal. Why not? "Interdisciplinary work is also disciplinary work." Our locations and interests are not identical. When Friedman observes that externalists cannot "effectively respond" to Cushman "unless, like him, they are willing to get their hands very dirty, delving very deeply into the details from which any sound understanding on the grand scale must emerge," he implies that there is only one way to get dirty. But there are many: Glendon Schubert said that the law professors who criticized attitudinalism also "ought to be willing to get their hands dirty (with empirical, perhaps even quantitative, labor)." The variety of ways to dirty hands, along with the fact that each generation must write its own history, keeps everybody employed. There should be more occasions like this where we exchange points of view instead of, or at least in addition to, taking potshots at each other.⁵¹

What would come out of such exchanges? We could drop the "internalist" and "externalist" tags, which obscure more than they clarify. The categories collapse into each other. When a judge uses an "externalist" opinion, such as *Brown*, as a precedent in a subsequent case, does it become "internalist"? Assume, alternatively, a president and congressional majority who hammer home the evils of "judicial activism," which presumably includes, among other things, doctrinal infidelity. When the president's nominee to the Supreme Court plays to the Senate by declaring his opposition to "judicial activism" in confirmation hearings, is that "internalist" or "externalist"? The labels perpetuate a false dichotomy. As Friedman has said in disputing my characterization of him as an internalist, to un-

their decisions more seriously. Compare, for example, Laura Kalman, *Abe Fortas: A Biography* (New Haven, Conn., 1990), 271–276, with Pusey, *Charles Evans Hughes*.

⁵⁰ Kalman, "Law, Politics and the New Deal(s)," 2188. Leuchtenburg was more polite. For discussion of different disciplinary standards of criticism, see Kalman, *The Strange Career of Legal Liberalism*, 216–219; William Nelson, "Standards of Criticism," *Texas Law Review* 60 (1982): 447–493.

⁵¹ Mark Graber, "Thick and Thin: Interdisciplinary Conversations on Populism, Law, Political Science, and Constitutional Change," *Georgetown Law Journal* 90 (2001): 233–251, 243 ("Interdisciplinary"); Friedman, "Taking Decisions Seriously," 323; Glendon Schubert, "Ideologies and Attitudes, Academic and Judicial," *Journal of Politics* 29 (1967): 3–40, 20.

derstand constitutional change, we must examine doctrinal constraints and the world outside the Court.⁵²

The statement seems transparently obvious. Yet Friedman rightly makes it, because the concentration on whether law or politics was paramount during the constitutional crisis of the New Deal has helped to create the erroneous impression that we see the debate in terms of either/or, law or politics. It has pushed “externalists” and “internalists” into corners. And to quote my favorite tragic figure, William Howard Taft, “Even a rat in a corner will fight.”⁵³ We should speak in terms of law *and* politics. We should remember that the Court can be at once a legal and a political institution. We should stop arguing about which account is correct and see how both together are. Our accounts are not mutually exclusive. Just as some speak of life in terms of body and soul, so law and politics create the life of the Court. Like objectivity and subjectivity, form and substance, public and private, law and politics are interdependent.⁵⁴

Yet acknowledging the interrelationship takes us only so far. How did it work for “1937”? Reasonable people disagree, as would each person involved in the debate. A full account is beyond the scope of this essay. In my view, the case for the proposition that, doctrinally speaking, the constitutional revolution preceded 1937 and lasted beyond it is strong. It seems stronger than Cushman’s case against the possibilities that the 1936 election and/or the Court-packing plan influenced Hughes and Roberts. As Edward Purcell has said, “[t]o show that a doctrinal passageway existed . . . is important, but it is not to show why the individual Justices . . . chose to walk through it,” especially when other indicators suggest that “Roberts was responsive to outside criticism.”⁵⁵

I have previously argued the externalist case in terms of the history of events, as if the 1936 election and the Court-packing plan were the only way that politics might influence judicial decision making.⁵⁶ Yet political historians and scientists today speak in terms of political phenomena, electoral behavior, structures of the state, and ideology. The new institutionalists are surely correct that judicial review is politically constructed. The Court’s unique mission affects and constrains the way its members speak. Its voice also reflects ideology, which is as important to political

⁵² Richard Friedman, “A Rendezvous with Kreplach: Putting the New Deal Court in Context,” *Green Bag* 5 (2002): 453–462, 454–455, 459.

⁵³ Henry Pringle, *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft: A Biography*, 2 vols. (New York, 1939), 2: 783.

⁵⁴ See Mary Dudziak, “The Court and Social Context in Civil Rights History,” *University of Chicago Law Review* 72 (2005): 429–454, and Stephen Feldman, “The Rule of Law or the Rule of Politics? Harmonizing the Internal and External Views of Supreme Court Decision Making,” *Law & Social Inquiry* 30 (2005): 89–129.

⁵⁵ Edward Purcell, “Rethinking Constitutional Change,” *Virginia Law Review* 80 (1994): 277–290, 280, 290.

⁵⁶ This is my third attempt in print to account for “1937,” and each time, I move closer to the internalist account. Thus White writes that I have used “a strategy of confession and avoidance . . . to buttress the conventional externalist account in the face of revisionist criticism.” White, *The Constitution and the New Deal*, 29–30. Compare Kalman, *The Strange Career of Legal Liberalism*, 348–351, n. 70, with Kalman, “Law, Politics, and the New Deal(s),” 2185–2188. My chorus has indeed become one of “Yes, but.” I also here suggest that we bury the very debate I have previously called “vibrant.” *Ibid.*, 2186.

history as it is to legal and constitutional history, along with social, economic, and political context and other interrelated and interreacting considerations.⁵⁷

The new institutionalists rightly treat the “old Court” of the 1930s as time-bound. The lack of vacancies on the Court between 1932 and 1937 was significant: Jimmy Carter and George W. Bush were the only other twentieth-century presidents who did not have spots to fill during their first terms. Unlike lawyers, historians have the luxury of being able to appreciate the Hughes Court’s historicity.

In the context of the 1930s, I agree with Ackerman: the internalists “are right in insisting that the New Deal did not reconstruct constitutional law out of thin air,” while the externalists “are right in insisting the doctrinal revolution would not have happened without sustained Presidential leadership.” If the externalists have it entirely right, which I doubt, the internalists usefully focus our attention on doctrinal evolution. If the internalists have it entirely right, which I doubt, externalists must change our dating of the “constitutional revolution.” My own current account of constitutional change would therefore highlight the significance of the Hughes, Roberts, and Cardozo appointments to the Court in 1930–1932 and the lack of vacancies afterward; the greatness of the Great Depression and the sense of emergency at home and abroad, along with the specter of dictatorship that some thought Hitler, Mussolini, and Roosevelt evoked; the difficulty of New Dealers, corporate lawyers, and the Court as they struggled to manage the legal uncertainty that created and was created by the times; Roberts’s *Nebbia* opinion and Hughes’s embrace of “a living Constitution” for himself and Roberts in *Blaisdell*; Roberts’s literal approach to constitutional interpretation in *Butler* and his shrill 1935 *Alton* opinion taking “almost medieval” conception of “the relationship of employer and employee”; the New Dealers’ disappointment in *Carter Coal*, despite the bone thrown to them by “Hughes’ prophetic citation of *Nebbia*” in his separate opinion; popular constitutionalism; the 1936 election; the waiting period of December–January, when many anticipated that Roosevelt would propose some remedy for the Court; the Court’s anxiety about the possibility that Congress would try to curb it (although I would give the 1936 election more purchase than the Court-packing bill); the sit-down strikes of 1936–1937; the importance of Roosevelt’s appointments of New Dealers to the Court between 1937 and 1941; and the end point of *Darby* and *Wickard*.⁵⁸

Why did the Court treat New Deal legislation and state minimum wage

⁵⁷ See Kersh, *Constructing Civil Liberties*, 132–133.

⁵⁸ Ackerman, *We the People: Transformations*, 29 (I discuss Ackerman’s approach to the New Deal in Kalman, “Law, Politics, and the New Deal[s],” 2165–2213); Sanford Levinson, “Constitutional Norms in a State of Permanent Emergency” (forthcoming, *University of Georgia Law Review* [pointing to the national and international sense of emergency at the time of *Blaisdell*]); Ronen Shamir, *Managing Legal Uncertainty: Elite Lawyers and the New Deal* (Durham, N.C., 1995); Leuchtenburg, *The Supreme Court Reborn*, 39 (“medieval,” “relationship”); Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 162 (“prophetic”). With respect to *Nebbia*, see Leuchtenburg, *The Supreme Court Reborn* (querying the importance of Roberts’s position), 231; David Pepper, “Against Legalism: Rebutting an Anachronistic Account of 1937,” *Marquette Law Review* 82 (1998): 63–154 (maintaining that Cushman overrated the case’s contemporary impact); for Cushman’s reply, see “Lost Fidelities,” 103–141. On the Court’s reaction to the Court-packing bill, see William Leuchtenburg, “The Nine Justices Respond to the 1937 Crisis,” *Journal of Supreme Court History* 1 (1997): 55–76; Richard Friedman, “Chief Justice Hughes’ Letter on Court-Packing,” *ibid.*, 76–86.

legislation so poorly before November 1936 and so well afterward? Some early New Deal legislation was sloppy, but not all was. Further, a bitter current of antagonism to the New Deal runs through many 1935–1936 majority opinions that poor draftsmanship alone cannot explain. Perhaps the “journalists and academics with acid-dipped pens” who attacked the Court in 1936, along with the presidential election, played a role in explaining why later New Deal measures fared so much better, beginning in December. Although FDR said nothing explicit about the Court while running for reelection, the 1936 campaign was replete with discussion of it. After the president carried every state but Maine and Vermont, all three branches of government may have recognized that “the people” had, in some way or another, spoken, although there is room for disagreement about what they said.⁵⁹

Thus, while Roberts would have been aware of the widespread dissatisfaction with *Tipaldo* earlier, the 1936 campaign and results would have made him still more conscious of it. Hughes may have, too. When Hughes and his wife invited themselves to the Robertses’ Pennsylvania farm in the summer of 1936, the chief justice and his host closeted themselves together so long they seemed rude. “What they said to one another over these many hours at a critical moment for the Court, subjected to savage condemnation for several of its decisions and with rumors brewing about reprisals Roosevelt was hatching, we have no way of knowing.”⁶⁰ But the Depression, the threat to the Court, and legal uncertainty, Roberts may have now decided, mandated change. And perhaps that was one reason he risked charges of inconsistency by joining the *Parrish* majority in December. Still, he could take comfort in the fact that the Court had not been asked to overrule *Adkins* in *Tipaldo*, and *Nebbia* might have made Roberts’s position in *Parrish* more acceptable to him intellectually. Roberts had joined the majority in *Blaisdell*, and although his literal approach to constitutional interpretation in *Butler* and his opinion in *Alton* sound like battle cries for an older United States, *Parrish* adopted *Blaisdell*’s idea of a living constitution.

⁵⁹ In addition to Cushman, Neal Devins adopts Schlesinger’s “poor draftsmanship” argument as the reason for the failure of the early New Deal before the Court. Devins, “Government Lawyers and the New Deal,” *Columbia Law Review* 96 (1996): 237–267, 241, 251. Parrish has little use for the poor draftsmanship argument in “The Hughes Court, the Great Depression, and the Historians,” 289–290, n. 13, and the same is true of Leuchtenburg in *The Supreme Court Reborn*, 231–232, 318 n. 99, and in his essay in this forum. “[J]ournalists” is from Michael Kammen, *A Machine That Would Go of Itself* (New York, 1987), 274. Ackerman argues that in 1935 and 1936, “the Court put Americans on notice that the New Deal was shaking the foundations—and that it was not too late to withdraw their mandates.” Yet when the people responded by overwhelmingly saying yes to the New Deal in 1936, judicial conservatives realized that the “switch in time” was required. Ackerman, *We the People: Transformations*, 303, 381. But see Leuchtenburg, “When the People Spoke, What Did They Say? The Election of 1936 and the Ackerman Thesis,” *Yale Law Journal* 108 (1999): 2077–2114, 2114 (cautioning that while it was not “unreasonable to assume that ‘the People’ would not long tolerate a Court that persisted in striking down legislation they cherished,” the people nevertheless viewed Constitution and the Court with “reverence”), and Barry Cushman, “Mr. Dooley and Mr. Gallup: Public Opinion and Constitutional Change in the 1930s,” *Buffalo Law Review* 50 (2002): 7–100, 66–74 (analyzing polling data and suggesting that it would be unwise to read the 1936 election results as a mandate for constitutional revolution); Gregory Caldeira, “FDR’s Court-Packing Plan in the Court of Public Opinion,” Version 4, August 2004, <http://epstein.wustl.edu/research/courses.LAPSCaldeira.pdf> (analyzing polling data in the 1936 election, questioning whether public reverence for the Court caused elite opposition to Court packing, and challenging the scholarly consensus that FDR’s promotion of Court packing caused a major change in Roosevelt’s base or a large-scale shift away from him).

⁶⁰ William Leuchtenburg, “Charles Evans Hughes: The Center Holds,” *North Carolina Law Review* 83 (2005): 1187–1203, 1199.

More generally, after the election, the four justices who had consistently opposed the New Deal stopped treating "government lawyers as though they were thieving schoolboys." Although George Creel's December 1936 *Colliers* report suggesting that FDR intended to deal with the Court did not spark a popular reaction, the justices may well have focused on it, and Creel's article may have received so little attention because of the general expectation that Roosevelt would take action. FDR's confrontational remarks about the Court in his January State of the Union address may have led the Court to anticipate a rebuke, perhaps a proposed constitutional amendment.⁶¹

Roosevelt did something even more dramatic in February: he called for changing the Court. Unlike Cushman, I doubt that Hughes, Roberts, or anyone else on the Court had "ample reason" to anticipate the president's failure. I follow Leuchtenburg in concluding that some version of the Court-packing bill might have been enacted well into the spring. Even if, as Cushman maintains, Hughes and Roberts had cause to believe that Congress would reject it—an assumption that may itself be "winner's history" in projecting the outcome back on those 168 days—surely they harbored a residue of doubt. Quite aside from Court packing, more than twenty-five bills somehow regulating the Court were introduced between January 8 and May 20, 1937. And certainly Hughes, who was indeed an adroit political strategist, and other justices fought the Court-packing bill tooth and nail. Of course, the fact that he and other justices detested Court packing and may have feared its enactment does not prove that they changed their votes in the hope of defeating Roosevelt's plan, but it makes those possibilities more likely. Although "we have stubbornly held onto a myth of the Court as some sort of institution that time forgot, the one public body that somehow managed to remain immune from pressures that remolded every other public institution," Roberts would later say publicly that "the Court took cognizance of the popular will" and testify before Congress that the Court-packing plan caused "tremendous strain and threat to the existing Court of which I was fully conscious."⁶²

Again, however, the legal story also reads as one of doctrinal evolution. Although Social Security and the National Labor Relations Act were a big deal to the New Deal, Cushman and Friedman rightly point to the behavior of the

⁶¹ Alsop and Catledge, *The 168 Days*, 139 ("government lawyers"). Leuchtenburg discusses the lack of popular reaction to Creel's report in *The Supreme Court Reborn*, 94, 122; Marian McKenna discusses the State of the Union speech in McKenna, *Franklin Roosevelt and the Great Constitutional War: The Court-Packing Crisis of 1937* (New York, 2002), 258–263. While Roosevelt said that a constitutional amendment had no chance of passage, David Kyvig argues that Congress might have enacted a constitutional amendment, which would have had a more "strong and solid . . . constitutional foundation" under the New Deal. Kyvig, *Explicit and Authentic Acts: Amending the U.S. Constitution, 1776–1995* (Lawrence, Kans., 1996), 305, 314, 481–483.

⁶² Gely and Spiller list the bills introduced to regulate the Court during 1937 in "The Political Economy of Supreme Court Constitutional Decisions," 58–59. Yet the large number of bills introduced may have indicated liberal disarray and an inability to agree on a solution, which may have augured poorly for the Court-packing bill. William Ross, *A Muted Fury: Populists, Progressives, and Labor Unions Confront the Courts, 1890–1937* (Princeton, N.J., 1994), 309. "[M]yth" is from Kramer, *The People Themselves*, 240; Roberts is quoted in Charles Leonard, *A Search for Judicial Philosophy: Mr. Justice Roberts and the Constitutional Revolution of 1937* (Port Washington, N.Y., 1971), 144, 180.

“conservative” justices in the Social Security cases. And like Cushman, I see *Darby* and *Wickard* as a giant doctrinal step forward from *Jones & Laughlin*.⁶³

In the end, what scholars conclude about “1937” may depend on which pair of disciplinary glasses they choose to bring to the table, and many today possess more than one. Thus the larger the table we set, the better. Where Friedman concludes that “[t]he strongest reason for rejecting the overt political explanation is that there is no support for it other than a brief and not unprecedented flurry of liberal decisions while the Court-packing plan was pending,” someone else will focus on “the flurry” and the astonished reaction to it. As Cushman reminds us, there is no “utterly irrefutable smoking gun,” and we all draw different inferences from the circumstantial evidence.⁶⁴

Ultimately, that is, the constitutional crisis of 1937 underscores the vexed problems of causation and interpretation. Serena Mayeri asks what we might make of a hypothetical newly discovered diary entry by Justice Roberts indicating that the 1936 election results moved him to side with the majority in *Parrish*. Would it resolve the debate? Unlikely. It might be that “the forces shaping his decision were . . . just too complex to express.”⁶⁵

This uncertainty we accept when we decide to become historians. However much we study, we will never know. Yet as we learn more, we can always change our minds. And we are optimists; that we can never be sure what happened and why does not deter us from embarking on the voyage of discovery. Perhaps, however, we might tentatively advance our conclusions about what we see along the way, even if that means using the vertical pronoun. In the case of “1937,” we should try to reconstruct the political and legal worlds of the justices. By re-creating both, we may better understand, at least in the context of the New Deal, how law and politics feed on each other.

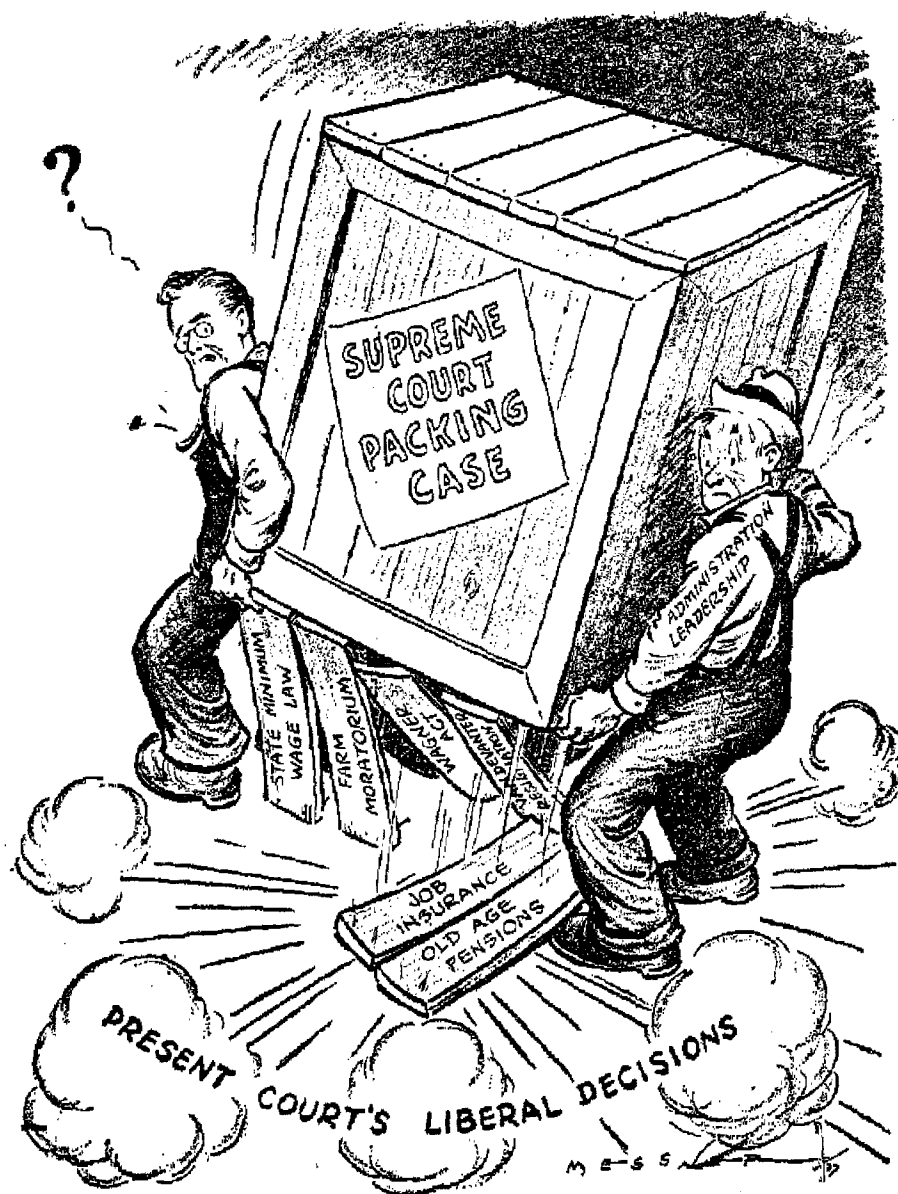
⁶³ Extrapolating from Rosenberg’s *Hollow Hope*, however, we might ask ourselves how much the National Labor Relations Act and judicial interpretation of it mattered and when. While its constitutionality was unclear and the National Labor Relations Board cases were pending, employers hostile to unions ignored it, and the shift toward mass-production unionization was due in large part to the tactics of workers themselves. David Brody, *Workers in Industrial America: Essays on the Twentieth Century Struggle* (New York, 1980), 103–107. Even so, perhaps a majority of the Court regarded the NLRA as a possible balm for the rash of sit-down strikes and was more inclined to uphold it for that reason. Jim Pope, “Worker Lawmaking, Sit-Down Strikes, and the Shaping of American Industrial Relations, 1935–38,” *Law and History Review* 24 (forthcoming, 2006). The Court also could have been moved by “the inherited Commerce Clause jurisprudence, the particular facts of the NLRB cases, and the arguments advanced by government attorneys.” Parrish, *The Hughes Court*, 179. And in the case of *Darby* and *Wickard*, of course, context also remains important. In part, *Wickard* reflected the changed personnel on the Court and the need to increase food production during World War II. Mary Dudziak, “Wheat Farmers and the Battle for Democracy: Another Look at *Wickard v. Filburn*” (unpublished paper, Association of American Law Schools, 1993). The larger and more general point is that “[b]y any criteria, . . . the major issues in the explanation of judicial behavior are far from settled.” Lawrence Baum, *The Puzzle of Judicial Behavior* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1997), 125.

⁶⁴ Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 5.

⁶⁵ Serena Mayeri to Laura Kalman, American Legal History Final, Yale Law School, May 2001.

Laura Kalman is Professor of History at the University of California, Santa Barbara. She is the author of *Legal Realism at Yale, 1927–1960*; *Abe Fortas: A Biography*; *The Strange Career of Legal Liberalism*; and *Yale Law School and the Sixties: Revolt and Reverberations*. She is currently at work on a book about the political culture of the United States during the 1970s.

The Bottom's Practically Out of It



"The Bottom's Practically Out of It." Drawing by Elmer R. Messner, originally published in the *Rochester Times Union* on May 25, 1937. Reproduced courtesy of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

AHR Forum
Comment on Laura Kalman's Article

WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG

LAURA KALMAN'S ARTICLE IS SPLENDID. She lays out the internalist and externalist arguments thoroughly and fairly; shows her impressive command of the literature and of the fields of both history and law; advances cogently her own point of view; and ends with a plea for civility that I heartily endorse. I share, too, her discomfort with the terms "externalist" and "internalist," which are unfair to most scholars consigned to either compartment, but I follow her in employing them because they are convenient.

In only one respect would I modify slightly what she has said, and that is not to differ with her but to underscore what she has written. She notes, quite rightly, that a controversy about how to interpret the constitutional history of the 1930s has heated up. Dwelling on the emergence of that dispute, though, may inadvertently leave the impression that only in recent years has there been a challenge to what is now characterized as the orthodox view. In fact, there has never been a time when there has not been an alternative perception. When I first began serious work on the U.S. Supreme Court in 1962, the contention that the Court had not altered its position in 1937 was ancient doctrine.

One aspect of Justice Owen Roberts's alleged switch had long been established. The Court in *Morehead v. New York ex rel. Tipaldo* had struck down a state minimum wage law, with Roberts in the 5–4 majority, in June 1936;¹ President Roosevelt sent his message on reorganizing the judiciary in February 1937;² the Court handed down *West Coast Hotel v. Parrish*³ upholding minimum wage legislation, with Roberts in a new 5–4 majority, in March. Ergo, it initially seemed reasonable to assume, Roberts had shifted in response to the Court-packing threat. But we have known for decades that, though the *Parrish* decision was announced in March, the vote had been taken prior to FDR's thunderbolt, and hence Court-packing legislation could not have influenced Roberts on that case. Only three days after *West Coast Hotel* was handed down, the columnist David Lawrence published an account asserting that Roberts had recorded his changed attitude in December.⁴ Furthermore, in 1962, the Frankfurter essay in the *University*

¹ 298 U.S. 587 (1936).

² *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, ed. Samuel I. Rosenman, 13 vols. (New York, 1938–1950), 5: 51–66.

³ 300 U.S. 379 (1937).

⁴ David Lawrence, "Minimum Wage Edicts," April 1, 1937, copy in Joseph Pulitzer Papers, Library of Congress, Box 76. Another prominent correspondent wrote in the same vein. See Franklyn Waltman in the *Washington Post*, May 30, 1937.

of *Pennsylvania Law Review*,⁵ with the Roberts memo, was already seven years old. I stated in my book on Roosevelt and the New Deal published in 1963: "There has been a good deal of speculation about why Roberts joined the liberal majority. It is clear that Roosevelt's Court message was not responsible, for the minimum-wage decision was reached before the President sent his message."⁶

I have never regarded myself as an externalist—although I suppose that label is a sort of promotion from being called a "consensus historian" or a "born-again New Dealer." If being characterized as an externalist implies that I believe that the Court is simply an institution that registers the mindsets of the justices, nothing could be more mistaken. I have never thought that. How could anyone who has worked as often as I have in the papers of Harlan Fiske Stone possibly think that judges are ideological automatons? Stone, who so emphatically upheld the constitutionality of the Agricultural Adjustment Act's processing tax in his *Butler* dissent,⁷ wrote a New York lawyer, "You do not dislike the A.A.A. any more than I do. I think probably not as much." He added: "That perhaps was what made me emphasize the fact that our function is not to get rid of laws merely because we don't like them. If that were the criterion I should have been on the other side."⁸ Nor have I ever supposed that simplistic political explanations are credible. Any historian with the remotest familiarity with this period knows that the justice who gave FDR the most trouble was James McReynolds, appointed by the Democrat Woodrow Wilson, and the justice who was the most articulate defender of the constitutionality of most of the New Deal was Stone, nominated by the Republican Calvin Coolidge. As recently as 1995, I took issue with a scholar who attributed the ruling in the Washington minimum wage case to "Franklin D. Roosevelt's appointments" by writing, "In fact, the decision in *West Coast Hotel v. Parrish* was reached before Roosevelt had made even one appointment."⁹

Those who do maintain that the Court is merely a political instrumentality would cite first and foremost the behavior of the justices in the disputed elections of 1876 and 2000, when their positions largely followed party lines. But when Linda Greenhouse, who was writing an article on *Bush v. Gore*¹⁰ for the *New York Times*, interviewed me on the telephone, I told her that although the most obvious explanation of the split decision was political, I did not like to think of the Court that way and was struggling to reconcile its intervention, which seemed so untethered doctrinally, with the record of the Court in rulings such as *Alden v. Maine*¹¹ that showed such deference to the states.

Far from taking a reflexively externalist attitude, I started out with the as-

⁵ Felix Frankfurter, "Mr. Justice Roberts," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 104 (1955): 311–349.

⁶ William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932–1940* (New York, 1963), 236n.

⁷ *United States v. Butler*, 297 U.S. 1 (1936) at 78–88.

⁸ Harlan Fiske Stone to C. C. Burlingham, January 9, 1936, Box 7, Stone Papers, Library of Congress.

⁹ William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Supreme Court Reborn: The Constitutional Revolution in the Age of Roosevelt* (New York, 1995), 311.

¹⁰ *Bush v. Gore*, 531 U.S. 98 (2000).

¹¹ 119 S. Ct. 2240 (1999). I have discussed the Rehnquist Court's federalism decisions in "The Tenth Amendment over Two Centuries: More than a Truism," in *The Tenth Amendment and State Sovereignty: Constitutional History and Contemporary Issues*, ed. Mark R. Killenbeck (Lanham, Md., 2002), 41–105.

sumption that the Roberts memo should be accepted. In the 1963 book, I wrote with respect to FDR's fear that the minimum wage ruling foredoomed New Deal legislation: "In fact, the situation was not quite this serious, for Roberts had joined the majority in the *Morehead* case on technical grounds."¹² It was only after years of study that I came to a contrary conviction, which was reinforced by one of my students. The well-known article by John Chambers was written in my doctoral seminar at Columbia, and I do not see how the Roberts memo can anymore be taken as gospel after the trenchant argument that Chambers mounts.¹³

In seeking to understand the Court's behavior in the 1930s, I find the externalist explanation more cogent than the internalist, not because I think that justices are always political agents who write elaborate opinions as glosses for their preconceptions, but because in this particular instance—a highly unusual instance, one called nothing less than a "revolution"¹⁴—external influences are more congruent with the evidence.

Internalists trace the origins of the change in the 1930s to *Nebbia*¹⁵ in 1934, and I agree that that was a remarkable decision and an even more remarkable opinion. The New York law at issue must have been a difficult one for the Court to abide. At a time in the Great Depression when millions were not sure where their next meal was coming from, the act boosted the price of milk and punished any grocer who sold milk cheaper. Benno Schmidt, with whom I taught at Columbia Law School for a number of years, once told me that when he was a student at Yale Law School, Robert Bork taught that this was a truly nutty statute. Leo Nebbia, a Rochester grocer, had run afoul of the law by selling a customer two quarts of milk at the price set by a state board but then tossing in a loaf of bread, thereby, it was said, undercutting the mandatory price. If there was any way for the Court to validate such a law, it was presumably by saying that milk could be incorporated into the "affected with a public interest" doctrine enunciated in 1877 by Chief Justice Morrison R. Waite.¹⁶ Instead, in a bold opinion by Roberts, it upheld the act without relying on that rationale but by advancing a broad-gauged acceptance of governmental power.

Why, then, am I unpersuaded that *Nebbia* is a watershed? Quite simply because of what followed. Only a year after Roberts spoke in *Nebbia*, he wrote his benighted opinion in *Rail Pension*.¹⁷ Over the next thirteen months, he sided with the Four Horsemen in every case in which they were united, which is to say virtually every New Deal case. During that period, the Court struck down more important laws,

¹² Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, 232n. "*Morehead*" was an alternative shorthand for *Tipaldo*.

¹³ John W. Chambers, "The Big Switch: Justice Roberts and the Minimum-Wage Cases," *Labor History* 10 (Winter 1969): 44–73. See, too, the perceptive comments of Michael E. Parrish in *Felix Frankfurter and His Times: The Reform Years* (New York, 1982), 270–271.

¹⁴ The term "constitutional revolution of 1937" is commonplace. As early as 1938, E. S. Corwin used the rubric "*constitutional revolution*," which he italicized, to encapsulate the 1937 revamping. Corwin, *Court over Constitution: A Study of Judicial Review as an Instrument of Popular Government* (Princeton, N.J., 1938), 124. For a later example, see Bernard Schwartz, *The Supreme Court: Constitutional Revolution in Retrospect* (New York, 1957).

¹⁵ *Nebbia v. New York*, 291 U.S. 502 (1934).

¹⁶ *Munn v. Illinois*, 94 U.S. 113 (1877).

¹⁷ *Railroad Retirement Board v. Alton R. Co.*, 295 U.S. 330 (1935). I devoted a chapter to this case in *The Supreme Court Reborn*.

federal and state, than at any time in its over two centuries' history, before or since. Nothing about that performance indicates a slow evolution of doctrine toward a more expansive view of the powers of the state.

Certainly Franklin Roosevelt's experience did not suggest that *Nebbia* should have given him comfort. In January 1935, less than a year after *Nebbia*, the Supreme Court, ruling on a New Deal statute for the first time in the "hot oil" cases, invalidated a section of the National Industrial Recovery Act.¹⁸ Six weeks later, the Court reprimanded the government for repudiating gold clauses in Liberty Bonds and came within one vote of throwing the financial markets into chaos.¹⁹ Roberts's opinion in *Rail Pension* came down in early May, and in late May, on "Black Monday," the Court ruled 9–0 against the government in three cases.²⁰ The most important of these decisions, *Schechter*, knocked out one of the two foundation stones of the New Deal, the National Industrial Recovery Act, and at the start of the new year, in January, *Butler* destroyed the other, the Agricultural Adjustment Act.²¹ The rest of 1936 was no less dismal. In *Jones v. SEC*, Justice George Sutherland likened a not unreasonable stipulation by the Securities and Exchange Commission to the "intolerable abuses of the Star Chamber" in Stuart England.²² The Court ended its term with adverse decisions on government action on three successive Mondays: *Carter*, which ruled that a "little New Deal" regulating the bituminous coal industry invaded states' rights, even though seven states had filed *amicus* briefs asking that the law be sustained;²³ *Ashton*, which invalidated a municipal bankruptcy act intended not to aggrandize national authority but to preserve the integrity of local governments;²⁴ and *Tipaldo*, which shocked the nation by striking down a New York minimum wage law for women and children.²⁵

Little wonder that Roosevelt, far from expressing contentment with *Nebbia* and its offspring, concluded after *Tipaldo* that the Court had created a "no-man's land" where no Government—State or Federal—can function."²⁶ Stone did not deny this. "Our latest exploit was a holding by a divided vote that there was no power in a state to regulate minimum wages for women," he reported. "Since the Court last week said that this could not be done by the national government, as the matter was local, and now it is said that it cannot be done by local governments, even though it is local, we seem to have tied Uncle Sam up in a hard knot."²⁷ One cannot find in these words the shadow of a hint that *Nebbia* had transformed the judicial landscape.

¹⁸ *Panama Refining Co. v. Ryan*, 293 U.S. 388 (1935).

¹⁹ *Perry v. United States*, 294 U.S. 330 (1935).

²⁰ *Schechter Poultry Corp. v. United States*, 295 U.S. 495 (1935); *Louisville Joint Stock Land Bank v. Radford*, 295 U.S. 555 (1935); *Humphrey's Executor v. United States*, 295 U.S. 602 (1935). The opinion in *Schechter*, which turned on the issue of improper delegation, took a very narrow view of the commerce power, an attitude that had been foreshadowed by *Chassaniol v. City of Greenwood*, 291 U.S. 584 (1934), handed down just one week after *Nebbia*.

²¹ 297 U.S. 1 (1936).

²² 298 U.S. 1 (1936).

²³ *Carter v. Carter Coal Co.*, 298 U.S. 238 (1936).

²⁴ *Ashton v. Cameron County District*, 298 U.S. 513 (1936).

²⁵ *Morehead v. New York ex rel. Tipaldo*, 298 U.S. 587 (1936).

²⁶ Roosevelt, *Public Papers*, 5: 191–192.

²⁷ Mason, *Stone*, 426.

I altogether agree with the internalists that we should place the decisions of 1935 and 1936 in the context of a longer line of rulings, but I have a different read on which cases are pertinent. I see the decisions of 1935 and 1936 as the climax of a sequence that begins with *Hammer v. Dagenhart*²⁸ in 1918, which struck down the first Child Labor Act. Over the next decade, there ensued *Duplex Printing Press Co. v. Deering*,²⁹ which emasculated the Clayton Act's safeguards for labor unions; *Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Co.*,³⁰ which invalidated the second Child Labor Act; *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*,³¹ which struck down a District of Columbia minimum wage law for women as infringing freedom of contract; *Burns Baking Co. v. Bryan*,³² which found that a state law regulating the weight of bread denied due process; *Tyson & Brothers v. Banton*,³³ which invalidated a New York statute regulating the resale of theater tickets; and *Ribnik v. McBride*,³⁴ which struck down a state law monitoring employment agencies.

I also agree that we should not confine ourselves to the textbook cases such as *Schechter* but should look at the whole corpus of rulings in Roosevelt's first term. But scrutinizing less-noticed decisions such as *Mayflower Farms*³⁵ and *Great Northern*,³⁶ in both of which Justices Charles Evans Hughes and Owen Roberts joined the Four Horsemen, only weakens the internalist argument. Roberts and Hughes, said Felix Frankfurter, "reached terrible depths in the *Mayflower* case."³⁷

If we were to single out one of the less familiar cases, it might well be *Colgate v. Harvey*³⁸ in 1935. There, in ruling against a Vermont tax law, the Court resurrected the privileges-and-immunities clause, which had never before been used to invalidate a law and had been regarded as having been "read out" of the Constitution. Forty-four times, counsel had raised the privileges-and-immunities clause, and forty-four times it had been rejected.

The *Colgate* decision left Frankfurter beside himself. That evening, he wired Stone: "Gosh it is unbelievable. Apparently history and precedents mean nothing."³⁹ Three days later, he unburdened himself to Stone at greater length:

Being an extrovert, I sleep very easily as a rule, but last night I woke twice and each time I went over in my mind the decisions of your Court during the last thirty years to think of one that was more unjustifiable than the *Colgate* case. I thought of all the stock mishaps—*Lochner*, *Burns Baking*, *Ribnik* . . . and all the rest. But honestly, the disinterment of "privileges and immunities" and their perversion to the use put in the *Colgate* decision, seems to me the end of the limit.⁴⁰

²⁸ 247 U.S. 251 (1918).

²⁹ 254 U.S. 443 (1921).

³⁰ 259 U.S. 20 (1922).

³¹ 261 U.S. 525 (1923).

³² 264 U.S. 504 (1924).

³³ 273 U.S. 418 (1928).

³⁴ 277 U.S. 350 (1928).

³⁵ *Mayflower Farms, Inc. v. Ten Eyck*, 297 U.S. 269 (1936).

³⁶ *Great Northern Railway v. Weeks*, 297 U.S. 135 (1936).

³⁷ Felix Frankfurter to Harlan Fiske Stone, February 12, 1936, Box 13, Stone Papers.

³⁸ 296 U.S. 404 (1935).

³⁹ Felix Frankfurter to Harlan Fiske Stone, December 16, 1935, Box 105, Frankfurter Papers, Library of Congress.

⁴⁰ Felix Frankfurter to Harlan Fiske Stone, December 19, 1935, *ibid.* In *Lochner v. New York*, 198 U.S. 45 (1905), the Court, divided 5–4, struck down a New York state law limiting the hours of labor

Three weeks later, he was still steaming. *Colgate*, Frankfurter told James Landis, was “the most indefensible decision, on any Court, in my lifetime.”⁴¹

Frankfurter’s distinguished Harvard Law School colleague Thomas Reed Powell expressed no less dismay. He wrote the president of a bank in Vermont’s largest city:

We are intellectually outraged here at the Supreme Court’s decision in the *Colgate* case. In invoking the privileges and immunities clause of the Fourteenth Amendment the Court has for the first time opened a door that many times before it had refused to open, and there seems to be no telling where the Court can go now that the door is open. If the Court is going to pick new, strange clubs out of the air to swat anything that it doesn’t like, the subject of constitutional law will be as stable as a kaleidoscope operated by an electric battery.⁴²

Where, then, is the long period of incubation that the internalists see?

Far from thinking we should look only at external political pressure and dismiss the reasoning of judges, I believe we should pay the closest attention to what judges say. If *Nebbia* in 1934 marked the beginning of a doctrinal shift on the Court, how does one account for Stone’s accusation that in *Butler* Roberts had engaged in a “tortured construction of the Constitution”⁴³ and that in *Tipaldo* the Court had given way to “personal economic predilections”?⁴⁴ On yet another occasion, Stone wrote Frankfurter: “You doubtless have read by this time the Court’s opinion in the Jones (Securities Act) case. It was written for morons, and such will no doubt take comfort from it. But I can hardly believe that intelligent people, trained in the law, will swallow such buncombe.”⁴⁵ How does one explain Cardozo’s saying of that same opinion, in which Hughes as well as Roberts joined the Four Horsemen, that the Court had given comfort to “clever knaves”?⁴⁶ Or Cardozo, speaking also for Louis Brandeis and Stone, rebuking justices in the majority in *Carter* by stating, “A great principle of constitutional law is not susceptible of comprehensive statement in an adjective,” and “The opinion of the court begins at the wrong end”?⁴⁷ Finally, if *Nebbia* in 1934 was a milestone in a doctrinal transmutation, why did Justice Stone write his sister at the end of the session in 1936, “We finished the term of Court yesterday, I think in many ways one of the most disastrous in its history”?⁴⁸

Furthermore, if there was a slowly evolving paradigm shift, how does one explain that not one of the most distinguished law professors of the day recognized it? “The Hoosac Mills [*Butler*] case will live to torment the defenders of judicial supremacy long after the issue of farmers’ relief has become a historical episode,”

of bakers. The opinion by Justice Rufus Peckham was long regarded as the high-water mark of usurpation by the courts of legislative authority.

⁴¹ Felix Frankfurter to James M. Landis, January 9, 1936, Box 10, Frankfurter Papers.

⁴² Thomas Reed Powell to Levi P. Smith, April 6, 1936, January 3, 1936, Powell Papers, Harvard University Law School, Cambridge, Mass.

⁴³ 297 U.S. 1 at 87.

⁴⁴ 298 U.S. at 633.

⁴⁵ Stone to Frankfurter, April 7, 1936, Box 105, Frankfurter Papers.

⁴⁶ 298 U.S. 1 at 32.

⁴⁷ 298 U.S. 238 at 327, 341.

⁴⁸ Alpheus Thomas Mason, *Harlan Fiske Stone: Pillar of the Law* (New York, 1956), 425. In a trenchant essay, David A. Pepper has demonstrated how problematic is any attempt to present *Nebbia* as the fountainhead of the constitutional changeover in the 1930s. “Against Legalism: Rebutting an Anachronistic Account of 1937,” *Marquette Law Review* 82 (1998): 63–154.

declared Howard Lee McBain, Ruggles Professor of Constitutional Law at Columbia, in a feature article in the *New York Times*. "It is a shining and warning example of judicial supremacy at its worst."⁴⁹ And from Harvard Law School, Frankfurter wrote, "'They know not what they do,' these bunnies on the Court."⁵⁰

Some writers insist that the Court struck down so many laws in the 1930s for two reasons: they were badly drafted, especially during the frenzy of the First Hundred Days, and they were poorly argued. I understand why that is said. The first laws were hastily drawn, and the first solicitor general, who came, I am sorry to say, from my adopted state of North Carolina, was incompetent. But there are two problems with these contentions. One is that the most notorious decision of this period, *Tipaldo*, fell on a New York law that had been exquisitely drafted by two of the finest practitioners in the country, Ben Cohen and Felix Frankfurter, who had taken pains to work around Justice Sutherland's opinion in *Adkins*. And it did not matter. (When Roberts, who voted to strike down that law, approved another minimum wage statute in *West Coast Hotel*, that law was not nearly so well drafted.) The second is that after the initial bungling, Roosevelt, as early as March 1935, found a first-rate solicitor general in Stanley Reed. And again it did not matter. In arguing one of the New Deal farm cases, Reed was harried so relentlessly from the bench that he fainted in the courtroom. As Michael Parrish has written, the claim that sloppy draftsmanship and inept argument explain FDR's travail is "not a reasonable interpretation of the administration's misfortunes in cases such as *Butler*, *Carter Coal*, and *Jones*," and "is a preposterous explanation for the Court's behavior with respect to the state laws invalidated in *Morehead*, *Colgate*, *Great Northern*, and *Mayflower*."⁵¹

It has been asserted that FDR's Court-packing venture could not have impelled the Court to switch in 1937 because the justices were unflustered. In fact, Roosevelt's message of February 5 badly rattled them. The Scripps-Howard columnist Raymond Clapper set down in his diary after the Court convened the following Monday: "Veterans around court said they never saw such [an] irregular day." The chief justice fumbled the orders of the Court, Clapper noted. Brandeis popped through the curtain ahead of cue, then scurried back. "Potter, press room clerk, said, 'My God, the court is punch drunk.'"⁵² Several of the justices were uncharacteristically indiscreet in letting their disapproval of Roosevelt's plan be known. McReynolds, in particular, aroused strong criticism by attacking the president for poor sportsmanship in a speech at a fraternity gathering in a Washington hotel.⁵³

It is further said that the Court could not have switched under pressure in 1937 because there never was any chance that FDR's proposal would be enacted, and that the justices knew this. The evidence against these premises is formidable. Con-

⁴⁹ Howard Lee McBain, "The Issue: Court or Congress?" *New York Times Magazine*, January 19, 1936, 1, 22.

⁵⁰ Frankfurter to James M. Landis, January 9, 1936, Box 10, Landis Papers, Library of Congress.

⁵¹ Parrish, *Felix Frankfurter and His Times*, 319.

⁵² Raymond Clapper MS. Diary, February 8, 1937, Clapper Papers, Library of Congress. I have discussed this matter at length in "The Nine Justices Respond to the 1937 Crisis," *Journal of Supreme Court History* 1 (1997): 55-75.

⁵³ *Washington Post*, March 17, 1937, 1; *Baltimore Sun*, July 15, 1937, clipping, Joseph T. Robinson Scrapbooks, Robinson Papers, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.

sider the political situation. Roosevelt had just won an overwhelming victory and had pulled scores of grateful Democrats into office with him. Of the ninety-six seats in the Senate, the Republicans held only sixteen. There were so many Democrats that several had to sit on the GOP side of the aisle. In the House, Democrats outnumbered Republicans four to one. Early in April, a week before the Wagner Act rulings were announced, *Time* concluded, "Last week the sta[u]nchest foes of the President's Plan were privately conceding that . . . the necessary votes were already in his pockets."⁵⁴

Even after the Court's decisions in *West Coast Hotel*, *Jones & Laughlin*, and the *Social Security* cases,⁵⁵ and after the retirement of one of the Four Horsemen, a revised Court-packing measure that would give Roosevelt three appointments in the next six months commanded substantial support. On July 12, the floor leader of the opposition, Senator Edward Burke of Nebraska, sent the publisher Frank Gannett, who headed the chief lobby against the plan, a confidential memo giving his estimate of the likely outcome. Alongside each name on an official U.S. Senate tally sheet, he checked the vote he expected and then scrawled the total: 52 ayes, 44 nays.⁵⁶

On some important issues, I doubt that there is any disagreement between internalists and externalists. I do not think anyone is suggesting that in foreign affairs there was a conflict between the president and the Court, especially in light of Sutherland's opinion in *Curtiss-Wright*.⁵⁷ And I do not know of anyone who believes that the incorporation of the Bill of Rights in the Fourteenth Amendment began in 1937. Unquestionably, it started earlier—in the dictum in *Gitlow*⁵⁸ and the 1931 decisions in *Stromberg*⁵⁹ and *Near*.⁶⁰

We are divided, though, about the paradigm shift on the Court in the 1930s. If someone asks me, "What brought about that change?" I give what I think is the only reply that anyone can give: "I don't know for certain." Nobody does. And we do not know in good part because crucial material is unavailable. There are papers, ample or thin, for eight of the nine justices, and I have been to all of them. The one missing is the one we want most: Owen Roberts's. Paul Freund once told me that he had gone with Roberts's widow up into the loft of a barn in Pennsylvania in hope that they might be there. No luck. Not only are there no Roberts papers, but there are almost no Roberts letters of the 1930s in any other collection. It is as though some malevolent Orwellian figure went from archive to archive plucking them out. Moreover, Felix Frankfurter's diary for 1937, which might have been revealing, was stolen from the Library of Congress. For many years, scholars have been hoping that the thief will have an attack of conscience and return the diary and other Frankfurter papers, but so far that desire has been unrewarded.

Since there is no smoking gun, we have to sift the evidence to find the most

⁵⁴ *Time*, April 5, 1937, 13.

⁵⁵ *Carmichael v. So. Coal & Coke Co.*, 301 U.S. 495 (1937); *Steward Machine Co. v. Davis*, 301 U.S. 548 (1937); *Helvering v. Davis*, 301 U.S. 619 (1937).

⁵⁶ Memo, Box 16, Frank Gannett Papers, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.

⁵⁷ *United States v. Curtiss-Wright Export Corp.*, 299 U.S. 304 (1936).

⁵⁸ *Gitlow v. New York*, 268 U.S. 652 (1925).

⁵⁹ *Stromberg v. California*, 283 U.S. 359 (1931).

⁶⁰ *Near v. Minnesota*, 283 U.S. 697 (1931).

plausible scenario. Four possible explanations, or some combination of them, are the most probable. One is that Roberts and, to an extent, Hughes reconsidered because of the hammering inflicted on them by the legal community. After Roberts's opinion in *Butler*, Fleming James of Yale Law School wrote Stone: "You may be interested to know a dictum that has been going about among the students of the Law School here—a dictum attributed to a certain colorful member of the faculty, who says he didn't say it, but it's true—viz—that Owen's decision would not get a D in any course in constitutional law in any first class law school."⁶¹ When McReynolds delivered an opinion for the Court in *Ashton* to which Roberts signed on, Frankfurter wrote Stone: "I am bound to say that his decision in the Municipal Bankruptcy Case is intellectually . . . contemptible . . . You will agree, I know, what Holmes, J., would have said to the argument that the acceptance of a voluntary bankruptcy by a municipality necessarily leads to recognition of the right to impose involuntary bankruptcy. He would have said, 'It makes me puke.'"⁶² Over a stretch of nearly two years, critiques in law journals echoed these harsh indictments. Of thirteen law journals that expressed judgments on *Colgate*, twelve were unfavorable, many of them lacerating.

The justices might also have become responsive to mounting popular discontent. Although the Court continued to command considerable respect, rulings by the "nine old fossils"⁶³ riled so many Americans that drastic legislative action seemed increasingly likely. On the night of the *Butler* decision, alongside a highway near the Iowa State University campus in Ames, police came upon life-size black-robed effigies of the six justices who had voted to strike down the AAA; each had been hanged.⁶⁴ A North Carolina congressman wrote a constituent, "You actually have no idea how many people would like to get a crack at at least six of the old boys."⁶⁵ As the Court mulled over the fate of the Tennessee Valley Authority, a Montana congressman introduced a bill stipulating that if the TVA law was invalidated, the seat of every justice who voted to kill it would automatically be vacated.⁶⁶ These assaults on the Court coincided with a wave of labor militancy, highlighted by sit-down strikes, that whipped up still more fury at the Supreme Court, which was expected to invalidate the National Labor Relations Act. "The years 1935–1937," Michael Nelson has observed, "saw more 'Court-curbing' bills introduced in Congress than in any other three-year (or thirty-five-year) period in history."⁶⁷ While the country was still raging about the 5–4 *Tipaldo* decision and before *West Coast Hotel* was considered, Hughes spent many hours as a guest at Roberts's Pennsylvania farm absorbed in talk—afternoon, evening, and morning—and it is con-

⁶¹ Fleming James to Harlan Fiske Stone, January 23, 1936, Box 82, Stone Papers. See also John H. Clarke to Newton D. Baker, February 11, 1936, File 3, Folder 24, Clarke Papers, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.

⁶² Frankfurter to Stone, May 28, 1936, Box 105, Frankfurter Papers.

⁶³ *New York Times*, February 11, 1936, 15.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, January 8, 1936, 15.

⁶⁵ Anthony J. Badger, *Prosperity Road: The New Deal, Tobacco, and North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1980), 122.

⁶⁶ *New York Times*, February 10, 1936, 4.

⁶⁷ Michael Nelson, "The President and the Court: Reinterpreting the Court-Packing Episode of 1937," *Political Science Quarterly* 103 (1988): 273, citing Stuart S. Nagel, "Court-Curbing Periods in American History," *Vanderbilt Law Review* 18 (1965): 925.

ceivable that the chief justice was counseling his younger colleague that the Court as an institution was in jeopardy and needed to be responsive.⁶⁸ There is one particularly arresting testimonial to the potency of popular opinion articulated by a retired jurist in 1951: "Looking back, it is difficult to see how the Court could have resisted the popular urge for . . . what in effect was a unified economy." The author of that statement? Owen Roberts.⁶⁹

A third script focuses on the presumed impact of the 1936 election. Some scholars have scoffed at that notion, since the Court was so unaffected by the big Democratic gains in the midterm elections in 1934, but the situation in 1936 was very different. In 1934 the Court had yet to strike down a single piece of New Deal legislation, so the contests that year could not possibly be seen as a referendum on its behavior. In addition, the 1934 races did not begin to have the prominence of the 1936 election, when the American people were being asked whether they wanted to keep Franklin Roosevelt in the White House.

The 1936 returns delivered a seismic shock. The most highly regarded public opinion poll, that of the *Literary Digest*, which in 1932 had come within one point of predicting FDR's percentage of the popular vote, had forecast on the eve of the 1936 election that Roosevelt would be trounced.⁷⁰ On the day before the election, Justice Willis Van Devanter foresaw a close race, and that summer Justice McReynolds had written his brother, "There seems a growing feeling that Roosevelt will be defeated."⁷¹ No judge anticipated the staggering dimensions of FDR's landslide as, carrying all but two of the states, he ran up the biggest electoral victory since 1820, when James Monroe ran unopposed. The justices could well have believed in 1935 and 1936 that in striking down New Deal legislation, they were not balking the popular will but were preserving the republic until the people got the opportunity to oust Roosevelt. After the torrent of ballots for FDR in 1936, no one could any longer think that.

A final hypothesis is that the threat of Court packing influenced the justices. Although FDR's message could not have been responsible for Roberts's switch in the minimum wage cases, foreboding that the president would soon go on the offensive may have contributed. Despite Roosevelt's determination to quiet the Court issue in the 1936 campaign, newspaper readers encountered numbers of warnings that if elected, FDR might pack the Court. The *New York Post* wrote, "He may add four liberals in order to insure a sympathetic approach by the Court to the New Deal Program," and a nationally syndicated columnist asserted, "You can mark it down as a strong possibility that some time within the next year there will be more than nine justices . . . Strategists whisper that it is more than a tentative proposal."⁷²

⁶⁸ Frances Perkins, Columbia Oral History Collection, 71–74.

⁶⁹ Owen J. Roberts, *The Court and the Constitution: The Oliver Wendell Holmes Lectures* (Port Washington, N.Y., 1951, 1969), 61.

⁷⁰ *Literary Digest*, October 31, 1936, 5–6.

⁷¹ Willis Van Devanter to Mrs. John W. Lacey, November 2, 1936, Volume 52, Van Devanter Papers, Library of Congress; James C. McReynolds to Dr. Robert P. McReynolds, July 4, 1936, McReynolds Papers, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.

⁷² *New York Evening Post*, January 8, 1936, clipping, PPS Box 70, Herbert Hoover Papers, West Branch, Iowa; Rodney Dutcher, "Behind the Scenes in Washington," *Brownsville (Tex.) Herald*, May 27, 1936.

When Roosevelt did, in fact, announce his judiciary reorganization scheme on February 5, 1937, the menace to the Court as an institution became so palpable that it is unlikely that it had no consequence, as internalists maintain. Contemporary observers did not question what brought about the surprising ruling in *Jones & Laughlin*.⁷³ A national columnist reported: "If you ask the average well informed authority on the Supreme Court the 'why' of its decision in the Wagner labor cases, you will be informed: 'Chief Justice Hughes wanted to save the court.'"⁷⁴ Charles Beard wrote an editor, "F.D. sure did scare the old boys,"⁷⁵ and a Philadelphia newspaper declared:

Lloyd George put over the British New Deal of 1909 by threatening to pack the House of Lords.

Mr. Roosevelt has won another major battle for our own New Deal by a similar threat against our own House of Lords—the Supreme Court.⁷⁶

The foremost scholars of the day, and of subsequent generations, have found the same connection. "The logic of history is chronologic," asserted E. S. Corwin. "One cannot be blind to the . . . simple fact that February 5, 1937, came before April 12."⁷⁷ Students of the subject had no trouble parsing that sentence. April 12 was the day the fate of the Wagner Act was announced. In his classic monograph on the NLRB litigation, Richard Cortner concluded, "There seems to be little doubt that the views of Chief Justice Hughes and Justice Roberts on the power of Congress to regulate labor relations were affected by three major factors—the overwhelming re-election of Roosevelt in 1936, the sit-down strikes, and the attack on the Court, with the latter probably the most important." He added: "The Wagner Act cases marked the end of the 'old Constitution' . . . The Wagner Act cases opened the floodgates of national power."⁷⁸

Across a broad spectrum, the Supreme Court today takes as a given that 1937 was the great divide. In his fierce dissent in *Lopez*, Justice David Souter said the ruling "tugs the Court off course" by veering toward "the old judicial pretension discredited and abandoned in 1937."⁷⁹ Concurring in that case, Justice Clarence Thomas also saw a turning point; he cited the 1936 *Carter* decision approvingly and maintained that the Court had taken a wrong turn thereafter.⁸⁰ As recently as 2000, in *United States v. Morrison*, Souter accused the majority of "adherence to . . . formalistically contrived confines of commerce power" that "in large measure pro-

⁷³ *NLRB v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.*, 301 U.S. 1 (1937).

⁷⁴ Paul Mallon, "Purely Confidential," *Detroit News*, April 14, 1937.

⁷⁵ Charles Beard to Irving Brant, April 13, 1937, Box 2, Brant Papers, Library of Congress.

⁷⁶ "Congratulations, Mr. President," *Philadelphia Record*, April 13, 1937, clipping, Box 357, W. Jett Lauck Papers, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. See also J. F. T. O'Connor MS. Diary, April 12, 1937, O'Connor Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; M. M. Logan to Samuel Wilson, April 13, 1937, Wilson Papers, University of Kentucky, Lexington.

⁷⁷ Gerald Garvey, "Edward S. Corwin in the Campaign of History: The Struggle for National Power in the 1930's," *George Washington Law Review* 34 (1965): 219, 230.

⁷⁸ Richard C. Cortner, *The Wagner Act Cases* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1964), 188. "President Roosevelt's New Deal," Cass Sunstein has observed, "marked a fundamental change in American legal and political culture." Cass R. Sunstein, *The Partial Constitution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), 349.

⁷⁹ *United States v. Morrison*, 514 U.S. 549 (1995) at 604, 614.

⁸⁰ *Id.* at 589.

voked the judicial crisis of 1937.”⁸¹ He did not allude to a long period of doctrinal evolution. Instead, he not only pinpointed the crisis at 1937 but put the blame on the justices of the 1930s for provoking it. “One might reasonably have doubted,” Souter scolded his brethren, “that Members of this Court would ever again return to the days before *NLRB v. Jones & Laughlin* . . . brought the earlier and nearly disastrous experiment to an end.”⁸²

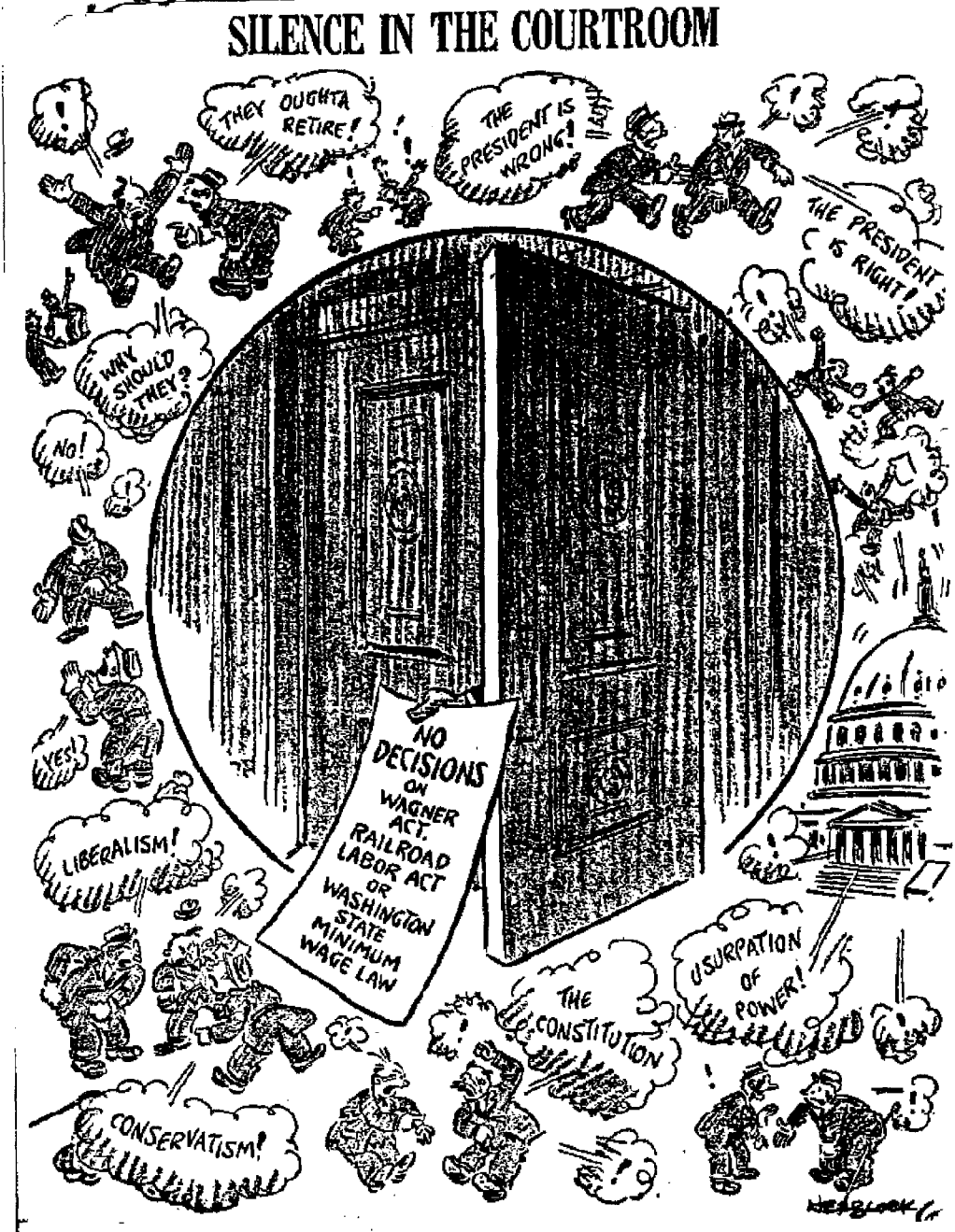
The greatest change in jurisprudence in the twentieth century came not gradually but abruptly. In March 1937, the Court legitimated minimum wage standards for women that had been *ultra vires* only nine months earlier. In April 1937, it ruled that the commerce power extended to a small Virginia clothing firm,⁸³ in contrast to its insistence less than a year before that it did not reach as vast an industry as coal mining. A month later, it gave a reading to the spending power that would have astonished Court-watchers in the aftermath of Roberts’s opinion in *Butler*, despite his embrace of the Hamiltonian exegesis. Never again would the Court, which had demolished so much of Roosevelt’s program in 1935–1936, strike down a New Deal law, and nearly sixty years would go by before it found any act of Congress beyond the scope of the commerce power. The rubric “Constitutional Revolution of 1937” is no misnomer.

⁸¹ 120 S. Ct. 1740 (2000) at 1767.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *NLRB v. Friedman-Harry Marks Clothing Co.*, 301 U.S. 58 (1957).

William E. Leuchtenburg is William Rand Kenan, Jr. Professor Emeritus of History at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He has taught at a number of other institutions, including Columbia University Law School and Duke University Law School, and held the Harmsworth chair at Oxford. He has lectured abroad at the U.S. Embassy in London, the French Senate, Moscow State University, the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and the University of Cape Town. His many books include *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932–1940* (1963), winner of the Bancroft Prize and the Francis Parkman Prize. He has served as president of the American Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, and the Society of American Historians.



"Silence in the Courtroom." Drawing by Herblock, originally published in the *Meriden Journal* on March 4, 1937. Reproduced courtesy of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

AHR Forum
**Constitutional Change and the New Deal:
The Internalist/Externalist Debate**

G. EDWARD WHITE

THE SO-CALLED "INTERNALIST"/"EXTERNALIST" DEBATE about the relationship of the New Deal to early- and mid-twentieth-century changes in constitutional jurisprudence has tended to obscure some assumptions shared by its participants.¹ My analysis of the debate begins with a description of those shared assumptions.

The areas of agreement between the two sides in the debate are larger than one might think. Both sides acknowledge the authoritative status of the Constitution in U.S. government, the power of justices of the Supreme Court to make "final" interpretations of the meaning of the Constitution, and the fact that Supreme Court justices have life tenure and few direct political checks on their conduct. Further, both sides recognize that the meaning of the Constitution appears to change over time: prior Supreme Court interpretations of constitutional provisions can be overruled by subsequent interpretations. The major disagreement between externalists and internalists involves *how* and *why* constitutional change takes place.

THE ISSUE OF CAUSATION IN CONSTITUTIONAL JURISPRUDENCE is closely connected to the issue of what constraints exist on Supreme Court justices as they interpret constitutional provisions. Both sides in the internalist-externalist debate acknowledge the significance of constraints on justices as constitutional interpreters, but differ on the nature of the constraints. The significance of constraints comes from the fact that the Constitution is the supreme authoritative source of law in the United States, Supreme Court justices play a decisive role in interpreting the Constitution, and those justices are not subject to direct political checks. Accordingly, in a constitutional democracy there must be some important constraints on

¹ The terms "internalist" and "externalist," this article suggests, connote a good deal more than the simple claims that judicially induced changes in constitutional law are produced primarily by forces inside or outside the Supreme Court. The term "internalist," long established in philosophy, began to be applied to historiographical debates in legal history in the 1980s. See Lawrence M. Friedman, "Law, Lawyers, and Popular Culture," *Yale Law Journal* 98 (1989): 1579, 1582; N. E. H. Hull, "The Perils of Empirical Legal Research," *Law & Society Review* 23 (1989): 915, 916. By 1994, Barry Cushman had applied the term "externalist" to one line of historical work on constitutional change in the 1930s. Cushman, "Rethinking the New Deal Court," *Virginia Law Review* 80 (1994): 201, 205–206. By the late 1990s, the idea of an internalist/externalist debate was well established. See Laura Kalman, "Law, Politics and the New Deal(s)," *Yale Law Journal* 108 (1998–1999): 2165, 2170–2178.

the power of justices as constitutional interpreters to guard against the risk that their interpretive authority may incline them to act as arbitrary tyrants.

Internalists and externalists assign importance to quite different sets of constraints on justices as constitutional interpreters. Externalists treat Supreme Court justices as being affected in their decision making by factors very similar to those that affect publicly elected officials. They see justices as asking themselves how a particular outcome in a case squares with their preexisting ideological perspectives, and what the immediate political and social implications of a particular outcome may be. They see their decision making as being affected, as is the decision making of other publicly elected officials, by short-run political considerations.

In explaining judge-induced changes in constitutional law, externalist accounts signal the importance they attach to political constraints by using labels associated with the world of elective politics to describe the jurisprudential perspectives of Supreme Court justices. In several externalist accounts of the Court-packing crisis of the 1930s and the “constitutional revolution” allegedly associated with it, justices who declined to give constitutional sanction to legislation expanding the regulatory or redistributive powers of government have been characterized as “reactionaries” or “conservatives,” and justices who were prepared to sustain the legislation have been described as “progressives” or “liberals.” Other justices have been identified as “switching” from “conservative” to “liberal” in their stance.² The labels for the judges are derived by associating individual judges with particular outcomes in constitutional cases, and by identifying those outcomes as consistent with a particular stance on the political spectrum of the time.

By emphasizing the importance of ideological labels, and their political implications, in affecting the performance of justices as constitutional interpreters, externalist accounts deemphasize the importance of other sets of factors that constrain justices in their interpretations of the Constitution. Internalists, by contrast, emphasize those factors.

One factor afforded importance by internalists is the process by which the Supreme Court reaches decisions. The process is collegial, deliberative, and focused on the analysis of legal doctrine. By emphasizing its collegial decision making, the Court attempts to signal that its decisions should be regarded as collective institutional products rather than the aggregate judgments of individuals. It does so in a number of ways: by generating an “opinion of the Court” rather than separate opinions, by generally discouraging the production of dissenting and concurring opinions, and by employing deliberative practices that emphasize the circulation of draft opinions and the modification of language in response to internal criticism, all with the goal of producing opinions that minimize the appearance of conflict among individual justices.

The collegial deliberations of the Court are conducted in a specialized pro-

² The height of this approach may have come in the 1950s and early 1960s; see, e.g., Alpheus Thomas Mason, *Harlan Fiske Stone: Pillar of the Law* (New York, 1956), 314–316, 455–461; Bernard Schwartz, *The Supreme Court: Constitutional Revolution in Retrospect* (New York, 1957), 17, 19–20; Mario Einaudi, *The Roosevelt Revolution* (New York, 1959), 220–222; William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932–1940* (New York, 1963), 143–146, 236–237. But it persisted well beyond that; see Leuchtenburg, *The Supreme Court Reborn: The Constitutional Revolution in the Age of Roosevelt* (New York, 1995), 132–133.

fessional language, the language of doctrinal analysis. Whatever the sources of a justice's attitude toward the disposition of a case, that justice's arguments on behalf of a given disposition will need to emphasize doctrinal reasons, because doctrinal analysis is the technique employed to justify the Court's decisions. Thus the existing doctrinal framework in which cases are analyzed is itself a constraint on the decision making of justices.

In constitutional cases, the Court's existing doctrinal framework is particularly important. Although provisions of the Constitution remain constant over time, the way in which they have been approached by judges has changed significantly. When judges have interpreted the Constitution during any historical moment, they have been constrained by tacit understandings as to how judges are expected to approach the task of constitutional interpretation.

From the opening of the twentieth century to the 1930s, the Court adopted a particular doctrinal approach to cases in which state police power legislation, or federal legislation based on the commerce power but designed to promote public health, safety, or morals, was challenged as a violation of the due process clauses. The approach, as Chief Justice William Howard Taft described it in his dissent in the 1923 case of *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*, anticipated that judges would be "pricking out . . . [t]he boundary of the police power beyond which its exercise becomes an invasion of the guaranty of liberty under the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments."³ The approach assumed that the Court would regularly be determining the content of "liberty" in due process cases, and thereby establishing categories of permissible and impermissible legislation. The "liberty of contract" doctrine that characterized many of the Court's early-twentieth-century decisions was a product of the approach. It was a device to help judges trace out the boundary.

The Court's boundary-tracing approach thus assumed that it was appropriate for judges to give content to open-ended provisions in the Constitution such as "liberty" in the due process clauses. In an 1877 decision, *Munn v. Illinois*,⁴ the Court had intimated that the scope of the police power in due process cases was a legislative rather than a judicial question, so that if legislation could be justified on police power grounds, it necessarily met the requirements of due process. By the early twentieth century, that view of the Court's role in due process cases had been replaced with the one Taft described. The emergence of the latter approach meant that any early-twentieth-century justice confronted with a due process challenge to police power or commerce power legislation would be making an independent appraisal of the scope of legislative power. That appraisal was incumbent in the technique of "boundary pricking."

In the 1905 police power–due process case of *Lochner v. New York*,⁵ Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes declined to adopt the boundary-pricking approach. He concluded that the doctrine of "liberty of contract" represented a judicial engrafting of a "particular economic theory" onto the Constitution, which was illegitimate. As a judge, he maintained, he felt bound to defer to legislative efforts to regulate

³ *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*, 261 U.S. 525, 562 (1923).

⁴ 94 U.S. 113 (1877).

⁵ 198 U.S. 45 (1905).

economic activity if they appeared to be reasonably grounded on protecting public health, safety, or morals.⁶ Holmes was alone among the justices who decided *Lochner* in rejecting boundary pricking, and his opinion was not singled out by commentators for several years.⁷ Thirty years after the *Lochner* case, the Court continued to use the boundary-pricking approach in police power cases.⁸

The boundary-pricking approach adopted by the majority opinion in *Lochner*, which invalidated a New York statute regulating the number of hours that employees could work in the baking industry, was subsequently given the pejorative characterization of “substantive due process” by commentators, and assailed as a judicial effort to equate “liberty” in the due process clauses with the ideology of laissez-faire.⁹ But it was not invariably solicitous of free markets, or of the interests of employers in labor cases. Court majorities using the approach concluded that states could limit the hours of miners¹⁰ or women,¹¹ and regulate stockyards,¹² oil pipelines,¹³ fire insurance premiums,¹⁴ and the prices of residential leases,¹⁵ coal,¹⁶ and grain futures.¹⁷ Three justices used boundary pricking to conclude that the statute in *Lochner* was a reasonable public health measure.¹⁸

The primary significance of the Court’s dominant early-twentieth-century approach to due process cases was thus not that it tended to favor employers over employees, or private interests over public regulators. It was that it decisively affected the way in which justices, whatever their ideological point of view, justified the decisions they reached. A justice such as Holmes, who chose to reject the approach altogether, did so with the realization that he was not engaging his colleagues on their common doctrinal terms.

By the early 1940s, the Court had abandoned the boundary-pricking approach in due process cases. Instead it employed an approach that did not, on the surface, emphasize the role of judges in giving content to constitutional provisions. The approach was organized around the idea that legislation affecting “ordinary commercial transactions” would be presumed to be constitutional, and the presumption of constitutionality would be departed from in only a handful of other types of cases.¹⁹ The consequence of the approach was that most police power legislation

⁶ Id. at 75–76.

⁷ See G. Edward White, *Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes: Law and the Inner Self* (New York, 1993), 364–365.

⁸ See *West Coast Hotel v. Parrish*, 300 U.S. 379 (1937).

⁹ This line of commentary became conventional wisdom by the 1950s, and remains such. See G. Edward White, *The Constitution and the New Deal* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), 261–265.

¹⁰ *Holden v. Hardy*, 169 U.S. 366 (1898).

¹¹ *Muller v. Oregon*, 208 U.S. 412 (1908).

¹² *Cotting v. Kansas City Stock Yards Co.*, 183 U.S. 79 (1901).

¹³ *Pipe Line Cases*, 234 U.S. 548 (1914).

¹⁴ *German Alliance Ins. Co. v. Kansas*, 233 U.S. 389 (1914).

¹⁵ *Block v. Hirsh*, 256 U.S. 135 (1921).

¹⁶ *Highland v. Russell Car & Snow Plow Co.*, 279 U.S. 253 (1929).

¹⁷ *Chicago Board of Trade v. Olsen*, 262 U.S. 1 (1923).

¹⁸ See 198 U.S. 72 (Harlan, White, and Day, dissenting).

¹⁹ The approach was first announced in a footnote in *United States v. Carolene Products Co.*, 304 U.S. 144 (1938), a case posing a due process challenge to federal legislation prohibiting the sale or distribution of “filled milk,” a nondairy substitute for whole milk. The principal category of cases in which the presumption of constitutionality would be departed from, the *Carolene Products* footnote suggested, included cases in which “legislation appears on its face to be within a specific provision of the Constitution.” The Court singled out provisions of the “first ten amendments” that had been

that infringed on economic “liberties” was presumed constitutional and needed to be based only on a reasonable belief on the part of the legislators that it would promote public health, safety, or morals. In the early stages of this approach, the instances in which the Court departed from the presumption of constitutionality tended to be confined to free speech cases.²⁰

The shift from an interpretive methodology emphasizing boundary pricking to one emphasizing constitutional presumptions and levels of judicial scrutiny for challenged legislation took place in a time frame that paralleled the emergence of the New Deal in U.S. politics. Moreover, it produced outcomes in some areas of constitutional law that seemed consistent with the New Deal’s political agenda and had been rejected by some decisions of the Court in the mid-1930s.²¹ It is this combination of the New Deal’s emergence as a political force and changes in constitutional law during the period of the New Deal’s influence that has given rise to the externalist claim that those changes represented the Court’s response to political pressure generated by the New Deal’s popular appeal. Specifically, the combination has given rise to the claim that some justices “switched” their votes in response to the Roosevelt administration’s introduction of a plan to add justices to the Court if sitting justices declined to retire at the age of seventy.

Does correlation imply causation? We have, on the one hand, a dramatic shift in the Court’s methodological approach in constitutional cases from the 1920s to the 1940s. Boundary tracing, with its attendant doctrinal formulas, was still the dominant approach in the mid-1930s; by the close of the Second World War, it had been replaced by the *Carolene Products* approach. We have, on the other hand, political and economic upheaval in approximately the same time frame: a depression, a political realignment, an alteration of the relationship between government and private enterprise, a major war. It is tempting to conclude that the latter developments affected the former, particularly if one thinks of Supreme Court justices as a species of lawmakers whose decisions are affected by political events. It turns out, moreover, that the question of causation can be very much affected by the time frame a historian chooses to emphasize.

“deemed equally specific when held to be embraced within the Fourteenth [Amendment’s due process clause].” *Id.* at 152–153 n. 4. It cited two free speech cases. The *Carolene Products* approach thus built upon a 1937 case, *Palko v. Connecticut*, 302 U.S. 319, in which the Court identified a criterion for when a particular provision of the Bill of Rights would be “incorporated” into the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment: whether it was “of the very essence of a scheme of ordered liberty” in Anglo-American jurisprudence. *Id.* at 327. Selective judicial incorporation of Bill of Rights provisions into the Fourteenth Amendment was a form of boundary tracing, although the Court did not identify it as such.

²⁰ See *Hague v. CIO*, 307 U.S. 496 (1939); *Thornhill v. Alabama*, 310 U.S. 88 (1940); *Cantwell v. Connecticut*, 310 U.S. 296 (1940).

²¹ The principal areas were the commerce clause, congressional delegations of power to federal administrative agencies, and police power legislation regulating economic activity or redistributing economic benefits. After a series of decisions in 1935 and 1936 invalidating federal legislation as an unauthorized use of the commerce power or as excessive delegations of legislative power to the executive, and invalidating a state police power statute as an infringement on “liberty of contract,” the Court, between 1937 and 1942, announced a broader definition of Congress’s power to regulate interstate commerce, sustained a state minimum wage law against a “liberty of contract” challenge, and abandoned the “non-delegation doctrine” in cases challenging the regulatory authority of federal administrative agencies.

WILLIAM LEUCHTENBURG REMAINS CONVINCED that “[t]he greatest change in jurisprudence in the twentieth century came not gradually, but abruptly,” and that “[t]he rubric ‘Constitutional Revolution of 1937’ is no misnomer.”²² As he puts it,

In seeking to understand the Court’s behavior in the 1930s, I find the externalist explanation more cogent than the internalist, not because I think that justices are always political agents who write elaborate opinions as glosses for their preconceptions, but because in this particular instance—a highly unusual instance, one called nothing less than a revolution—external influences are more congruent with the evidence.²³

Having made that comment, Leuchtenburg then proceeds to review the evidence in a fashion that suggests he has not really engaged with the internalist hypotheses. The narrative of constitutional developments he presents is designed to undermine the significance of the Court’s 1934 decision in *Nebbia v. New York*, which “internalists,” Leuchtenburg claims, use to “trace the origins of the change in the 1930s.”²⁴ But although Leuchtenburg’s narrative regularly mentions *Nebbia*, it pays no attention to the case’s doctrinal significance. Indeed, Leuchtenburg’s account tends to leave out constitutional doctrine altogether or to misunderstand it.

Leuchtenburg’s narrative begins with the comment that he is “unpersuaded that *Nebbia* was a watershed . . . because of what followed.” His first example is the Court’s decision in the “Rail Pension” case, *Railroad Retirement Board v. Alton Railroad Co.*²⁵ The *Alton* case, however, was not a doctrinal retreat from *Nebbia*. Due process cases prior to *Nebbia* had maintained that businesses “affected with a public interest” could be regulated more extensively than could those that were “private.” Although *Nebbia* abandoned this distinction, announcing that “there is no closed class or category of businesses affected with a public interest,” it did not suggest that all police power or commerce power legislation regulating economic activity was constitutional. Because *Alton* involved the railroad industry, which the Court had long held to be in the category of businesses affected with a public interest, *Nebbia*’s expansion of that category was not relevant to the disposition of the *Alton* case. The dissenting opinion in *Alton* did not even mention *Nebbia*.²⁶

By “what followed” *Nebbia*, Leuchtenburg appears to mean cases “reaching a result adverse to the government.” This is the common ground of the next series of cases he presents as evidence that *Nebbia* had not “transformed the judicial landscape.”²⁷ The cases he discusses are the “hot oil” case;²⁸ the “gold clause”

²² William E. Leuchtenburg, “Comment on Laura Kalman’s Article,” 1092.

²³ *Ibid.*, 1083.

²⁴ *Ibid.* Leuchtenburg’s reference is to Barry Cushman’s *Rethinking the New Deal Court: The Structure of a Constitutional Revolution* (New York, 1998), which treats *Nebbia* as representing a pivotal shift in the Court’s categorical thinking in police power cases. But although Cushman argues that the *Nebbia* decision had important ramifications for the Court’s constitutional jurisprudence in the 1930s, he treats it as only part of a multifaceted explanation for the “constitutional revolution” of the late 1930s and 1940s, which includes changes in Court personnel. See *ibid.*, 186–189, 208–211, 219–220, 222–225.

²⁵ 295 U.S. 330 (1935).

²⁶ See Barry Cushman, “Lost Fidelities,” *William & Mary Law Review* 41 (1999): 95, 129–132. The same is true of the majority and dissenting opinions in *Great Northern Railway v. Weeks*, 97 U.S. 135 (1936), which concerned the validity of a valuation procedure for assessing taxes on a railway company.

²⁷ Leuchtenburg, “Comment,” 1084.

²⁸ *Panama Refining Co. v. Ryan*, 293 U.S. 388 (1935).

cases;²⁹ *Schechter Poultry Co. v. United States*,³⁰ which invalidated the National Industrial Recovery Act; *United States v. Butler*,³¹ which invalidated the Agricultural Adjustment Act; *Jones v. SEC*,³² which indicated that the Securities and Exchange Commission had exceeded its powers; *Carter v. Carter Coal Co.*,³³ which invalidated the Bituminous Coal Conservation Act; *Ashton v. Cameron County District*,³⁴ which struck down the Municipal Bankruptcy Act of 1934; and *Morehead ex rel. New York v. Tipaldo*,³⁵ which invalidated a New York state minimum wage law for women.

Only one of those cases, the last, involved the same constitutional issues as *Nebbia*. And in that case, although Leuchtenburg is not able to find “the shadow of a hint that *Nebbia* had transformed the judicial landscape,” Justice Harlan Fiske Stone, in dissent, found the majority opinion “irreconcilable with [*Nebbia*]” and argued that *Nebbia* should be followed.³⁶ As for the other decisions, the “hot oil” case focused on the scope of Congress’s power to delegate authority to the executive branch, as did the *Schechter* case, the *Butler* case on the Tenth Amendment, the *Carter Coal* case on the scope of the commerce power, and the *Ashton* case on intergovernmental immunities. None of those issues was relevant to *Nebbia*.³⁷ The “gold clause” cases likewise had nothing to do with the doctrinal framework in *Nebbia*; they were not even evidence of the Court’s hostility to governmental regulation, since they sustained the power of Congress to suspend specie payments, whether they affected private contracts or Treasury notes.

It appears that Leuchtenburg’s purpose in introducing those cases is to show that they represented, for the most part, “adverse decisions on government action,”³⁸ whether state or federal. If one reads *Nebbia* exclusively as a decision supporting governmental action, the decisions, with the exception of the “gold clause” cases, would not be following any trend initiated by that decision. But this can hardly be called an argument against the internalist position. The significance attributed to *Nebbia* by internalist scholarship has been as a breakthrough in the Court’s doctrinal framework in police power cases, not as a result supporting governmental action.³⁹ Since only one of the cases introduced by Leuchtenburg as evidence that *Nebbia* was not a “watershed” is even relevant to a discussion of *Nebbia*’s doctrinal posture, his introducing them suggests that he is simply unwilling to engage internalist hypotheses on their own ground.

This unwillingness continues when Leuchtenburg, claiming that he “agree[s] with the internalists that we should place the decisions of 1935 and 1936 in the

²⁹ *Nortz v. Baltimore & Ohio R. Co.*, 294 U.S. 240 (1935); *Nortz v. United States*, 294 U.S. 317 (1935); *Perry v. United States*, 294 U.S. 330 (1935).

³⁰ 295 U.S. 495 (1935).

³¹ 297 U.S. 1 (1936).

³² 298 U.S. 1 (1936).

³³ 298 U.S. 238 (1936).

³⁴ 298 U.S. 513 (1936).

³⁵ 298 U.S. 587 (1936).

³⁶ 298 U.S. at 635–636.

³⁷ See Cushman, “Lost Fidelities,” 105–107.

³⁸ Leuchtenburg, “Comment,” 1084.

³⁹ Several contemporary congressmen, lower court judges, government lawyers, and academic commentators recognized the ways in which *Nebbia* had “transformed the judicial landscape.” For details, see Cushman, “Lost Fidelities,” 107–128; Cushman, “Rethinking the New Deal Court,” 82–85, 91–92, 99, 134–135, 194–195, 203–204.

context of a longer line of rulings,” introduces some additional cases that he believes are “pertinent.”⁴⁰ He lists *Hammer v. Dagenhart*,⁴¹ *Duplex Printing Press Co. v. Deering*,⁴² *Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Co.*,⁴³ *Adkins v. Children’s Hospital*,⁴⁴ *Burns Baking Co. v. Bryan*,⁴⁵ *Tyson Bros. v. Banton*,⁴⁶ and *Ribnik v. McBride*.⁴⁷ The pertinence of these cases to Leuchtenburg’s critique of the internalist hypothesis is not obvious. To be sure, doctrinal approaches that the Court took in *Hammer*, *Bailey*, and *Adkins* could be said to have been reaffirmed in *Schechter* (the *Hammer* decision’s view that the commerce power needs to be understood against the backdrop of state reserved powers), *Butler* (*Bailey*’s conclusion that the federal taxing and spending powers cannot be used to give Congress control over matters reserved to the states), and *Tipaldo* (following *Adkins* in finding minimum wage legislation designed to benefit a particular class of workers to be a violation of the due process clauses). But the presence of doctrinal continuity over time in the Court’s decisions would not seem to be an argument against internalism. The internalist hypothesis uses doctrinal continuity as an illustration of the constraints on Supreme Court decision making, arguing that the Court’s decisions inevitably take place against a backdrop of established doctrinal propositions that complicate the process of constitutional change. As we have seen, Leuchtenburg’s analysis centers on a claim that the Court’s decisions in 1937 were a response to a “highly unusual” configuration of external events. It is not clear how tracing the doctrinal antecedents of decisions the Court made in 1935 and 1936 strengthens that claim.

Moreover, the pertinence of some of the other decisions that Leuchtenburg cites remains elusive if his point in listing the decisions is to trace a “line” of cases of which the Court’s 1935 and 1936 decisions were part. The *Duplex Printing* case was not a constitutional case at all: it involved a construction of the Clayton Act. The *Tyson* and *Ribnik* cases involved the placement of businesses inside or outside the category of “business affected with a public interest.” Both of those decisions were understood by members of the Court and commentators to have been severely undermined by *Nebbia*.⁴⁸ And Leuchtenburg ignores the aftermath of the *Burns* case, in which the Nebraska legislature passed a revised statute in 1931 regulating the weight of bread that was upheld by the Court in *Petersen Baking Co. v. Bryan*,⁴⁹ a unanimous 1934 decision written by Justice Pierce Butler.

If one looks at Leuchtenburg’s list from another perspective, however, it does have “pertinence.” Just as with his prior list of cases “following” *Nebbia*, the decisions he mentions have a common element. With the exception of *Duplex Printing*, which held that the Clayton Act did not exempt a labor union’s secondary boycott from the coverage of the Sherman Act, they all involve instances in which

⁴⁰ Leuchtenburg, “Comment,” 1085.

⁴¹ 247 U.S. 251 (1918).

⁴² 254 U.S. 443 (1921).

⁴³ 259 U.S. 20 (1922).

⁴⁴ 261 U.S. 525 (1923).

⁴⁵ 264 U.S. 504 (1924).

⁴⁶ 273 U.S. 418 (1928).

⁴⁷ 277 U.S. 350 (1928).

⁴⁸ See Cushman, “Lost Fidelities,” 107–128.

⁴⁹ 290 U.S. 570 (1934). See Barry Cushman, “Some Varieties and Vicissitudes of *Lochnerism*,” *Boston University Law Review* 85 (forthcoming, 2005).

the Court reached results “adverse to governmental action.” Each of these decisions posed constitutional objections to Congress’s or a state’s efforts to regulate economic activity. If one ignores doctrine and focuses on results, the decisions appear to be part of a consistent pattern. But that pattern does not provide much help in understanding the Court’s motivation for its decisions in 1937. If a majority of the Court was uniformly hostile to governmental regulation of businesses, as the results in Leuchtenburg’s line of cases might suggest, how does one explain that *before* the 1936 election and the introduction of the Court-packing plan, the Court had sustained state regulation of the milk and bread industries, confining to oblivion three of the decisions that Leuchtenburg lists?⁵⁰ In short, Leuchtenburg’s efforts to respond to internalist claims do not engage the internalist hypothesis on its own terms. They merely repeat an argument that internalists reject as inconsistent with the evidence: that result-oriented ideology trumped doctrinal principles and transcended doctrinal categories in Supreme Court cases.

As Leuchtenburg’s narrative continues, it begins to focus on themes that he will eventually use as the basis of externalist hypotheses about the Court’s motivation in the 1936 term. He notes some criticism of the Court from academics as preparation for the hypothesis that the Court may have switched its stance in response to the “hammering” it took from scholars. He attempts to undermine the suggestion in some internalist literature that the Court began to alter its stance toward regulatory legislation once that legislation was redrafted to meet constitutional objections. He presents some evidence that the justices were highly aware of and “flustered” by the introduction of the Court-packing plan. And he suggests that even though the Court-packing plan never garnered enough support to become enacted, the justices were not aware of that fact during the time frame in which some of them allegedly switched their stance toward the efficacy of governmental regulation.⁵¹

Only one of the themes Leuchtenburg introduces is responsive to internalist arguments, the material he presents suggesting that the drafting of statutes is an insufficient explanation for the Court’s altered stance.⁵² In his presentation, however, Leuchtenburg leaves out several illustrations of the “bad drafting” claim. He lists the “hot oil” case as an example of decisions that were inconsistent with *Nebbia*, but fails to mention that six weeks after the “hot oil” decision, Congress responded with a revised statute, the Connally Act, which was unanimously sustained in *United States v. Powers*,⁵³ a 1939 decision approved of even by James McReynolds and Butler. He cites *Louisville Joint Stock Land Bank v. Radford* as among the post-*Nebbia* cases in which the Court “ruled . . . against the

⁵⁰ Such instances were not all that unusual. The fact that the pre-1937 Court sustained most regulatory legislation brought before it has long been well documented. See, e.g., Charles Warren, “The Progressiveness of the United States Supreme Court,” *Columbia Law Review* 13 (1913): 294; Thomas Reed Powell, “The Judiciality of Minimum-Wage Legislation,” *Harvard Law Review* 37 (1924): 545, 555; Barry Cushman, “The Secret Lives of the Four Horsemen,” *Virginia Law Review* 83 (1997): 559.

⁵¹ Leuchtenburg, “Comment,” 1086–1089.

⁵² Leuchtenburg dismisses as “preposterous” the claim that bad drafting accounted for the results in *Morehead*, *Colgate*, *Great Northern*, and *Mayflower Farms*. “Comment,” 1087. As far as I am aware, no internalist has attempted to explain those decisions on the grounds of bad drafting. For discussions of the decisions, see Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 92–104; Cushman, “Lost Fidelities,” 135–141.

⁵³ 307 U.S. 214 (1939).

government,”⁵⁴ but neglects to point out that Congress’s revised version of the Farm Debt Relief Act was upheld by the Court, again unanimously, in 1937.⁵⁵ He ignores the fact that after the *Carter Coal* decision, Congress redrafted the Bituminous Coal Conservation Act, confident that *Nebbia* would support a statute confined to the regulation of prices, and that Charles Evans Hughes and Owen Roberts joined the opinion sustaining the revised version in 1940.⁵⁶ He also declines to mention other illustrations of Congress’s “drafting around” Court decisions by grounding statutes on different constitutional bases. This technique overcame the result in *Butler* by producing a revised Agricultural Adjustment Act in 1938, which was upheld in an opinion written by Roberts and joined by Hughes in 1939.⁵⁷ At the same time, Congress responded to *Alton* by enacting two statutes establishing a pension system for the railroad industry, the Carrier Taxing Act and the Railroad Retirement Act. Like many other New Deal spending initiatives, those two statutes successfully exploited well-established propositions of the Court’s justiciability doctrine in order to insulate their provisions from judicial review.⁵⁸ At a minimum, these examples would seem to illustrate the importance of doctrinal considerations in explaining the Court’s performance.

Finally, Leuchtenburg implies that Hughes’s and Roberts’s association with some decisions that received vociferous academic criticism, such as *Alton*, *Mayflower Farms Inc. v. Ten Eyck*,⁵⁹ or *Colgate v. Harvey*,⁶⁰ motivated them to retreat from endorsing those decisions after 1937.⁶¹ But evidence from subsequent decisions suggests that neither Hughes nor Roberts changed the position he had taken in *Alton*, *Mayflower Farms*, and *Colgate*.⁶² If one expands the timeline from a few months in 1936 and 1937 to the entire decade of the 1930s, and expands the sample of cases, it becomes apparent that Hughes and Roberts, along with other justices such as Benjamin Cardozo and Stone, were attempting to develop doctrinal postures that would accommodate some, but not all, regulatory legislation. Leuchtenburg’s analysis simply ignores those developments.

As Leuchtenburg’s narrative centers on explanations for the Court’s changed attitude in constitutional cases after 1937, one can see how important the narrow time frame of his inquiry is to his causal claims. Leuchtenburg offers four “possible explanations” for the change, each of them based on developments within a two-

⁵⁴ 295 U.S. 555 (1935); Leuchtenburg, “Comment,” 1084.

⁵⁵ *Wright v. Vinton Branch Bank*, 300 U.S. 440 (1937).

⁵⁶ *Sunshine Anthracite Coal v. Adkins*, 310 U.S. 181 (1940).

⁵⁷ *Mulford v. Smith*, 307 U.S. 38 (1939).

⁵⁸ For a detailed treatment of each of the examples discussed in this paragraph, see Barry Cushman, “The Hughes Court and Constitutional Consultation,” *Journal of Supreme Court History* 79 (1998).

⁵⁹ 297 U.S. 269 (1936).

⁶⁰ 296 U.S. 404 (1935).

⁶¹ Leuchtenburg, “Comment,” 1089.

⁶² Hughes and Roberts adhered to the positions they had taken in *Mayflower Farms* in *United States v. Rock-Royal Cooperative*, 307 U.S. 533, 583–587 (1939) (Roberts, J., and Hughes, C. J., dissenting). When the Court overruled *Colgate* in *Madden v. Kentucky*, 309 U.S. 83 (1940), Roberts confirmed his allegiance to *Colgate* in a dissenting opinion. See *id.* at 93–94 (Roberts, J., dissenting). Hughes concurred only in the result. *Id.* at 93. And when *Alton* was effectively overruled in *United States v. Lowden*, 308 U.S. 225 (1939), the opinion was unanimous only because Roberts suppressed the dissent he had registered in conference. See Harlan Fiske Stone Papers, Box 65, Library of Congress. For a more detailed treatment of those decisions, see Cushman, “Lost Fidelities,” 129–141; Cushman, “Some Varieties and Vicissitudes of *Lochnerism*.”

year period, from 1935 to 1937. One is the “hammering” the Court received from critics in the legal academy for its decisions in the mid-1930s, which Leuchtenburg claims was echoed by unfavorable commentary in law journals “over a stretch of nearly two years” beginning in 1935. A second is what he calls “mounting popular discontent” with the Court in the same time period, symbolized by a large number of “Court-curbing bills” being introduced in Congress between 1935 and 1937. A third is the “seismic shock” of Roosevelt’s landslide victory in the 1936 presidential election, which “no judge [on the Court] anticipated.” The justices “could well have believed,” Leuchtenburg suggests, “that in striking down New Deal legislation, they were not balking the popular will . . . After the torrent of ballots for FDR in 1936, no one could any longer think that.”⁶³

The final explanation is the Court-packing plan itself. Leuchtenburg states that after Roosevelt introduced the plan in February 1937, the menace to the Court as an institution became “so palpable that it is unlikely that it had no consequence.” He cites some correspondence from observers in April 1937 suggesting that Roosevelt had scared the Court, and that Chief Justice Hughes had acted to save it.

Taken together, Leuchtenburg’s explanations are designed to create an impression that the Court was bombarded by constant pressure over a relatively narrow time period, between 1935 and 1937, and finally succumbed. First it received scholarly criticism for some of its decisions in the mid-1930s; then it saw “Court-curbing bills” being introduced in Congress; then it realized, after the 1936 election, that Roosevelt had great popular support; and then it faced the “palpable menace” of the 1937 Court-packing plan. The image is of a group of justices who were constantly taking political soundings and were increasingly disturbed with what they found. The period culminates in an “abrupt” change in their jurisprudence.

By emphasizing this narrow time frame and quoting contemporary sources expressing outrage over the Court’s decisions or suggesting that the justices caved in to political pressure, Leuchtenburg creates the impression that a sudden crisis bubbled up for the Court and was resolved only by a decisive jurisprudential shift. The two years between 1935 and 1937 were a “highly unusual instance,” one “called nothing less than a revolution.” But if one uses a wider time frame, none of the factors that Leuchtenburg emphasizes seem unprecedented or even unusual. Moreover, the causal inferences he draws from the factors seem largely unwarranted.

The phenomenon of critics’ “hammering” the Court in letters bemoaning its decisions has been a recurrent phenomenon, dating back at least to Thomas Jefferson’s complaints against the Marshall Court.⁶⁴ Law journal reaction to the Court’s decisions in the mid-1930s tended to see them as less incompetent, and for that matter less hostile to the New Deal, than Leuchtenburg suggests.⁶⁵ The introduction of bills seeking to modify the Court’s jurisdiction was not unique to the 1930s; it was also a response to the Marshall Court’s decisions and a regular practice from the 1890s through the early 1930s.⁶⁶ Roosevelt’s landslide in the 1936

⁶³ Leuchtenburg, “Comment,” 1090.

⁶⁴ See the discussion in G. Edward White, *The Marshall Court and Cultural Change, 1815–1835* (New York, 1988), 187–189.

⁶⁵ See the discussion of law journal commentary on the Court in the 1930s in Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 82–83, 91–92, 99, 153, 159, 177–180, 183, 184, 189, 192, 196, 200.

⁶⁶ For one example in 1821, see White, *The Marshall Court and Cultural Change*, 521–522. For

election may have surprised some justices, but Leuchtenburg presents no evidence that any justices believed that, as he puts it, “in striking down New Deal legislation, they were . . . preserving the republic until the people got the opportunity to oust Roosevelt.”⁶⁷ Although Leuchtenburg cites a *Literary Digest* poll just before the 1936 election which predicted that Roosevelt would be defeated, the Gallup and Roper polls predicted that he would win.⁶⁸ In general, Leuchtenburg’s claims that the Court’s anti-New Deal decisions were roundly disliked by the public at large, so that the election of 1936 would be taken as a mandate to curb the Court, are belied by polling data.⁶⁹

As for the Court-packing plan itself, Leuchtenburg’s evidence of its causal weight is scanty. He is unable to show any direct connection between the introduction of the plan and changes in the Court’s jurisprudence,⁷⁰ so he contents himself with some rumors that surfaced in newspapers after the 1936 election that Roosevelt might seek to expand the composition of the Court, and some speculation from contemporaries, and subsequent scholars, that the Court’s solicitude toward government programs after 1937 was a product of the Court-packing episode.⁷¹ His evidence that the Court

examples from the 1890s into the 1920s, see William G. Ross, *A Muted Fury* (Princeton, N.J., 1994), 93–103, 163–165, 169–170. For a summary of proposals to curb the Court from the 1890s through the early 1930s, see Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 12.

⁶⁷ Leuchtenburg, “Comment,” 1090. The only evidence that Leuchtenburg presents is that Van Devanter and McReynolds, on the eve of the 1936 election, may have thought that Roosevelt would be defeated. But since neither Van Devanter nor McReynolds did any significant “switching” of votes in 1937—the “switch in time” hypothesis focuses on the votes of Roberts and Hughes—demonstrating that they may have been surprised carries no causal weight.

⁶⁸ See Barry Cushman, “Mr. Dooley and Mr. Gallup: Public Opinion and Constitutional Change in the 1930s,” *Buffalo Law Review* 50 (2002): 7, 15–17.

⁶⁹ See Cushman, “Mr. Dooley and Mr. Gallup,” 19–76. Cushman’s survey of polling data before and after the introduction of the Court-packing plan reveals that a majority of those polled tended to support the Court both before and after the introduction of the plan, and to oppose the plan. *Ibid.*, 67–74.

⁷⁰ The evidence that has surfaced provides no support for the Court-packing hypothesis. The hypothesis assumes a chronological connection between the introduction of the Court-packing plan, the modification by some justices, in response to the plan, of their constitutional objections to social welfare legislation, and the Court’s initiation of a “constitutional revolution,” generated by its decisions in *Parrish*, the Wagner Act cases, *NLRB v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.*, 301 U.S. 1 (1937), and the 1937 Social Security Act cases, *Steward Machine Co. v. Davis*, 301 U.S. 548 (1937), and *Helvering v. Davis*, 301 U.S. 619 (1937). In the latter three cases, a majority of justices endorsed a relatively broad view of the federal government’s commerce and spending powers in upholding the National Labor Relations Act and the unemployment compensation and old-age pension provisions of the Social Security Act against constitutional challenges. The *Parrish* case, as noted, had been decided before the Court-packing plan was introduced; the Wagner Act cases were handed down after it had become clear that the bill would not be approved by the House Judiciary Committee and that opponents in the Senate had enough votes to filibuster it; and the decisions in the Social Security cases were handed down after it was obvious that should the bill ever be reported out of committee, opponents would have enough votes to defeat it in the Senate. See Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 13–23.

⁷¹ As evidence that “[c]ontemporary observers did not question what brought about the surprising ruling in *Jones & Laughlin*,” Leuchtenburg offers comments by newspaper columnists in April 1937; a letter by Charles Beard to Irving Brant in 1937, suggesting that the Court’s decision in the Social Security cases was a response to the Court-packing message; an April 1937 letter by Edward Corwin reminding his correspondent that the Court-packing plan was introduced before the Social Security cases were decided; and a statement by historian Richard Cortner that Hughes’s and Owen Roberts’s views on the power of Congress to regulate labor relations may have been affected by the Court-packing plan. See Leuchtenburg, “Comment,” 1091. None of those sources offers any direct evidence that the justices were influenced by the plan. Nor does Leuchtenburg consider the views of

believed that the Court-packing plan was going to get through Congress consists of one article from *Time* and one memorandum in the Frank Gannett Papers.⁷²

Suppose one were to replace Leuchtenburg's narrow time frame with a wider one, and pursue his concern with "revolutions" in U.S. constitutional jurisprudence. There is no doubt that in the years between World Wars I and II, something like a "revolution" occurred in U.S. constitutional law. But what would one offer as illustrations of that revolution? Consider the following examples.

At the opening of the twentieth century, the exercise of foreign relations powers was conducted jointly, by the executive and the Senate, in the form of treaties. By the early 1940s, most foreign relations were conducted by the president through executive agreements, the terms of those agreements were treated as prevailing over competing state law, and the courts had carved out a large area of un-reviewable executive discretion in foreign affairs.⁷³

In the first decade of the twentieth century, the First Amendment was regarded only as providing protection against prior censorship by the federal government, and not as applying against the states. By the 1940s, a majority of justices had come to treat the First Amendment as providing far broader protection for freedom of speech and the free exercise of religion, and had concluded that the First Amendment's free speech and free exercise clauses should be enforced against the states as well as the federal government. By 1945, a bare majority of justices had endorsed the proposition that the Constitution had placed free speech rights in a "preferred position," and any regulation of them was presumptively suspect.⁷⁴ In the first decade of the twentieth century, the Court routinely intervened when regulatory or redistributive legislation was challenged on constitutional grounds, sometimes sustaining and sometimes invalidating the legislation in question. By the 1940s, the Court almost never entertained challenges to such legislation.⁷⁵

At first blush, all the above examples appear to be illustrations of sweeping, even radical, doctrinal changes. But if one uses a wider lens, the last example can be distinguished from the first two. Significant doctrinal change over time is the norm in U.S. constitutional law. This is because many important provisions of the Constitution are open-ended, they are consistently being applied to new situations, and constitutional law raises questions, such as the relationship of majority rule to minority rights, the relationship between the federal government and the states, and the respective powers of the separate branches of government, about which Americans have changed their minds over the years. As open-ended provisions are applied to controversies generated by altered cultural conditions, and as funda-

many contemporary observers who saw the Court's decisions as neither surprising nor revolutionary. See Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 177–182.

⁷² For a summary of the evidence showing that the justices were well aware that the Court-packing plan was encountering significant difficulties in Congress, see Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 13–20. Internalists have argued that those difficulties gave the justices good reason to suppose that the proposal was unlikely to be enacted. They have not claimed, as Leuchtenburg suggests, that "there never was any chance that FDR's proposal would be enacted, and that the justices knew this." "Comment," 1087.

⁷³ For the details, see White, *The Constitution and the New Deal*, 33–93.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 132–152.

⁷⁵ See Cushman, *Rethinking the New Deal Court*, 222–225.

mental issues of constitutional governance are rethought, one would expect changes—even dramatic changes—in constitutional doctrine. And those changes have occurred. The Constitution, over its lifetime, has been interpreted to legitimate, and then to invalidate, property restrictions on voting, discrimination against women, the practice of slavery, and restrictions on abortion. The fact that over the course of the twentieth century it was alternately interpreted by judges to permit wholesale restrictions on freedom of expression and then to prevent most such restrictions, or that it was alternately interpreted to require constraints on the exercise of executive power in foreign relations and then to permit the nearly unlimited exercise of that power, should not be surprising if one takes the long view.

But the altered stance of the early-twentieth-century Court toward regulatory and redistributive legislation challenged on constitutional grounds was a development of a different order. It was implemented not through changes in existing constitutional doctrine, but by a wholesale abandonment of doctrinal lines. Between the mid-1930s and the early 1940s, two established doctrinal formulas that had aided the Court in boundary tracing were jettisoned. The doctrine of businesses being “affected with a public interest,” and thus eligible for especially extensive police power regulation, was abandoned in the *Nebbia* case.⁷⁶ And one of the venerable doctrines of commerce power jurisprudence, the distinction between “direct” and “indirect” effects of a regulation on interstate commerce, was abandoned in the 1942 case of *Wickard v. Filburn*.⁷⁷ No doctrines were fashioned to replace those being eliminated; instead, the Court virtually gave up its role of scrutinizing police power and commerce power legislation on constitutional grounds, allowing the states and Congress to regulate economic activity or redistribute economic benefits whenever they could advance a reason for doing so.

This development was more than a series of new interpretations of open-ended constitutional provisions. It signaled that when legislative action affected “ordinary commercial transactions,” the Court was withdrawing from its role as a guardian of private rights when they were potentially trespassed upon by public power. Contemporary observers recognized that after the *Nebbia* case and the *Wickard* case, the Court would no longer employ the principal doctrinal formulas—“affected with a public interest” in police power cases and the “direct”/“indirect” distinction in commerce power cases—that had enabled them to police the boundary between public power and private rights. By abandoning those formulas, they were withdrawing from the policing role, and by withdrawing from that role, they were transforming their traditional function in the U.S. constitutional order. Recognizing this, commentators properly understood the Court’s approach in those two cases as “revolutionary.”⁷⁸

But what were the causes of the Court’s new approach? The narrow time frame of Leuchtenburg’s analysis establishes only correlation, not causation. Moreover, the new approach represented so fundamental a transformation of the Court’s role

⁷⁶ 291 U.S. 502 (1934).

⁷⁷ 317 U.S. 111, 124–125 (1942): “[E]ven if . . . [an] activity be local and though it may not be regarded as commerce, it may still, whatever its nature, be reached by Congress if it exerts a substantial economic effect on interstate commerce, and this irrespective of whether such effect is what might at some earlier time have been defined as ‘direct’ or ‘indirect.’”

⁷⁸ See, e.g., Edward Corwin’s analysis of the Court’s approach to legislation affecting “ordinary commercial transactions” in *Constitutional Revolution, Ltd.* (1942).

as a constitutional actor that one would expect it to have emerged gradually rather than suddenly. Further, the overriding importance of doctrinal analysis in the Court's work, and the fact that the approach the Court abandoned was heavily dependent on doctrinal formulas, suggests that doctrinal issues might be at the root of the Court's altered stance. What happened to constitutional doctrine between 1923, when Taft described the Court's approach as laborious boundary pricking, and 1938, when the Court signaled in *United States v. Carolene Products*⁷⁹ that it hoped that most issues of judicial review could be disposed of not through doctrinal formulas, but through a set of presumptions about the constitutionality of legislation?

When one looks at the universe of constitutional law and commentary during those years, two themes surface. One is the increasingly complicated, and not fully consistent, web of doctrine that the Court was engrafting on cases in which it assumed a boundary-tracing role. Although formulas such as "affected with a public interest" and "direct" versus "indirect" effects on interstate commerce were helping justices distinguish between constitutionally valid and invalid police power and commerce power legislation, the "permissible" and "impermissible" categories of such legislation were threatening to become unwieldy and riddled with exceptions. An edifice of doctrine was beginning to collapse of its own weight.

The other theme is a growing drumbeat of criticism of the Court's boundary-tracing role from a group of commentators who advanced a very different view of the role of the judiciary in constitutional interpretation from that which undergirded boundary tracing. From the emergence of scholarship in the 1920s that advanced a view of the meaning of the Constitution as changing over time, and a "living Constitution" approach to constitutional interpretation,⁸⁰ to the testimony of Edward Corwin at hearings for the Court-packing plan,⁸¹ to the address of Roosevelt accompanying the plan's introduction,⁸² critics of the Court asserted that constitutional interpretation was a form of lawmaking, that judicial decisions had an ideological component, and that doctrinal formulas could be ideologically loaded. By the time that Court majorities began invalidating New Deal legislation in the mid-1930s, commentators were readily ascribing political motives to the Court's actions.

The line of commentary suggesting that judging was a form of lawmaking and that constitutional interpretation could be an ideological exercise served to compound the difficulties the Court was encountering with its role as boundary tracer. That role required frequent judicial glossing of open-ended constitutional provisions such as the commerce and due process clauses. As affirmative governmental programs became a more regular feature of the twentieth-century United

⁷⁹ 304 U.S. 144 (1938).

⁸⁰ See sources collected in White, *The Constitution and the New Deal*, 207–210.

⁸¹ "Modern principles of constitutional law [needed to be] decided by men whose social philosophy is modern . . . [The Court has] been endeavoring to elevate into constitutional law a particular economic bias." Testimony of Edward S. Corwin, Hearing before the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 75 Cong. 168 (1937), reprinted in Richard Loss, ed., *Corwin on the Constitution*, 3 vols. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1987), 2: 21, 219.

⁸² The Court-packing plan was designed, Roosevelt said, to "[bring] to the decision of social and economic problems younger men who have had personal experience and contact with modern facts and circumstances," and thereby "save our National Constitution from hardening of the judicial arteries." Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Reorganizing the Federal Judiciary," radio address, March 9, 1937, in Senate Report no. 75–711, Appendix D, 43 (1937).

States, the opportunities for judicial oversight of those programs seemed destined to increase, and with it the opportunities for more judicial glossing and application of doctrinal formulas. If judicial glossing and formula making were themselves suspect because of their capacity to become infused with ideological presuppositions, the Court's traditional boundary-tracing role seemed destined to immerse it in political controversy. In this context, *Carolene Products* was a prudent effort to preserve the Court's authority by reducing the number of occasions on which it would oversee legislatures.

But what had happened to place the Court in the predicament from which *Carolene Products* was a retreat? The answer is that over the first three decades of the twentieth century, there had been a sea change in attitudes toward the role of the judge in constitutional interpretation. That attitudinal change was connected to a larger epistemological shift. As the defining features of modernity—mature industrial capitalism, a broadened base of political participation, the collapse of rigid status distinctions, and the secularization of higher learning brought about by the growing influence of scientific methods of inquiry as techniques for acquiring and using knowledge—transformed the experience of Americans in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, new theories of causal attribution became influential. Those theories posited human power and will as the primary causal agents in the universe, rejecting the traditional causal agents of nature, the cyclical forces of history, the acts of an omniscient deity, or preordained status roles. Modernist epistemology was premised on the belief that humans, by using techniques of scientific inquiry, could intervene to affect their destiny and help shape their future. History, for those with a modernist sensibility, was a progression of human-directed qualitative change.⁸³

The boundary-tracing role assigned to judges had been a product of a quite different view of law and human agency. When Justice David Brewer said, in an 1893 address, that judges “make no laws, . . . establish no policy, [and] never enter into the domain of public action,” he added that “[t]heir functions are limited to seeing that popular action does not trespass on rights and justice.”⁸⁴ That comment advanced a view of judging as radically different from lawmaking and an image of the judge as boundary tracer, making sure that the immutable principles embodied in “rights” and “justice” were observed. Boundary tracing was a legitimate exercise because it was *not* lawmaking; it was simply the application of preexisting legal principles to cases. Law, Brewer assumed, was another of the external causal agents in the universe. Judges were mere mouthpieces of it.

Modernist epistemology treated the radical separation that Brewer made between judging and lawmaking as incoherent. Judges were another set of human actors exercising power to shape the future. To assert that judges did not establish policy, or enter into the domain of public action, was to misconceive their role. So boundary

⁸³ See White, *The Constitution and the New Deal*, 5–7; Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (New York, 1991), 3; Ross, “Introduction,” in Dorothy Ross, ed., *Modernist Impulses in the Human Sciences, 1870–1930* (Baltimore, Md., 1994), 8; Stephen M. Feldman, *American Legal Thought from Premodernism to Postmodernism: An Intellectual Voyage* (New York, 2000), 15–28. On the components of modernity, see the sources cited in White, *The Constitution and the New Deal*, 317.

⁸⁴ David Brewer, “The Movement of Coercion,” *Proceedings of the New York State Bar Association* 16 (1893): 37.

tracing, for modernists, was another form of purposive human activity by officials holding power. It was as capable of being ideologically directed as any other version of purposive decision making. As Holmes suggested in his dissent in *Lochner v. New York*, where his judicial colleagues had engaged in boundary tracing, the case had been decided on “an economic theory.”⁸⁵

By the late 1930s, not only commentators on the Court but justices themselves had internalized a modernist view of judging. A logical corollary of that view was that it required a chastened conception of the judicial function in constitutional interpretation. Boundary tracing gave judges too much power to inject economic theories, or other ideologies, into their glosses on constitutional provisions. The *Carolene Products* approach confined judicial oversight of the activity of other branches primarily to those situations where there seemed to be an explicit mandate in the constitutional text for doing so.⁸⁶

Thus, at the time that the Court-packing plan was introduced, one finds a culture of U.S. constitutional jurisprudence in which justices were struggling under the weight of doctrinal formulas associated with their boundary-tracing role, in which critics had assailed the role itself as an invitation for illegitimate ideological glossing, and in which a conception of human actors holding power as decisive causal agents in the universe was becoming orthodoxy. In this context, the Court-packing plan appears less a cause of a revolutionary change in constitutional jurisprudence than a symptom of it. The plan itself presupposed that a nominating president could “pack” the Court with persons who could be identified as supporters of his policies. It assumed that judges were a species of lawmakers.

BUT IF THE “CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION” SYMBOLIZED by the replacement of boundary tracing with the *Carolene Products* approach was an interpretive revolution that occurred gradually and had its roots in altered conceptions of the role of human agency that spawned altered conceptions of the nature of judging, what are the implications of that conclusion for the internalist/externalist debate? Laura Kalman notes that “White’s modernism . . . bears some resemblance to . . . definitions of Progressivism,” and suggests that “[s]ome might consider . . . modernism synonymous with politics.” She wonders whether “modernism” might ultimately be seen as yet another external force affecting the Court’s decisions.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ *Lochner v. New York*, 198 U.S. 45, 75 (1905).

⁸⁶ Because paragraphs two and three of the *Carolene Products* footnote—which suggested that there might be opportunity for departure from the presumption of constitutionality when legislation restricted the processes for future political change or was a product of “prejudices against discrete and insular minorities”—subsequently formed a mandate for some decisions on the Warren Court, commentators have sometimes taken the footnote as a charter for aggressive judicial readings of the equal protection clause. In fact, the language of those paragraphs was tentative. Stone indicated that “it was unnecessary to consider” whether legislation blocking the channels of political change was “to be subjected to more exacting judicial scrutiny,” and prefaced his comment about legislation affecting “discrete and insular minorities” by saying, “[n]or need we inquire whether . . . a correspondingly more searching judicial inquiry” was necessary in that situation. Moreover, nearly all of Stone’s citations to cases in the footnotes were to free speech cases, examples of paragraph one of the footnote, where legislation “appears on its face to be within a specific prohibition of the Constitution.” See the discussion in White, *The Constitution and the New Deal*, 160–163.

⁸⁷ Laura Kalman, “The Constitution, the Supreme Court, and the New Deal,” 1065.

Here, once again, I think the issue turns on how narrow or wide an angle of vision the historian chooses. I have previously suggested that modernist epistemology was itself a response to modernity. As new phenomena began to surface in the cultural landscape of the United States in the late nineteenth century, those phenomena contributed to new perceptions about the way external features of the universe should be understood. The methodologies of natural science provide an example. Those methodologies were based on theories of scientific inquiry that were different from the dominant theories that had preceded them. But their influence was a product not so much of their innate congeniality—Darwinist explanations of human development were fiercely resisted when first advanced—as of their capacity to make sense of empirical data. The methods of Darwinist scientific inquiry, however, were far from value-free. A dialectical relationship existed between the presuppositions of a natural science and its methods for gathering and assessing evidence.

Comparable relationships could be sketched between the defining external features of modernity and the perceptions about them that eventually resulted in a modernist epistemology becoming orthodoxy. The presence of new external phenomena stimulated reactions to them, and those reactions affected the way in which additional phenomena were viewed.

So the question is not whether “modernism” is “prior to politics,” as Kalman suggests that I may believe.⁸⁸ Modernism and politics seem better understood as elements of a cultural mix, occupying a dialectical relationship with one another. Take the example of the “city beautiful” movement in the early twentieth century. That movement was distinctively “Progressive” in its embrace of human-directed change, in its optimism about the future, and in its vision of elites harnessing science and technology for aesthetic as well as functional purposes. If one ratchets up the level of abstraction, it was also modernist in its assumption that human actors holding power could improve their environment and help control their future destinies. But at the same time, the movement was a response to some of the new conditions of modernity, such as the increased urbanization and industrialization of life in the United States, the diversifying ethnic character of city populations, and the effects of broadened political participation on urban governance. In that context, the “city beautiful” movement can be seen as a bid on the part of members of the gentry classes to restore their influence on city politics.⁸⁹

The internalist-externalist debate about constitutional change in the 1930s is not about the sources of historical inquiry—whether one chooses to study the “city beautiful” movement as a social, political, or economic historian—nor is it about the level of abstraction at which one conceptualizes issues of historical causation (whether one wants to locate historical explanations in politics or epistemology). It is about how much the “internal” professional world of judging affected the Court’s decisions, as opposed to “external” factors such as the Court-packing plan or the 1936 election. So the question is not whether one or another approach to historical causation is inherently superior, but how successfully a particular approach integrates the common elements of a judge’s experience. When one approach centers explanations for constitutional change in the factors that judges consistently

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ See William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore, Md., 1989).

confront in the exercise of their professional tasks, and another approach ignores or minimizes those factors, it would seem that the former approach would provide a fuller explanation of judicial performance.

Historiographical methodologies that can integrate doctrinal factors into their explanations for legal and constitutional change have an advantage over approaches that treat doctrine as either infinitely malleable or disingenuous. This is not only because, as previously noted, doctrine is the justificatory basis of judicial opinions, but also because there is ample evidence that judges regard themselves as constrained by doctrine even when they find it inconsistent with their instinctual reactions to the issues raised in cases. Some examples follow of early-twentieth-century cases in which justices openly acknowledged conflicts between established doctrinal and interpretive frameworks and policy results they supported.

The first set of examples comes from a cluster of three Sherman Act cases affecting labor unions decided by the Court in 1922, 1924, and 1933, years in which twentieth-century constitutional historians have conventionally identified the Supreme Court of the United States as an enemy of organized labor.⁹⁰ In all three cases, the Court concluded that union strikes in the mining and leather industries and a boycott by union workers in a steel plant could not be enjoined under the Sherman Act; nor could they be made the basis of an action for damages. All of the opinions reasoned that the act, being based on the federal government's power to regulate interstate commerce, could govern only activities that were "directly" connected to interstate traffic in goods or services. The strikes and boycotts in the cases, designed to affect coal mining and leather and steel production in local plants, were judged to have had only an "indirect" impact on the shipment of coal, leather goods, or steel across state lines. In denying injunctive relief, the cases affirmed the narrow doctrinal interpretation of the federal government's commerce power first made by the Court in the 1895 Sherman Act case of *United States v. E.C. Knight*.⁹¹

In his unanimous opinion for the Court in the first case, Chief Justice Taft said that the circumstances of the coal miners' strike, which included arson and homicides by the strikers, "awaken regret that, in our view of the federal jurisdiction, we cannot [uphold the damage award against the union]." It was "of far higher importance," Taft continued, "that we should preserve inviolate the fundamental [constitutional] limitations . . . on federal jurisdiction."⁹² Three of Taft's fellow justices signaled that they felt the same way. Justice William Day wrote Taft, "I . . . regret that this gross outrage by the local union cannot be reached by federal authority."⁹³ Justice McReynolds wrote, "I am sorry you can't make the scoundrels pay."⁹⁴ And Justice Mahlon Pitney, while

⁹⁰ *United Mine Workers v. Coronado Coal Co.*, 259 U.S. 344 (1922) ("Coronado Coal I"); *United Leather Workers v. Herkert & Meisel Trunk Co.*, 265 U.S. 457 (1924); *Levering & Garrigues Co. v. Morrin*, 289 U.S. 103 (1933). For a portrait of the Court in the 1920s and early 1930s as unsympathetic to organized labor, see Richard Cortner's two volumes *The Wagner Act Cases* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1964) and *The Jones & Laughlin Case* (New York, 1970).

⁹¹ *United States v. E.C. Knight Co.*, 156 U.S. 1 (1895).

⁹² *Coronado Coal I*, 259 U.S. at 413.

⁹³ Day to Taft, Papers of William Howard Taft, Reel 615, Library of Congress, quoted in Barry Cushman, "Formalism and Realism in Commerce Clause Jurisprudence," *University of Chicago Law Review* 67 (2000): 1089, 1099.

⁹⁴ McReynolds to Taft, Taft Papers, Reel 615, quoted in *ibid.*, 1099.

endorsing Taft's opinion, called it "too true to be good."⁹⁵ All three justices regarded their personal sympathies as being constrained by doctrinal considerations, foremost among which was the preservation of the integrity of the "direct"/"indirect" distinction in commerce power cases.

The stance exhibited by Taft and his colleagues in the Sherman Act cases was adopted by justices in several cases testing the constitutionality of New Deal legislation in the 1930s. As those cases came before the Court, justices conventionally treated as "liberals" and justices conventionally labeled "conservatives" regularly voted to invalidate legislative policies they supported, and to sustain legislative policies they thought misguided.

A few illustrations will suffice. Justice Roberts told the New Deal strategist Harold Ickes that he was "entirely sympathetic" to the Roosevelt administration's efforts to regulate practices in the oil industry, despite having joined an 8–1 Court decision striking down petroleum production codes imposed by the National Industrial Recovery Act on constitutional grounds.⁹⁶ Roberts expressed the hope that properly drafted New Deal legislation would enable the regulatory policies to be carried out.⁹⁷ Justice Louis Brandeis strongly believed in the policy of government assistance for farmers unable to meet their mortgage obligations in a depressed agricultural economy,⁹⁸ but he wrote a unanimous 1935 opinion for the Court invalidating the federal Frazier-Lemke Act as a violation of the constitutional rights of creditors.⁹⁹

Brandeis and Stone also upheld New Deal legislation they disapproved of. In a series of cases challenging the constitutionality of the Gold Reserve Act, Brandeis and Stone joined 5–4 Court majorities sustaining the act,¹⁰⁰ which sought to implement the Roosevelt administration's policy of withdrawing gold from circulation in order to buttress the declining value of paper currency in the 1930s. Both Brandeis and Stone thought that policy ill-advised.¹⁰¹ They also disapproved of the Roosevelt administration's effort to alleviate depressed agricultural conditions by taxing, through the Agricultural Adjustment Act, processors of agricultural products.¹⁰² The processing tax and price-control provisions of the AAA were challenged on the grounds that Congress had no power to regulate agriculture, a "local" activity. In a 1936 decision, a 6–3 Court majority agreed, invalidating the provisions. Brandeis and Stone dissented.¹⁰³ Finally, in 1934 the Roosevelt administration passed a law requiring interstate railroads to fund an industry-wide program of unemployment compensation and retirement benefits for their employees. Stone disliked that legislation,¹⁰⁴ but when a 5–4 majority of the Court overturned the

⁹⁵ Pitney to Taft, Taft Papers, Reel 615, quoted in *ibid.*, 1099, n. 62.

⁹⁶ *Panama Refining Co. v. Ryan*, 293 U.S. 388 (1935).

⁹⁷ Harold L. Ickes, *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes*, 3 vols. (New York, 1953–1954), 1: 273.

⁹⁸ Lewis J. Paper, *Brandeis* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1983), 350.

⁹⁹ *Louisville Joint Stock Land Bank v. Radford*, 295 U.S. 155 (1935).

¹⁰⁰ *Norman v. Baltimore & Ohio R. Co.*, 294 U.S. 240 (1935); *Nortz v. United States*, 294 U.S. 317 (1935); *Perry v. United States*, 294 U.S. 330 (1935).

¹⁰¹ For Brandeis's opposition, see Paper, *Brandeis*, 346; for Stone's, see Mason, *Harlan Fiske Stone*, 390.

¹⁰² For Brandeis, see Paper, *Brandeis*, 345; for Stone, see Mason, *Harlan Fiske Stone*, 416–417.

¹⁰³ *United States v. Butler*, 297 U.S. 1 (1936).

¹⁰⁴ See Mason, *Harlan Fiske Stone*, 393.

legislation on the grounds that it exceeded Congress's commerce power and violated due process, Stone joined the dissenters.

Evidence of this kind routinely surfaces in judicial biography. One can interpret it straightforwardly, as an illustration of the fact that the instinctive sympathies or antipathies of a justice sometimes confront strong doctrinal pressures in the other direction, and, given that doctrinal justification is the reputational currency in which judges traffic, sympathies or antipathies yield. Or one can interpret it in a more convoluted fashion, arguing that when a justice's votes in cases appear to clash with that justice's policy views, the votes represent some hidden agenda, and any doctrinal justifications for them should be discounted.

GIVEN THE IMPORTANCE OF DOCTRINAL AND INTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORKS in assessing the performance of Supreme Court justices and understanding changes in constitutional law, why have externalist constitutional historians regularly failed to make a sustained effort to understand the doctrinal and interpretive edifice of constitutional decisions? And given the relative paucity of the data used to support their claims, why have externalist explanations for twentieth-century constitutional change been resonant for so long?

When externalist commentators emphasize the role of ideology and politics in Supreme Court decisions, they are making a crucial assumption. They are taking for granted that behavioralist theories about the decisions of other officials holding power—theories that emphasize the importance of human will, politics, and ideology in decision making and treat rhetorical justifications at less than face value—explain the performance of judges as constitutional interpreters. Once that assumption is made, outcomes and votes, rather than opinions, assume paramount importance in explaining changes in constitutional law. There is a sense, therefore, in which behavioralist explanations of judicially induced constitutional change amount to self-fulfilling prophecies. Ideology and politics are identified as the forces driving change because those factors are assumed, in advance, to be the ones that inevitably control judicial decisions.

If one is convinced that judges are a species of policymakers, and, more fundamentally, that constitutional change takes place in the United States because Supreme Court justices will it to happen—in other words, if one is a thoroughgoing modernist—behavioralist explanations for judicial performance resonate. The very durability of conventional externalist explanations for constitutional change in the 1930s, notwithstanding the tendency of those explanations to confuse correlation with causation, testifies to their resonance. But sometimes the instinctive attractiveness of a historical explanation to scholars can serve as a deterrent to the close investigation of evidence. For so enduring a hypothesis, the conventional explanation linking the Court-packing plan and the “constitutional revolution of 1937” has rested on a remarkably thin evidentiary base.

Monocausal explanations of the performance of Supreme Court justices as constitutional interpreters will invariably produce distortions. Historical accounts of constitutional change cannot wholly ignore external factors in U.S. culture any

more than they can ignore doctrinal and interpretive frameworks affecting judicial opinions. The Court's constitutional jurisprudence changed after the late 1930s in part because new doctrinal and interpretive frameworks were more responsive to newly perceived cultural needs that had surfaced in connection with the emergence of a modern democratic society. Those needs included a relatively expansive governmental apparatus featuring an increased amount of regulatory and redistributive legislation and an increased identification of U.S. society with democratic, antitotalitarian principles. They were a product of domestic and international events external to the Court, as well as of the way in which those events were perceived.

But if the Court can be seen as affected by its external culture, external forces cannot fully account for the Court's constitutional decisions. The impact of perceived cultural needs on constitutional law comes when they are filtered through the interpretive exercises, with their governing frameworks, that constitute the regular work of Supreme Court justices. The cultural and biographical dimensions of constitutional interpretation are important. But the core of that task is supplying, in opinions, doctrinal justifications for the interpretations a judge makes. In the end, hypotheses about constitutional change are richer when they are able to confront and explain the actual work of judges. Externalist interpretations of constitutional change in the 1930s cannot satisfactorily explain the Court's decisions because they do not fully confront them.

G. Edward White, David and Mary Harrison Distinguished Professor of Law and University Professor, University of Virginia, holds a Ph.D. in American Studies from Yale and a J.D. from Harvard Law School. He joined the Virginia law faculty in 1972 after a clerkship with Chief Justice Warren of the Supreme Court of the United States. He has been elected to several honorary professional societies, including the American Academy of Arts & Sciences, the Society of American Historians, and the American Law Institute. White is the author of twelve books, including *The American Judicial Tradition* (1976), *Earl Warren: A Public Life* (1982), *The Marshall Court and Cultural Change* (1988), *Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes: Law and the Inner Self* (1993), and *The Constitution and the New Deal* (2000). His most recent book is *Alger Hiss's Looking-Glass Wars* (2004).

Reviews of Books and Films

METHODS/THEORY

MARSHALL SAHLINS. *Apologies to Thucydides: Understanding History as Culture and Vice Versa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 334. \$30.00.

In this unusual book, Marshall Sahlins is less apologetic toward Thucydides than critically engaged with him and with the long tradition of historiography he began. Sahlins's criticism essentially is that Thucydides devalues the cultural in favor of a supposedly natural human tendency to act out of perceived self-interest, and that in concentrating on individuals he ignores the institutions and cultural structures that mediate between them and give their actions coherence and meaning. The book, then, is largely a demonstration of what a historiography informed by anthropology might look like. Moving easily between concrete cases and general principles, Sahlins makes a compelling argument that there is no history without culture, and vice versa.

Sahlins confronts Thucydides most directly in the first chapter, where he discusses Athens and Sparta, the principals in the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.E.); but with them he pairs two Fijian kingdoms of the nineteenth century C.E., Bau and Rewa, which like the Greek states fought a protracted war that drew in allies on each side. The parallels Sahlins draws are impressive. Both Athens and Bau created hegemonies over “allies” that were based not on domination but on demonstrations of superiority. The reliance of both on naval power had far-reaching consequences for policy and internal organization. Both were compelled by exponentially increasing costs of hegemony to engage in imperialist adventures to extend the boundaries of their domination; for Athens the result was the catastrophe at Syracuse. (Note that this explanation does not necessarily replace “Thucydidean” self-interest as a causal explanation but grounds it in economics.) Sparta and Rewa, by contrast, look more traditional within their respective cultures than do their adventurous adversaries, and this, Sahlins argues, is no accident. The pairs Athens and Sparta, Bau and Rewa, were *systematic* inversions of one another, constituting themselves in a dialectic of mutual opposition. Although the presuppositions here will not convince everyone (do cultures really behave in this Saussurean

manner?), the suggestion deserves to be taken seriously. It may be audacious to suggest that Cleisthenes's democratic reforms were motivated this way (and doing so ignores forces internal to Athens), but recent work has dated the Spartan cultural formation as late as the fifth century B.C.E., when the two cities were rivals. Thucydides himself described extensive oppositions between them. These cry out for an explanation beyond a presumed “national character,” and the one Sahlins offers is intriguing.

What then is the role of individual agency in events? In chapter two Sahlins, who rejects the opposition of subjects to structures (and theories based on either extreme), distinguishes between “structural” and “evenemential” historical change. In the latter especially, individuals create “turning-points” (Bobby Thompson's home run won the New York Giants the American League pennant in 1951, the dispute over whether to return the child Elián Gonzalez to his Cuban father condensed wider cultural disputes in America and helped determine the 2001 election), but larger structures create the conditions in which they can do so: agency is “constituted by a cultural order of which it is an idiosyncratic expression” (p. 156). The last chapter takes up the further question of the relation between structure and contingency through the murder, in 1845, of a Bauan chief by his half-brother. The war with Rewa and Fijian kinship practices made this event likely but did not determine which would kill the other. Structure thus plays a determining role but is opened to contingency. It is also altered by the consequences of the contingent event, even as these are shaped by structure: we see here a preoccupation of Sahlins's earlier writings, here placed in a broader context.

It does not affect Sahlins's point about the importance of culture to historiography to say that the essentialist “Thucydides” he fruitfully engages is one influential reading of that historian. It is not at all clear that Thucydides asserts as a universal law of human nature that individuals and states act always out of self-interest. I would say instead that he shows the catastrophic consequences that follow from thinking that they do and of acting on that assumption. But I am not sure that Sahlins himself has entirely dispensed with essentialism. When he points to strong parallels

between such temporally and culturally disparate cases as Greece and Fiji, does he not risk implying a "cultural essentialism," the idea that widely separated cultures, faced with similar environmental and historical conditions, will create similar structures? Is this merely a version of "human nature"? If not, how would he explain the likenesses?

Perhaps Sahlins ought to have discussed these questions, but the book's accomplishments are considerable. As a classicist who has benefited from Sahlins's previous work, I appreciate this view of Greek history through an anthropologist's eyes. More generally, this book is a paradigm of how history and anthropology might be brought together, to the mutual enrichment of both disciplines.

WILLIAM G. THALMANN
University of Southern California

CATHERINE EMERSON. *Olivier de La Marche and the Rhetoric of Fifteenth-Century Historiography*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2004. Pp. viii, 247. \$75.00.

The *Mémoires* of Olivier de la Marche, whose standard edition was published during the 1880s by the Société de l'Histoire de France, have long been viewed simply as a "resource for historians" (p. 32). In this valuable corrective, Catherine Emerson shows how the narrative can be read as literature. She avoids any pointed criticism of historians who have exploited the *Mémoires* as a source without a sufficient appreciation of the text as text. However, it is clear from the results of this meticulous study of "why La Marche wrote history in the way that he did" (p. 32) that historical reconstructions that have relied on naïve readings of La Marche will have to be rethought. Moreover, the conclusions of previous studies of La Marche, not based on the manuscript evidence for his *Mémoires* (surveyed pp. 16–20), are now thrown into question.

Emerson's fundamental contribution is to have disentangled the various manuscript and print witnesses of the text. Olivier de la Marche (d. 1502) was active at the Burgundian ducal court in Brussels under the Valois and the Habsburgs. He composed his *Mémoires* over the course of thirty years, including two concentrated campaigns (in 1472 and 1488) that produced two different prologues and two different overall plans for the work. He interlaced the narrative with originally separate short pieces of his own or other authorship (such as descriptions of banquets) and with historical documents. Scribal and editorial interventions over the next several centuries further modified La Marche's own work. "The *Mémoires* as they survive are, therefore, a largely unfinished and unrevised collection of texts, written over a long period for a variety of audiences and purposes . . . [and] were not intended to be read in the form in which we now find them" (p. 15).

Having determined the nature of the text itself, Emerson subjects it to a rhetorical analysis that goes beyond the fifteenth century. She asks which childhood

memories, as recounted by La Marche, have resonated most with subsequent readers so as to become set pieces in La Marche's biography, as constructed by later scholars, and how did La Marche's own rhetorical strategies combine with the ever-changing preoccupations and preconceptions of later readers to render those particular incidents so central to his life story? It will probably not concern most historians (as it does Emerson) whether or not La Marche's work fits the generic definition for medieval autobiography formulated by Paul Zumthor; Emerson's engagement throughout the study with the classic works of literary criticism can be distracting for those more prosaically inclined. However, it is by exploring the text through such a prism that Emerson can arrive at fresh insights of undeniable relevance for historians of the Burgundian Netherlands, such as that we cannot read La Marche's memories as "unproblematical eyewitness accounts" (p. 73). A fascinating example of Emerson's exemplary rhetorical exploration of the *Mémoires* is to show how La Marche uses Observant Franciscans as "shorthand for spirituality" (p. 173). Because La Marche's views can be shown to diverge considerably from those of leading exponents of the Observant Franciscan position, Emerson argues that stories about Observant Franciscans are, for La Marche, purely a literary device and not an expression of his own personal piety. Similar caveats emerge, in connection with face-value readings of the works of medieval mystics, from Amy Hollywood's *Sensible Ecstasy: Mysticism, Sexual Difference, and the Demands of History* (2002). Their insights into how a text's rhetorical strategy can be divorced from the personal experience of its first-person narrator deeply unsettle positivistic methods of historical research.

A particularly valuable section of the work, from the perspective of readers of this journal, is chapter three, placing La Marche in the context of the explosion of historical writing, much of it under ducal patronage, which characterized the Burgundian court in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (pp. 75–115). This chapter conveys much about the realities of fifteenth-century Brussels, including its Dutch-speaking culture (in which La Marche was probably a participant). Of greatest general interest may be chapter four, placing La Marche's work in the context of a discussion of the didactic tradition of "Mirrors of Princes," including Niccolò Machiavelli's famous treatise. The chapter is based on the only illustrated manuscript of the work, (Bibliothèque Nationale de France français 2868), comprising only the 1488 "Book One" addressed to Philip the Handsome, the first historiographical work of the Burgundian court to use the Trojan myth of the origins of Austria. The 1488 Book One also contains "a strong defense of descent from bastards" (p. 157), in keeping with the needs of Philip, a descendant of João, bastard king of Portugal.

Anyone interested in the fifteenth century, or in rhetoric, can benefit from this study, whose appeal will

be—unfortunately—limited by the decision not to translate any French quotations.

FELICE LIFSHITZ

Florida International University

DAVID N. MYERS. *Resisting History: Historicism and Its Discontents in German-Jewish Thought*. (Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 253. \$29.95.

The challenge of historicism to religion generated a vast and sophisticated theological literature within the Christian tradition, primarily among German Lutherans, the first to be confronted with historical-critical methods applied to biblical studies. Historicism served different kinds of purposes for Jews, affirming Jewish cultural identity and political interests. Historians such as Leopold Zunz and Moritz Steinschneider saw their task as gathering the products of Jewish creativity over the centuries, collecting manuscripts from libraries around Europe, while others wrote local histories of the Jews to demonstrate their rootedness in certain regions and legitimize their contemporary presence within Germany. When it came to religious texts, Jewish thinkers tended to avoid historicist studies of the Hebrew Bible until the twentieth century, although they gave considerable attention, starting in the nineteenth century, to rabbinic literature, also traditionally considered to have been divinely revealed. Reading the Talmud historically could be used to justify religious reform, raising suspicion toward historicism among the Orthodox.

Jewish scholarship did not exist in isolation but responded to Protestant scholarship and hoped that Protestants would take Jewish findings to heart, especially since studies of rabbinic literature were often presented as bearing revisionist implications for an understanding of Christian origins. The collegiality Jews hoped for did not materialize, and their disappointments led, in many cases, to a reconsideration of historicist methods and goals.

David N. Myers presents a superb study of four major Jewish thinkers who broke with nineteenth-century historicism: Hermann Cohen, Franz Rosenzweig, Leo Strauss, and Isaac Breuer. Not only is Jewishness renegotiated by the resisters of historicism that Myers investigates, but historicism as such is creatively reimagined, and the resistance creates productive points of criticism. Cohen, for example, was sharply critical of Ernst Troeltsch's historical contextualization of prophetic ethics as the expression of ancient Israel rather than a universal message transcending its era. Yet the affirmation of Judaism's universality also inspired Cohen's anti-Zionism, Myers points out. For Rosenzweig, writing at a time of widespread Christian rejection of historicism, Jews stand outside history, and diasporism, not Zionism, is their "ideal habitat." The Protestant historicist model that described an expired Jewish religion superseded

by a vibrant Christianity was combatted by Rosenzweig not on historicist terms but by asserting that Judaism stands within eternity, whereas Christianity, derived from it, "is only on the way."

Both Strauss and Breuer were vigorous in their rejection of liberalism, blaming historicism for the crisis they perceived, and neither thought political Zionism could resolve it; the crisis was at heart theological. Myers presents both thinkers within the context of Protestant neo-Orthodoxy of the post-World War I era, affirming God's presence in history and insisting that science be read through the lens of the Bible. Yet Strauss's insistence on God's centrality did not stem from his personal belief or inspire obedience to Jewish law, in marked contrast to other traditional religious thinkers, but was mustered primarily as a weapon against liberalism. Breuer, a pillar of German-Jewish Orthodoxy and religious Zionism, sought a "timeless foundation on which Judaism could stand," protected from historicist relativism and change. Precisely his antihistoricism inspired Breuer's insistence that history is not political but a tool in God's messianic drama.

The major conceptual flaw in the book is Myers's presentation of historicism as a static phenomenon. Relying solely on simplistic imagery drawn from Calvin Rand's 1965 definition, Myers tells us that historicism is a method studying "each person, event, nation or era as a unique individual," an ideology that "values the past on its own terms." Historicism is an extraordinarily complex philosophical concern, and it is highly surprising, to say the least, that Myers does not explore its contours. The very complexity of the four philosophers he presents would suggest that a definition is inappropriate because each thinker constructed his historicist modes with critical appropriations and negotiations, as does Myers himself. The multiplicity of historicist reworkings that are continuously renegotiated through debates, rather than an ideology that can be asserted or resisted, seems better to express the multiple directions of the four thinkers he presents.

Oddly absent from Myers's book is a discussion of the links between European historicism and Europe's colonialist projects. The effort of Jewish historians to make Hebraism triumph over Hellenism was to challenge Christianity's originality and hegemony over Western civilization. That Jewish claims to civilizational priority were made primarily through the discipline of history complicates the resistance that Myers illuminates. As historicism was on the intellectual ascent in Europe, it was part of the European political project of subjugating colonized to colonizer; and the discipline through which "civilized" status was constructed and legitimated. As Dipesh Chakrabarty has argued in *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (2000), "Historicism enabled European domination of the world in the nineteenth century" (p. 7). In grasping the reins of historicism, Jews revolted against their colonization by Christian

Europe, using historicist tools to combat historicism's own political and intellectual imperialism.

Along with these conceptual problems, readers should perhaps be alerted that Myers's book contains errors, some of which were catalogued by Friedrich Wilhelm Graf in a review in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* in September 2004. Given those errors, aspects of the book should be approached with particular caution.

SUSANNAH HESCHEL
Dartmouth College

CAROLYN J. DEAN. *The Fragility of Empathy after the Holocaust*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 203. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

Carolyn J. Dean's thesis is at once direct and oblique. She is explicitly agnostic on "whether or not there has been a real failure of empathy" in the aftermath of the Holocaust (p. 5); obliquely, however, she claims an *alleged* loss of empathy, basing that on four post-Holocaust narratives that, she finds, demonstrate a moral "numbness." Methodologically, this conjunction raises persistent problems. In addition to what seems the importance of determining whether "Holocaust-fatigue" has in fact tainted current moral thinking—apparently Dean's own view, despite her disclaimer—the four narratives to which she restricts her account leave little space for the counter-evidence of an intensified post-Holocaust moral empathy. This omission—for example, of the remarkable historiography of the Holocaust or the post-Holocaust development of international legislation against genocide—limits the force of her analysis. (It also precludes a likely explanation for the moral "numbness" alleged: that it may be the price paid for the widespread empathetic attention that the Holocaust *has* received.)

The four narratives in which Dean finds a loss of empathy to the Holocaust's events are: the charges of "pornography" against various Holocaust representations (chapter one); the hostile professional reaction to Daniel Jonah Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (1996) (chapter two); the misuse of the category of the Holocaust "bystander" (chapter three); and attempts to associate Nazism, or fascism more generally, with homosexuality (chapter four). Dean regards these responses themselves as evidence of the loss of empathy—still, however, remaining agnostic on whether the responses are warranted or not. So, for example, she views the widespread criticism of Goldhagen's book as partly personal but more substantively as reflecting the "inadvertent objectification of [the] victims" (p. 58) by other Holocaust historians that Goldhagen was attempting to correct. But Dean provides no evidence that Goldhagen did reveal previously ignored aspects of the victims' subjectivity, and the central criticism of Goldhagen remains, as Dean herself notes, his monocausal and (arguably) genetic explanation of the Final Solution: an objection quite independent of the

ad hominem argument of professional jealousy that Dean cites as a factor in Goldhagen's hostile reception.

The charges of pornography in Holocaust representations, with its presumptive depersonalization, seem similarly equivocal. Can Holocaust representations be viewed pornographically? No doubt (but so, for the shoe-fetishist, can a shoe store). Are they all intrinsically pornographic, as certain of the critics mentioned by Dean imply? That seems too broad a charge to be taken seriously. Does some viewing of Holocaust representations have some elements of pornographic attraction for some people? Perhaps, but what follows from this? That the representations should not be viewed at all? The term "pornographic" may itself be in this context only metaphoric; little evidence has been presented in any event of sexual interest in pictures of concentration camp victims. Is the charge of pornography evidence of a loss of empathy? But again, the answer to that seems dependent on the prior question of the charge's truth or falsity.

In chapter four, Dean reviews writings that have causally associated Nazism with homosexuality, beginning with rumors circulated about Adolf Hitler himself. Here Dean's claim of a loss of empathy in the charges seems further strained. Obviously, altruism was not a Nazi value, but the contention that this failing holds also for homosexuals, and to an extent that justifies yoking the two together, requires an improbably large logical jump. The views Dean cites here (including comments by Theodor Adorno) seem either so crude or so ornate as to escape the rules of evidence; they are questionable even as symptoms, and although bad arguments are admittedly arguments, their quality seems not irrelevant to their discussion.

The most suggestive of Dean's narratives concerns the role of Holocaust "bystanders," as recent observers have imagined what they would have done under the same harsh conditions. A lack of empathy does seem evident here, as the imaginary bystanders typically predict their reactions would have been stronger than those of the actual bystanders (or even of the victims). The source of this criticism of the past, however, is a separate question, since in the absence of comparative evidence it might reflect not post-Holocaust numbness, as Dean proposes, but a common patronizing of the past (or even a specifically Whiggish view of moral progress).

What then of Dean's broader suggestion of a post-Holocaust loss of moral empathy? The evidence seems to me against this, but the issue itself is important—as it would also be valuable to have a comprehensive moral history (not of moral theories, but of moral conduct, including the role of empathy). Dean's book touches on all these topics, but the larger work is still there to be done.

BEREL LANG
Wesleyan University

LLOYD E. AMBROSIUS, editor. *Writing Biography: Historians and Their Craft*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 166. \$45.00.

Historians have long argued whether biography is properly a form of history and, if so, if it is a superior form of historical writing. The editor of this volume, Lloyd E. Ambrosius, and its contributors answer both questions positively. In preparing these essays the six historians—three women and three men—were asked “to reflect on their experiences as biographers” and to offer “their insights into the writing of biography as a form of historical analysis” (p. vii).

Shirley A. Leckie, the noted biographer of Elizabeth (“Libby”) Bacon Custer and historian Angie Debo, contributes one of the strongest essays in this collection. Leckie draws illuminatingly from other biographers to show how their experiences influenced her work. Countering Stanley Fish’s ridiculous dismissal of biography as “Minutiae without Meaning,” Leckie argues persuasively that “biography matters more than it mattered in the past” (p. 20) because in an expanded, global world we must have additional life stories to reconnect with diverse national and international experiences. Leckie utilizes her work in western American history to assert that we need biographies of people on the far side, the non-European and female side, of Frederick Jackson Turner’s frontier.

In the second chapter, R. Keith Schoppa, a specialist in Asian history, emphasizes differences between social identities in the West and Far East. Unlike in the United States, where individualism became paramount, in China “developing and nurturing personal connections . . . [became] a full-time, lifelong undertaking” (p. 33). Schoppa’s essay focuses on the social connections of Shen Dingyi, an early twentieth-century provincial leader, to help biographers understand the cultural contexts that shaped Chinese persons. The author’s major point, clearly made, needs more illustrations of the sociocultural importance of webs and networks in Chinese history.

Next Retha M. Warnicke utilizes her studies of Anne Boleyn and Anne of Cleves to argue that biographers must attend to the unique circumstances of women to understand the English Tudor period. Warnicke calls for more comprehension of the gender biases that distort primary and secondary sources, archival collections, Tudor society, and the writings of many male historians. Warnicke’s useful essay would be more valuable if it were less one-sided, including unwarranted negativity toward male historians and persons of strong religious preferences.

The informal, chatty chapter by John Milton Cooper, Jr., urges biographers to consider the implications of conceptions, conversations, and comparisons. Cooper demonstrates how his personal interests and the availability and significance of research materials drew him to the lives of Walter Hines Page, Theodore Roosevelt, and Woodrow Wilson. Biographers must “converse” with their subjects, through oral histories

or apt use of sources. The only contributor to comment on comparative methods, Cooper’s stated differences between “comparative study” and “comparative biography” remain hazy. Still, his essay is one of the most provocative in this collection.

Nell Irvin Painter, specialist in African-American history and biographer of Sojourner Truth, provides a novel approach in calling attention to poet Horace’s dictum *ut pictura poesis*. Translated as the “sisterhood of the arts,” this idea encourages biographers to make diligent use of the arts, especially photographs and other artworks in stories of subaltern figures. Painter utilizes photographs of Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, and Duke Ellington as examples of underutilized evidence for biographies of subjects on which too little written evidence is available or for figures on which too much emphasis is placed on words.

The final essay by intellectual historian Robert J. Richards reiterates a familiar but still useful idea. From the 1960s through the 1980s, literary historians and critics and practitioners of “external” and “internal” intellectual history argued about the proper balance of biographical-historical backgrounds and emphases on the works of art themselves. Richards invokes this controversy in discussing the life and ideas of the German philosopher Friedrich Schelling and argues for linking personal and intellectual details in writing full-bodied biographies. A change or shift in a philosopher’s thinking often becomes understandable through his or her personal life.

These provocative essays contribute two useful points: biography is essential for historians; and historians must realize that biography and history remain joined at the historiographical hip. This reviewer adds a third point: historians should do more to introduce their students to the art of writing biographies. Such skills will be immensely helpful for preparing dissertations—and first books—but also will encourage young writers to include attention-whetting and illustrative pen portraits in their narrative, analytical, or theoretical histories.

RICHARD W. ETULAIN
University of New Mexico

THOMAS DAcOSTA KAUFMANN. *Toward a Geography of Art*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 490. \$25.00.

Within the anglophone academy, geography and art history are rarely thought of as cognate disciplines, although since the 1960s conceptual, site-specific, and performance art practices have stimulated shared artistic and geographical interest in questions of place, documentation, and mapping. Such art work is now mature enough to attract the attention of art historians, including Miwon Kwon and Irid Rogoff. For their part, geographers, having extended their conceptions of space beyond the narrowly cartographic, interrogate the range of cognition and meanings attached to environments, places, and landscapes. They also ex-

plore the historical role of visual images (especially the map) in shaping material spaces. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann's book opens with a discussion of geography's "cultural turn" and offers an informed reading of some of the discipline's key contemporary thinkers, albeit more social theorists than humanists. The "geographical" turn in late twentieth-century art practice lies outside the author's concern. His subject matter is more conventional and canonical, and his theoretical interest is in an older and unfamiliar (at least for non-German scholars) tradition of *Kunstgeographie*. The book seeks to recuperate this somewhat tainted intellectual project for contemporary scholarship. The result is a fascinating, challenging, but frustrating work that hopes to lay the foundation for further study about relationships between art and place, but that one fears may register the brilliant investigation of an intellectual cul-de-sac.

Kaufmann's first three chapters deal with historiographic questions connecting geography and the history of (mainly European) art. The succeeding two thirds of the book comprise substantive studies of art and architectural works, principally in Central and Eastern Europe, Spanish America, and Japan, produced between about 1500 and 1900. These are finely crafted and highly informative essays on less-studied topics, whose geographical spread reflects the author's intention to extend *Kunstgeographie* beyond its Eurocentric focus. They reveal much about the ways that European styles, practices, and traditions were globalized in the years of missionary and economic imperialism, and how they hybridized and were transculturated in contact with non-European peoples and practices. The study of Japanese *Fumi-e*, Christian icons manufactured for desecration during the centuries of Japan's "closure" to the West and its rejection of Christianity, is at once fine detective scholarship and compelling reading. But this chapter, like those on Jesuit architectural style in Eastern Europe or on the façade of San Lorenzo in Potosí, Bolivia, seems an independent project whose connection to the book's geographical argument feels forced. Their contribution to the book's conceptual goals is limited by the fact that art historical questions of iconography rather than geographical concepts drive the scholarship.

Kaufmann's historiography of *Kunstgeographie* is detailed and meticulously balanced, a necessity given the role played by such interpretation of art within German Romantic nationalism and the attendant proclivity toward "blood and soil" explanations of cultural difference. The root argument for a geography of art may seem uncontentious: "works of art are man-made products. As such they provide evidence of human culture, specifically the culture of whatever people produces them. The geography of art may therefore be regarded as part of cultural or human geography, which treats the material traces of humanity in the natural landscape" (p. 342). But distinguishing "art" within "culture" begs serious ontological questions. By the same token, geographers have largely retreated

from assigning "culture" to "peoples," as these are mutually dependent categories, and certainly from bounding either within a regional framework. They regard material traces of human activity in the "natural landscape" as limited evidence for understanding place and spatial organization.

Kaufmann indicates awareness of these problems, devoting his first chapter to a careful reading of recent geographical writing on space and spatiality, one main thrust of which has been to reject Immanuel Kant's attribution of ontological primacy to a container view of space. But the author explicitly rejects the hermeneutic stance that a relational view of space implies, shaping his study around unexamined and conventional concepts of place, region, environment, and diffusion. His geographical models are Paul Vidal de la Blache and Carl Sauer, important early twentieth-century geographers to be sure, but both deeply committed to what David Livingstone has called the "geographical experiment": seeking to establish necessary connections between "environments" and "peoples" as these vary and migrate across the earth. That experiment was encompassed by the Romantic, nationalist, and imperialist urges of the Europe (especially the Germany) whose art Kaufmann examines. As he convincingly demonstrates, the concerns of *Kunstgeographie* influenced art history across the West until the 1960s. But both historiography and geography have since been reshaped by other concerns, even if the ghosts of Johann Gottfried von Herder and Martin Heidegger still haunt some halls of the German academy. The geography of art toward which Kaufmann points appears to ignore or dismiss the conceptual tools that can bring art history and geography productively together to study places and times outside modernizing and colonizing Europe.

DENIS COSGROVE
University of California,
Los Angeles

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

DAVID BIALE, editor. *Cultures of the Jews: A New History*. New York: Schocken Books. 2002. Pp. xxxiii, 1196.

The globalization of Jewish studies in our time has probably never been given better expression than in this comprehensive and impressive volume edited by David Biale. The book contends that globalization exists mainly in two dimensions: "Jewish culture has always evolved on a global stage" and has spread to nearly every corner of the globe (p. 1,149), and "Jewish studies as a field has become globalized" (p. xxix). This is indeed an extraordinary historiographic endeavor, unprecedented in its scope and multidisciplinary approach, but also in its revisionist goal of presenting a "New History."

The aspiration at the start of the twenty-first century to present, in a single volume containing more than

1,000 pages, a picture of Jewish history from ancient Israel up to present-day Israel, is an enormous challenge. Biale has assembled an international group of twenty-three experts in the history, literary criticism, archaeology, and folklore of the Jews in various periods. From the outset, the editor decided to forego any pretension to a total history, covering all possible spheres and discussing all the events and all the Jewish communities. He also deliberately refrained from telling one consecutive narrative. Each of the collaborators on the book contributed his/her own chapter, which stands on its own, but also took part in the deliberations about the book's special emphases and trends. The editor's prefaces build the bridges between the various chapters and provide a common bedrock of assumptions and concepts that strive to give the book its cohesiveness.

The book is divided into three parts, more or less according to the traditional periodization to the ancient era, the Middle Ages, and the modern age. The chapters of the first part, whose topic is the Mediterranean roots of the Jews, open with the culture of biblical Israel and propose the Bible as a combination of literature and history. In particular, they stress how the birth of the Jewish people was imagined in the biblical narrative, which represents the earliest collective biography of the Jews. In this part, stress is placed on one of the elements that underlie the theme that permeates the book: the close interaction of ancient Jews with the cultures in which they lived, first the Canaanite, then the Hellenistic, early Christian, and Muslim, alongside the religious and ethnic traits that are peculiar to the Jewish identity. The second part covers the period between the seventh and the eighteenth centuries, about a thousand years of "The Jewish Middle Ages," and the third is dedicated to the modern era, which posed a double, even contradictory challenge to the Jews: the promise and unprecedented possibility of individual assimilation, and the threat of secular antisemitism. The contributors to this third part present modern Jewish experience from many viewpoints, with an emphasis on differentiation, local difference, the vast number of culture varieties, and the difficulty of separating Jews from their ambient environments.

Obviously, it is not possible here to survey the entire content of such a richly textured book, but one ought at least to open a discussion of the major claims of Biale's general introduction, which contains an important revision that has many implications for contemporary Jewish historiography. Since the early nineteenth century, every historian attempting to write a general history of the Jews has been confronted by a series of problems. Is there one history that incorporates all of the groups in the Jewish diaspora? Is there a continuity between the various periods? Is the history of the Jews, especially in the diaspora, the history of a religion, a nation, or an ethnic minority? Biale grappled with these problems by deciding to present a cultural history: namely, to relate to the entire range of

the Jews' activity and the way in which they perceived this activity, with an emphasis on their literary and artistic creation. The examination of Jewish civilization through the lens of cultures rather than religion or nationality buttresses the claim for Jewish pluralism ("cultures") and makes it easier to examine the participation of Jews in a culture of their time and place. The volume as a whole seems to project the tension between the integral activity of Jews in the surrounding cultures and their formation into singular Jewish subcultures. Through cultural history, one can break away from traditional arguments that fail to acknowledge the various manifestations of Judaism and assume the existence of only one uniform tradition.

The "New History" is revisionist in several senses: it combines subjects which previously have not really been incorporated into Jewish history; it offers the perspective of cultural history; it claims that the Jews created their environment and were not only influenced by it; it challenges traditional views such as the uniformity of Jewish identity; and it attempts to break away from accepted narratives. Biale depicts the book as representing scholars from a generation that has lost the ideological edge. He thus positions himself against the "Jerusalem school," which is known for its Zionist approach and was dominant in the previous generation, and which claimed that modern Jewish history is moving in the direction of Jewish nationalism.

The collection shows the constant, fruitful interaction of Jews with their environment, leading to the formation of various models of Jewish identity. In this way conflicts are glossed over, in particular the pain stemming from the Jews' encounter with modernity and from their internal cultural tensions. Consequently, it is not surprising that the concluding chapter of the volume deals with the Jews in the United States in recent generations. The editor does tell us that his collaborators debated over what the subject of the last chapter should be: the Jews of United States or the Jews of Israel. He plays down the importance of the decision and claims that, in the final analysis, "it may be more fruitful to think about these two largest communities as siblings in the collective family history of the Jews" (p. 1,148). But even though this choice may not imply the direction in which Jewish history is moving, it does seem to be in keeping with the overall trend of the book or at least the perspective from which it was written and edited: "The United States, which became home to the largest, richest and probably most secure Jewish community in the millennia since Abraham left Ur of the Chaldees" (p. 1,100). Of course, the "New History" does not ignore Israel, but the claim that questions of identity and belonging have never been resolved anywhere (p. 729)—namely that Israel and Zionism have not successfully solved the Jewish question either—actually strengthens the argument for highlighting Israel in the book's final chapter. In the state of Israel—multifaceted, culturally fecund, simultaneously sovereign, and existentially chal-

lenced—many of the conflicts of the Jews that arose in the encounter with modernity indeed have yet to be solved. It is possible that if it were told from the Israeli perspective, the narrative of this collection might have been far less agreeable and optimistic.

In conclusion, readers are invited to peruse this collective biography spread out before them, constructed from voices heard over a period of 3,000 years. They will be mesmerized by the exceptional richness of Jewish culture throughout the generations, intrigued by the issues of Jewish identity in the past and the present, and able to listen to the echoes of the ongoing and unfinished discourse about how to represent Jewish history. This important, exceptional book is undoubtedly one of the high points of such discourse.

SHMUEL FEINER
Bar-Ilan University

ROSS BRANN and ADAM SUTCLIFFE, editors. *Renewing the Past, Reconfiguring Jewish Culture: From al-Andalus to the Haskalah*. (Jewish Culture and Contexts.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 237. \$45.00

How do groups wishing to retain their traditions adjust to societies that invite or pressure them to adopt new ideas, values, and practices? This question, so pressing in liberal, multicultural societies today, has received considerable attention in recent years. Typically the choices presented in the scholarship are between assimilation or acculturation on the one hand and resistance on the other. This collection of erudite and thought-provoking essays offers another possibility. In the case of the Jews from medieval Spain to nineteenth-century Germany and the United States, the contributors argue, poets, philosophers, and religious leaders “renewed” and “reconfigured” tradition, thus making it relevant to the concerns of their day. They interpreted texts from the past in terms that made them compatible with the values of the societies in which they lived.

In the first chapter, Joseph Yahalom shows how both medieval poets and eighteenth-century exponents of the Haskalah, or Jewish Enlightenment, responded to the wider Enlightenment trend of criticizing ornamentalism in literature by invoking an ancient tradition of pure, lucid, and succinct Hebrew poetry. Next Esperanza Alfonso explores the theme of exile in eleventh and twelfth-century poetry, arguing that the reconfiguration of this older motif provided a means of comprehending the upheavals and (sometimes literal) dislocations of the *Reconquista*. Dvora Bregman reveals how Hebrew poets in Renaissance Italy justified their borrowings from contemporary gentile forms by insisting that the result captured the spirit of Biblical verse. Similarly, Alessandro Guetta examines the Jewish response to the Italian Renaissance. Focusing on the fifteenth-century poet/philosopher Moses da Rieti, he describes Rieti’s use of Maimonides, a twelfth-

century thinker who, like many of his non-Jewish contemporaries, sought to reconcile rationalism and faith.

Skipping the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the book continues with a chapter in which Adam Shear shows how eighteenth and nineteenth-century *maskilim*, or supporters of the Jewish Enlightenment, did not simply embrace modernity at the expense of tradition. Rather they revived the work of Judah Halevi, an Iberian poet and philosopher from the eleventh and twelfth centuries who, they claimed, anticipated developments in modern scientific thinking. Similarly, according to Jonathan Karp, eighteenth-century German-Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn justified his Enlightenment emphasis on the importance of purity and simplicity in language by invoking scholarly precedents from the Middle Ages. In the United States a century later, Arthur Kiron shows, an American rabbi named Sabato Morais similarly had recourse to the past when responding to the demands of modernity. In this case, the Jewish scholar translated what he saw as relevant works from his Sephardic heritage.

Allan Arkush describes the process by which nineteenth-century German philosopher and Jewish dissenter Salomon Maimon drew his inspiration (and his name) from Maimonides. Adam Sutcliffe writes on the moral lessons that Mendelssohn derived from the exemplary life of excommunicated Jewish philosopher Baruch (later Benedict) Spinoza. Alyssa Sepinwall describes how *maskilim* in France challenged the anti-Jewish prejudices of the Abbé Grégoire—who advocated an amelioration of the Jews’ legal condition but also urged them to renounce rabbinical “superstition”—by showing the compatibility between some traditional teachings and the values of the Enlightenment. Finally, Jonathan Skolnik closes the volume with a chapter on Heinrich Heine’s poetic rehabilitation of *haggadah*, the Talmudic practice of scriptural interpretation by means of allegory.

This volume, we learn in the foreword by David Ruderman, grew out of two seminars at the Center for Advanced Judaic Studies of the University of Pennsylvania in 1998–1999. One of the seminars focused on Hebrew poetry during the Middle Ages and Renaissance, while the other concentrated on the Haskalah in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Rather than restricting themselves to the seminar in their own area of specialization, the members decided to attend meetings of both seminars. In this process of intellectual cross-fertilization, members of both groups found that Jews from the eleventh through the fifteenth century on the one hand and in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries on the other had remarkably similar ways of using the past to come to terms with the present. This discovery prompted them to publish their findings in a single volume.

Each seminar was already highly multidisciplinary, and combining essays by scholars representing the fields of history, philosophy, religious studies, and

literature on such diverse periods and places ran the risk of producing an unfocused collection. Yet the choice of topics, the quality of the scholarship, and the editors' insightful introduction resulted in a remarkably cohesive book. My only criticism is that it sometimes treats its readers as though they were necessarily specialists in Jewish studies, and in some cases specialists in the particular areas of expertise represented in the chapters. In his discussion of Moses da Rieti, Guetta writes, "We know, of course, his important Hebraic poem *Miqdash me'at*" (p. 59). I was unfamiliar with that poem, and I suspect that many other readers could not include themselves in this "we," and the "of course" runs the risk of making nonspecialists feel unwelcome. Kiron refers to "the notorious Seligman Affair of 1877" and "other anti-Jewish, discriminatory incidents, including that which occurred at Manhattan Beach on Coney Island in 1879" (p. 131). What was the Seligman Affair, and what happened at Manhattan Beach? The only help Kiron provides is an endnote citing other sources (p. 143). Even the book's subtitle is potentially intimidating. In the foreword Ruderman places the word "Spain" in parentheses when he first uses the term "al-Andalus," and he explains that "Haskalah" is simply the "Jewish counterpart" to the Enlightenment. Thus the subtitle could easily have been "From Medieval Spain to the Jewish Enlightenment," or something to that effect.

If these complaints appear carping, I would like to underscore that I only make them because the book speaks to a larger audience than its editors seem to expect. It makes an important contribution not only to Jewish studies, but also to the larger study of historical memory.

RONALD SCHECHTER
College of William and Mary

MICHAEL STANISLAWSKI. *Autobiographical Jews: Essays in Jewish Self-Fashioning*. (Samuel and Althea Stroum Lectures in Jewish Studies.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 209. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$18.95.

In his new study, Michael Stanislawski asks how the historian can use autobiography, understood as a form of narrative more beholden to an overriding sense of self than to a full disclosure of the truth about the self. The principle determining which "autobiographical Jews" to include in the work was the author's sense of the compelling interest of their stories, rather than the typicality of their lives. Although Stanislawski modestly states that he makes no claim to a comprehensive discussion of Jewish life or autobiography, his list of subjects, including Josephus, Asher of Reichshofen, Glikl of Hameln, Moshe Leib Lilienblum, Osip Mandelstam, Stefan Zweig, and Sarah Kofman, is remarkably inclusive. Notwithstanding the author's stated intention to question the meaningfulness of the category "Jewish history" and the necessity of a boundary between Jewish and non-Jewish history, his book pro-

vides a panoramic view of Jewish history and the particular preoccupations of some of its most fascinating actors, without the aura of hagiography that, as Stanislawski points out, has characterized much previous scholarship on these figures.

One such preoccupation, and, therefore, one of the major themes of the work, is the attempt of its autobiographical subjects to deal with the incommensurable demands of their lives. Stanislawski finds Josephus's struggle to fashion himself as both a loyal Roman subject and a loyal Jew typical of Jewry throughout history. It is not clear however, how such characterizations advance the author's purpose of revealing that the boundary between Jewish history and non-Jewish history is fictive. The definition of a dilemma characteristic of Jews throughout the millennia could be used to support the opposite claim: that of the distinctiveness of Jews' construction of themselves, and therefore the nonfictive status of the boundary separating Jewish from non-Jewish history. A similar struggle between conflicting claims unfolds in Mandelstam's life story. The poet converted to Christianity but remained a Jew, even in terms of his own self-understanding, and Stanislawski does much to correct the dominant claim of much scholarship on Mandelstam that presents the poet's view of Jews and Judaism as overwhelmingly negative. The dilemma of divided and/or multiple positions often leads to the paradoxical conclusion, remarked on by Stanislawski more than once, that his subjects create identities for themselves using rhetoric that subverts their own purposes.

Zweig articulates the problem, although in impossibly loaded terms, as "the secret longing to resolve the merely Jewish—through flight into the intellectual—into humanity at large" (p. 116). Stanislawski identifies this formulation as the central motif of Zweig's writings. A similarly self-dismantling construct of identity finds its apogee in Kofman. The sense of the incommensurable reaches a point of crisis in her autobiographical writings, threatening the collapse of the entire autobiographical project. In Kofman's case, the paradoxes abound, beginning with the postmodern denial of the subject, a difficult position to sustain in an autobiographical work. Kofman's desire to tell her story, "as a Jewish woman who survived the Holocaust," as she characterizes herself, is in conflict with her desire to pay homage to Maurice Blanchot, who rejected the distinction between Jews and non-Jews and who questioned the possibility of speculative discourse "after Auschwitz" (p. 140). Stanislawski is undeniably right to challenge Blanchot's definition of Jews as those who preserve the vocation of outsider, and he is undeniably right when he says that Kofman, whose father was a rabbi, knew that "the Jew is more than the consummate foreigner" (p. 149). Stanislawski's reading of Kofman's theft of her father's pen from her mother's handbag is impressively psychoanalytic.

Somewhat troubling, however, is the author's lack of engagement with other scholars whose view of autobiography is similarly suspicious of its claims to truth.

For example, Stanislawski characterizes the scholarship on Mandelstam's *The Noise of Time* as "almost totally mesmerized . . . by its acceptance as a truthful account" (p. 70). But Stanislawski does not discuss one of the major scholarly works on Mandelstam, Gregory Freidin's *A Coat of Many Colors: Osip Mandelstam and his Mythologies of Self-Preservation* (1986), which reads Mandelstam's autobiographical prose as a literary construction—for example, by pointing out that "while true to life or imagined, this family portrait matched nicely with Mandelstam's metaphor of the deceptively decorous Imperial capital" (p. 22). Freidin argues that Mandelstam's autobiographical portrait is organized by metaphors—literary constructs—that the poet had used elsewhere. Stanislawski chides scholars of Kofman for their "lack of critical reading" (p. 141) and for their acceptance of particular passages as "simple declarative statements" (p. 147), yet Eilene Hoft-March, to give one example, has characterized Kofman's writing as "self-ironic and . . . only fleetingly self-revealing" ("Still Breathing: Sarah Kofman's Memoires of Holocaust Survival," *Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association* 33: 3 [Autumn 2000-Winter 2001]:109). Hoft-March, like Stanislawski, comments on Kofman's staging of her mother's disappearance from her life-text.

What Stanislawski has demonstrated, nonetheless, is that a profound knowledge of the historical context of an autobiography, coupled with a sensitive ear for narrative, can yield a greater understanding of the artfully constructed and concrete texture of individual lives in Jewish history.

HARRIET MURAV
University of Illinois,
Urbana-Champaign

PATRICIA CRONE. *God's Rule: Government and Islam*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 462. \$39.50.

Originally published in the United Kingdom by Edinburgh University Press, the book under review is a North American edition. Its subject is timely, aiming to provide modern readers with detailed background on the origins and permutations of six centuries of medieval Islamic political thought. Patricia Crone is a well-established scholar known previously for controversial yet insightful analyses.

Crone's study focuses on Muslim societies in the Middle East from the time of the Prophet Muhammad until the Mongol conquest, or the early seventh century through middle thirteenth century. Those centuries witnessed the ministry of Muhammad, Arab Muslim troops conquering the Middle East, assimilation of Byzantine and Sasanian political theories and practices into emerging Muslim polities, secularization of Islamic caliphates and successor states, and schisms dividing Muslim communities located between North Africa and North India. That six-century period also marked the gradual conversion to Islam of most

Zoroastrians, numerous Christians, and many Jews—first mainly in urban settings and later in the hinterlands. So, despite wars and regime changes, medieval Muslim writers glorified that time as one when divergent Islamic societies flourished through confluences of distinct mores brought in by newly faithful Muslims from their earlier faiths and communities—a veritable golden age. Crone attempts to decipher and make explicable to readers the many interconnected concerns and solutions that shaped a range of statecraft during that age.

The book consists of twenty-two chapters divided into four sections, charts, bibliography, and an index-glossary. At first glance, it seems to promise an intellectual feast for specialists and members of the erudite public as well. Given the volume's scope, only a few matters can be discussed in this review. Crone sets the stage in chapter one with a brief overview of the links perceived by Muslims among divine creation, human governance, religious law, prophecy, and the career of Muhammad. In other words the standard Muslim formulation that religion and state are interconnected through foundation on divine law, and that problems arose from "human disobedience" (p. 14) is rearticulated. Crone views this "fusion" of religious and political spheres by Muslims as distinct from "blurring" of boundaries between faith and state in the Byzantine and Sasanian empires (p. 15). In reaching such a fundamental assumption, which informs much of the rest of the book, Crone projects ideas back from the ninth century onto the earliest Muslims, religiopolitical notions that may not have existed among the tribes of the Arabian Peninsula during the seventh century or, even if they did, that were fundamentally reinforced by ones such as the well-established Iranian concept "Church and state were born of one womb, joined together never to be sundered" (*Letter of Tosar*, 33–34, composed third century, revised sixth century). Moreover, tracing the origins of polity and government back to primordial creation was standard practice in Jewish, Christian, and Zoroastrian states before Arab Muslims began to do so, and several Middle Eastern religiopolitical traditions even wove the Arab Muslim conquests into their supposed divinely ordained schemes as apocalyptic scenarios where their divinity would eventually correct human errors and reestablish god's rule sans Muslim dominance.

Chapter two examines the impact of civil war and sectarianism on the nascent Muslim community in Arabia, yet misses the gender-specific component to *fitna* or strife (extended to include civil war in its meaning) that arose as a consequence of ʿĀ'isha's (one of Muhammad's wives) involvement—misogyny that would be used to justify exclusion of women from Muslim politics. Chapter three covers the Umayyad dynasty in terms of issues of legitimacy or lack thereof for secular rule. Early Muslim sectarian religiopolitical ideologies are covered in chapter five on the Khārijites, chapter six on the Muʿtazilites, and chapters seven through ten on various forms of Shīʿism. The

roles of pious tradition or *hadīth* in shaping political theory and praxis is discussed briefly in chapter eleven.

Next, Crone seeks to elucidate how foreign ideas were amalgamated with Muslim thought. Chapter thirteen could more appropriately be described as the Iranian tradition rather than a Persian one, because the political guidelines and practices assimilated by Muslim rulers and bureaucrats were not strictly from southwestern Iran or Persia proper, nor only in the New Persian or Farsi language. Rather that statecraft was, by the time of the Arab Muslim conquest, a finely wrought composite of ideologies, administrative codes, institutions, and practitioners having a range of Iranian regional, linguistic, and ethnic backgrounds. The Greek tradition and political science, influence of Aristotelian philosophy, and questions of how morality and authority intertwined are addressed in chapter fourteen, followed by Neo-Platonism's role in shaping Ismā'īlī Shī'ite attitudes toward governance in chapter fifteen. Most Muslims in medieval times, like now, followed the Sunnī form of Islam. Their understandings of religion, politics, majority and minority statuses, jurisprudence, and tradition were the most important influence on Muslim statecraft. In chapter sixteen, Crone provides readers with an informative summary of the pragmatism that shaped medieval Sunnī politics.

Muslim understandings of the necessity and purpose of state institutions form the contents of chapters seventeen and eighteen. The tension between the state and the individual is addressed in chapter nineteen, although the Gnostic heritage attributed (p. 330) to ancient (pre-Islamic) Iranian society was marginal. The resulting social order that attempted to balance communal needs against individual wishes is analyzed within subsections about hierarchies, women, slaves, and other possessions within chapter twenty. Chapter twenty-one, on interactions between Muslims and members of other faiths, is marred by inaccurate conclusions and, occasionally, disturbing use of language. For example, *jihad* or religious effort (pious struggle) is unequivocally identified as "holy war" (p. 372), even though it is unclear whether the initial conquests by Arabs were religious or were given religious overtones to validate Islamic sovereignty after Muslims had come to rule the Middle East. Zoroastrians, or followers of Mazdaism, who constituted the religious majority in Iran prior to the Arab conquest of that country in the seventh century and continued at least three hundred years under Muslim regimes, are termed "a species of pagans" (p. 368). An epilogue seeks to extend some of the preceding chapters into the context of modernity's impact on Islamic societies but is, unfortunately, too succinct to reflect the responses of contemporary Muslims.

The picture that emerges from Crone's latest tome may not be especially original, but it brings to the forefront apprehensions that medieval Muslims felt about interactions between secular actions and confessional beliefs. Those dilemmas still confront not only

contemporary Muslims but members of other sectarian groups as well; they are problems for which explanations and solutions prove difficult and non-uniform.

JAMSHEED K. CHOKSY
Indiana University,
Bloomington

JOSEPH A. AMATO. *On Foot: A History of Walking*. New York: New York University Press. 2004. Pp. vi, 333. \$29.95.

Joseph A. Amato is a prolific author whose works embrace a wide spectrum of inquiry. This book offers both a concise history and cultural analysis of walking in Euro-America and a description of the ways the trek, amble, stroll, and march have been superseded by technology.

Even as he traces the ways in which animals and vehicles have eclipsed walking, Amato is careful to remind readers that, until the latter half of the twentieth century, poverty compelled nearly all people to walk even as alternative modes of transportation became available. Those who had to walk and those who chose to walk for nonessential reasons—the *flâneur*, those who promenaded for effect, the hiker and trekker, the window shopper, and the rural Rambler—lived in the different worlds that class defined. Amato's discussion of the physical conditions of road and paths, the difficulties carriages and wagons encountered in city and countryside, and of urban congestion on streets and alleys are especially compelling.

Amato begins with a brief overview of the early history of walking, tracing the activity from hominids through classical Greece and Rome, with particular attention to the Roman legions that marched throughout most of the Mediterranean world. Subsequent chapters investigate walking in medieval Europe, upper-class promenading, country and other "rambling," walking in rural America, the pedestrian in London and Paris in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, marching and urban design, and the triumph of motoring in the West. Simultaneously engaging, thoughtful, frustrating, and puzzling, this book will point interested readers toward a wealth of topics yet to be investigated, especially if they explore Amato's substantial citations.

It is inevitable in a work of this breadth and length that some readers will be both appreciative of the author's choices for analysis and disappointed at what seem to be important omissions. William Wordsworth, J. W. von Goethe, Alexander von Humboldt, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Henry David Thoreau, and John Muir are present; missing, however, are William Bartram, Mark Catesby, Per Kalm, and Gilbert White. Amato notes many pilgrimages of the medieval era but neglects those to Mecca. Although Amato advises readers that his focus is Euro-America, he does mention Mohandas K. Gandhi's marches and the Silk Road.

Amato's observations about Charlie Chaplin's char-

acteristic walk and goose-stepping soldiers are trenchant and illuminating, as are his extended discussions of Thoreau, military and ceremonial parades, and protest marching. He mentions Victorian-era race walking but barely notes golf, once the quintessential walking game. There is virtually no discussion of snowshoeing or skiing. He carefully examines the changes in urban design that permitted and encouraged walking while at the same time providing the state with an environment suitable for managing urban crowds that could—and did—use the streets to challenge governments.

Illustrations, maps, and diagrams would have greatly enhanced this work, but alas, there are none. Amato makes passing reference to the material culture of walking and the artifacts of riding and carriage, but he offers little analysis or description of them. Given Amato's acknowledgement of several museums (p. 320), this is an odd omission.

The book seems to be as much about not walking as it is about trekking, trudging, marching, and promenading. Extended discussions of urban design and traveling on animals, conveyances, and watercraft seem forced rather than interpretations that rise gracefully from description and detail about walking. Finally, there are two surprising gaffes: "yokes" (for carrying) and "yolks" (as in eggs) are confused, (pp. 9, 49) and the apparatus for producing power by means of walking is termed a "thread mill" (p. 49). (The former are correctly used on page 125, the latter on page 256.) In sum, this is a useful and often engaging study, one that would have benefited from a more expansive geographic and disciplinary treatment.

HARVEY GREEN
Northeastern University

JOHN C. WEAVER. *The Great Land Rush and the Making of the Modern World, 1650–1900*. Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 497. \$39.95.

John C. Weaver has written one of those rare books that for many decades will grace lists of essential bibliography. In a way, it is a sequel to Walter Prescott Webb's *The Great Plains* (1931). But it is much more. Weaver assiduously analyzes the European appropriation and distribution of lands in the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, a process achieved at the expense of the indigenous peoples as well as, in many instances, ecological imbalance. Webb, who pioneered interdisciplinary research in our profession, would appreciate Weaver's varied scholarly career, which cuts across fields including urban government, suburbanization, criminal justice, and world land occupation.

While this book deals primarily with landed property rights, Weaver comments only marginally upon mineral, timber, and water rights. In the three chapters in part one, he establishes the concepts and ideologies that underpin his study; the four chapters in part two describe the process of land seizures, allocations, and

reforms; a final chapter on reallocation and an epilogue treating contemporary conditions comprise part three. Indeed, the organization of the book reflects its author's ability to conceptualize, compartmentalize, and to demonstrate ideologies with anecdotal evidence.

Although Spain, Portugal, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Russia reflected their own perspectives on land acquisition, British and American ideas and practices influenced innovations near the end of the great land rush. Weaver cites an array of examples to illustrate the variations in ideas about the origins, organization, and rationales of property rights before elaborating on the places, shapes, scale and velocity of land occupation. The urgency of the speculators was a common denominator, hence the incorporation of "rush" in the book's title.

If one were pressed to identify an overriding theme of part two, it would be, in the broadest sense, confrontation. Individuals confronted one another and their governments; the forces of order and turmoil conflicted, as did those of fairness and rapacity. And, as usual, there was the division between labor and capital. While Europeans used force to take territory, administrators, jurists, and often clerics expended considerable energy rationalizing the legal status of "first peoples." Especially was this true in the Spanish Empire, where its legalism curiously mixed with clerical distinction between types of converted and unconverted peoples. In his elaboration of territorial acquisition, Weaver emphasizes legal doctrines, speed, Eurocentric attitudes toward indigenous peoples, deception of landhunters, and applications of military force. He distinguishes between landed estates of aristocrats and citizen speculators, pointing out that aristocratic ambitions diminished on all frontiers despite some remaining vestiges in the United States. The chapter entitled "Allocation by Market" includes explanations of innovations in the sale of crown or public lands and those relating to the sale of parcels in private hands. Interestingly, for two centuries there were few changes in the equipment and crews employed by surveyors. The author's discussion of the technology and practices of surveying raises the important but generally unexplored question of the collaboration of government surveyors with speculators.

Chapter seven, "Allocation by Initiative: Landhunters, Squatters, Grazers," concludes part two. Earlier in his book, Weaver discusses at length how officials throughout time altered the rules governing acquisition. Here he shows how individuals who sought land also effected changes. In his words, "landhunters, grazers, and squatters by the thousands executed common moves that advanced private property rights in the face of governments' hostility, caution, overwork and sluggishness" (p. 264). Even when governments conceded to demands of private individuals, often they pressed for additional concessions. Some of the best examples on the United States frontier are numerous pre-emption laws, first applying to limited areas and

finally to the entire federal domain. In his coverage of individualism and competition, Weaver stresses that it was not unusual for individuals literally to do battle with their fellow frontiersmen as well as with their respective governments in a figurative sense.

The only full chapter in part three, chapter eight, contains an analysis of the reallocation of lands wrestled by Europeans from indigenous peoples during the colonial period. Before outlining movements to break up big estates and efforts to squeeze into marginal lands, he addresses the reality that most of the desirable lands were occupied. European intruders, in their searches for unclaimed tracts and efforts to utilize marginal lands, relied on five methods: land reform, discovery of legal loopholes, further intrusion on indigenous lands, tax reform, and irrigation projects. Weaver concludes with a thirteen-page epilogue that he packs with thorny questions facing modern readers as a result of the great land rush. His closing thoughts amount to a plea for everyone to consider the ethical and global ramifications of the development of new property rights.

In this exceedingly ambitious example of comparative frontier history, Weaver is as quick to recognize peculiarities of various frontiers as he is to identify their similarities. And he, unlike some of the "New Western History" advocates during the 1990s, frequently and consistently writes in terms of frontiers in the tradition of Frederick Jackson Turner. Considering the complexity of Weaver's subjects, his prose is remarkably gracious. While some traditionalists may regret the absence of a bibliography, they must applaud the 108 pages of endnotes that follow 360 pages of text. Twelve pages of carefully selected photographs, nine clear maps, and ten elaborate tables add considerably to the effectiveness of Weaver's admirable scholarship. Table 7.2, "Trends in Landhunting, 1700–1900," for instance, covers two full pages and offers an excellent summation of chapter seven. It is little wonder that this book is the product of a decade of research and writing.

JOHN D. W. GUICE

University of Southern Mississippi

STUART B. SCHWARTZ, editor. *Tropical Babels: Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450–1680*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. 347. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

This essay collection merits scholarly attention. That said, neither the introduction nor the essays provide a new conceptualization of either the Atlantic world or sugar's contribution to it. Indeed, the essays are, with some exceptions, mostly rooted in the more familiar terrain of national and imperial historiographies. Scholars who want to learn more about the Atlantic world's implantation phase, however, can glean some valuable information about the sugar industry's earliest developments. Several of the volume's contributors introduce new archival evidence that either builds on

or modifies existing knowledge. Perhaps as important, this volume will force us to think more precisely about the development of the sugar "industry" and its connection to the rise of slavery in its Atlantic context.

Editor Stuart B. Schwartz's introduction begins by citing Eric Williams's famous thesis about the connection between Atlantic sugar (and slavery) and European industrialization. Schwartz goes on to query how the Iberian colonies in the Atlantic world developed sugar earlier than the northern European colonies did but still "lagged behind in the subsequent development of capitalism" (p. 2). He quickly surmises that the answer resides in mature colonial developments of the eighteenth century, and thus readers get a quick tour of that period's more familiar scholarship. But what about the earlier period? Schwartz thinks that by looking at this period, as the book's authors do, it might be possible to develop "a newer, more nuanced vision of the origins of the Atlantic economy and the role of sugar within it" (p. 20).

Schwartz posed a series of questions to the volume's authors (p. 9) and then asked them to consider the answers to these questions as they wrote. The result is essays that are rich in data, provide more depth to the early history of sugar in the Atlantic, and bring new archival sources to light. What the essays lack, however, is real synthesis. The introduction falls short in this regard, and a conclusion, which might have helped, is simply absent. As a result, the early history of Atlantic sugar is depicted as the origins of sugar cultivation and export in a variety of individual places around the Atlantic Ocean. There are certainly references to exchange, licit and illicit, between the various places that are the main focus of each essay, but these connections generally remain unexplored.

The book's organization follows a traditional chronological and geographical framework. William D. Phillips, Jr., opens the volume with a brief essay on sugar in Spain. His final suggestion that Iberia was important as a way station between sugar production in the eastern Mediterranean and the Americas is important in understanding the flow of the commodity, but it is not connected to any of the subsequent essays. Moving westward, Alberto Vieira describes sugar's introduction into the Canaries and Madeira. He chronicles the economic role that these islands played in sugar's early expansion, but his focus is largely old world (as opposed to Atlantic world). The next three essays (by Genaro Rodríguez Moral on sixteenth-century Hispaniola, Alejandro de la Fuente on sixteenth and seventeenth-century Cuba, and Schwartz on sixteenth and seventeenth-century Brazil) all introduce new documents and do a fine job of chronicling the introduction of sugar and the nature of its production. All three essays also discuss technological improvements to sugar milling (*ingenio*, *engenho*, and *trapiche*) in the local context but not the Atlantic one. Taken together, these essays suggest that sugar production began early on but was less successful than it would later become for different, locally specific rea-

sons. What does become clear is that the slave trade, which had independently developed, gradually became tied to the financial success of the crop. Herbert Klein's synthetic essay makes just this point.

The book's last two pieces are, in many ways, the most interesting. Eddy Stols describes the growing demand for sugar in Europe, as well as its uses. More cultural history than the others in the book, this piece argues that "the diffusion of sugar was not only a question of alimentary innovation; it also appealed to the pleasure of the senses, especially sight" (p. 251). Stols shows readers just how sugar consumption spread among Europeans of all ranks. This is important in an Atlantic approach, as consumer demand led to expanded production. Even so, this connection is not fully developed. Finally, John McCusker and Russell Menard examine the role that the English played in developing the sugar business in Barbados. Their essay argues against a dominant role for the Dutch in the spread of sugar to the Caribbean islands and against the concept of a sugar revolution. They argue instead for a more gradual evolution of the sugar industry—which puts them neatly in line with the volume's other authors.

The book's missing conclusion could have made more systematic explanation and contextualization of this slow spread of sugar through the seventeenth century. Although more work still needs to be done, anyone attempting to write a new history of sugar in the Atlantic world can use the essays here as building blocks for an emerging synthesis.

ALAN L. KARRAS
University of California,
Berkeley

MICHAEL A. MORRISON and MELINDA ZOOK, editors. *Revolutionary Currents: Nation Building in the Transatlantic World*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2004. Pp. ix, 192. Cloth \$68.00, paper \$24.95.

At the intersection of state building and nation formation one finds the phenomenon of revolution. From the seventeenth century to the twentieth, revolutions have not only overturned old administrations, they have harnessed the myths of nation building to the creation of larger and more powerful administrative and military states. In doing so, they have transformed our very notion of what a nation-state should be. This profoundly important collection offers fresh scholarship on the role of nationalist ideology in the revolutions that ringed both sides of the Atlantic Ocean from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries. Contributions by Lois G. Schwoerer on Britain's Revolution of 1688, by John M. Murrin on the American Revolution, by William H. Sewell, Jr., on France in 1789, and by Eric Van Young on Mexican independence are integrated by Jack P. Greene's brilliant introductory essay on state formation and the creation of revolutionary traditions and Peter S. Onuf's conclu-

sion on the continuing evolution of nations and nationalism.

Greene's essay makes the familiar argument that most of these revolutions were rooted in the defense of specific liberties and privileges held by particular regions and corporate groups against the expanding and centralizing authority of monarchies. When kings began to act as though divine right justified their unlimited authority, the defenders of such liberties (aristocrats, gentry, town and guild leaders, merchants, professionals, local politicians, judges, and other privileged groups) rose up in revolt. What Greene adds integrates this account with the rise and intensification of nationalist beliefs. When elites mobilized the masses to support their attack on monarchical privilege, they justified the protection of liberty as a prized national heritage, so that nationalist sentiment was joined to revolutionary action. Such was the scenario in Britain, the United States, and the Latin American independence revolutions, where nationalism and revolution served to destroy state aspirations to absolutism and shackle the central state, while drawing up short of overturning the privileged status of the revolutionary elites.

Schwoerer's and Murrin's essays nicely detail these processes. Schwoerer shows how the institution of juries, traceable to the practical jurisprudence that was developed following William's conquest to help the new foreign rulers identify and apprehend local wrongdoers, was transformed by the seventeenth-century jurist Sir Edward Coke and others into a key element in a mythic and timeless national heritage of English freedom from central authority. These myths of immemorial freedom, set against royal efforts to impose a "Norman yoke" on free English, were then used to justify the English revolution.

Murrin demonstrates how, from their early foundation as communities of religious dissenters and outcasts, the thirteen colonies developed into social and political reproductions of eighteenth century English society, led by landed elites and financed by agriculture and trade, proud of their English heritage and traditions. Only when conflicts with Britain over the taxation of trade rose to a fever pitch in the late eighteenth century did the elite landowners of the South and the merchants of the Atlantic ports start to define themselves as Americans first, and as defenders of a pure liberty that predated and overruled the authority of the crown and parliament over the colonists.

Sewell's essay, the most powerful in this collection, makes the point (also granted by Greene) that the French Revolution was an exception to this pattern. Although, like the other Atlantic revolutions, it began as an elite defense of the specific liberties of regions, orders, and corporations against the arbitrary actions of the king, it quickly evolved into something else. As elites grappled with reform, it became clear that since the reign of Louis XIV the operations of the monarchy had become inextricably bound up with local and elite privileges. From the thousands of offices sold by the

crown, to the distinctions between the *pays d'Etats* and the *pays d'élections*, to the overlapping authorities of the intendants and the provincial governors, the entire apparatus of royal authority and taxation in prerevolutionary France was defined by privilege. When the Third Estate representatives redefined themselves as the National Assembly, they also redefined who they represented: not merely a particular element of French society but the nation. "The nation" in France thus became the embodiment of universal equality and citizenship as against every form of privilege and social distinction, and the French Revolution became a uniquely leveling and radical revolution, using the power of the revolutionary state to destroy every social, legal, regional, religious, linguistic, and traditional distinction that separated the French into distinctive groupings. Sewell shows how revolutionary legislation—ranging from the rights of man to the new uniformity and modern titles of the departments that replaced old provinces—was designed with equality of condition in mind. One can better understand both the passion inspired among the revolution's leaders to destroy everything old and feudal in France, and the horror that inspired in Edmund Burke and its adversaries, from Sewell's insightful essay.

Van Young's essay on Mexico illuminates the unique dilemma faced by the Latin American revolutionaries of the nineteenth century. On the one hand, they lacked the tradition of local liberty, jurisprudence, and self-government that became the basis for British and American opposition to their monarchy. On the other hand, the clash of heritage and interests between the Creole elites and the mestizo/Amerindian majorities mitigated against embracing the unitary "nation" that developed in France. Latin American revolutions thus ran along two only partially overlapping tracks: a Creole-led movement for independence from Spanish rule, and diffuse popular peasant/nativist/religious movements against elite authority and privileges. Never fully able to overcome the tensions between these two movements, the Latin American revolutions descended into repeated crises and chaos, emerging with relatively weak governments that flipped back and forth between elite dictatorship and populist democracy.

Up to date on issues of nationalism, ideology, and comparative politics, these essays provide the finest and most thought-provoking comparative study of the seventeenth to nineteenth-century Atlantic revolutions published in the past decade.

JACK A. GOLDSTONE
George Mason University

PHILIP OTTERNESS, *Becoming German: The 1709 Palatine Migration to New York*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 235. \$39.95.

Nearly seventy years after the appearance of what many once considered a definitive history of the German group migrations to New York in 1709, Philip

Otterness offers a detailed reexamination and assessment of what he calls "one of the most watched groups of immigrants to enter America" (p. 5), comparing them to the Vietnamese boat people of the 1970s and the Haitian refugees of the 1990s. Walter Allen Knittle's *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration: A British Government Redemptioners Project to Manufacture Naval Stores* (1937) provided a detailed assessment of the background of the sudden migrations of more than 15,000 people from the southwest German territories and Switzerland to London beginning in 1709, and of the disastrous further migration of about 3,000 of those migrants the following year to New York, one fourth of whom died in route. These immigrants suffered from being part of a poorly planned and executed scheme by the British government to produce naval stores on the upper Hudson, and most ultimately scattered to the western New York frontier and colonies further south. Whereas Knittle's study assessed Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis, especially "frontier individualism," and the ability of the British government to manage industry, Otterness uses British official records, the writings of the migrants themselves, public commentaries, and the work of a recent genealogist to trace in much more detail the origins and settlement patterns of the migrants, their attempt to find a new Canaan on the Schoharie River in upper New York, and the development of an ethnic identity among these "Germans."

To Otterness the migration is most important because it illuminates how ethnic identity developed among immigrants. Many scholars have stressed ethnicity as a New World concept, but Otterness shows that the process actually began in Europe in this case. When thousands of villagers from far-flung German and Swiss territories rushed toward London in 1709 the logistical situation became disastrous. Living for months in camps, suffering from hunger and inadequate shelter, the migrants became refugees while the British government and public debated what should be done with them. Here is where they became "Palatines," regardless of which German region they had called home, and here is where a group identity began to set in. Otterness's findings parallel recent work on the Atlantic World in which scholars have shown that the beginnings of creolization took place in Africa, not America, and continued via the slave migrations in the Americas. In New York the immigrants continued to struggle under terrible conditions, and this, along with their adversarial relationship with the colonial government, accelerated the development of a common ethnic identity. Otterness shows, as others have for Pennsylvania and surrounding colonies, that these migrants really were "Germans," not merely "German speakers."

There are a number of strengths in Otterness's book. First, his chronicle of the 1709 migrations from beginning to end, detailing origins and settlement patterns using his database, is impressive. He provides extensive detail on the London phase of the migrations,

including how difficult conditions were for the Germans and what a public political problem this became for Londoners. Otterness also shows how the Palatines' problems of survival and dealing with difficult authorities continued after reaching New York. And, in addition to discerning the beginnings of "becoming German" in Europe, not America, Otterness shows that many immigrants interacted significantly with Mohawks on the Schoharie.

There are also some weaknesses in the book. Otterness does little to relate his findings to the larger American context and literature on other colonial migrations. This becomes problematic in his last two chapters, when he outlines at length German political interests in war and peace and the Old World origins of many of these values without noting the similarities with Pennsylvania. In fact, at one point (p. 146) he even implies that Pennsylvania Germans were complacent and apolitical, a notion that a number of recent historians have convincingly refuted.

In many ways the movement of Germans in 1709 came at a turning point in the history of both immigration and society in general in British North America. Many seventeenth-century migrations were characterized by a utopian, experimental element, and in the case of the Huguenots continental refugees who had been supported by the English government made their way to the colonies. All of these elements were present in the "Palatine" migrations of 1709, but this migration also contained elements of what characterized the much larger immigration of Germans into the colonies after about 1720. After this there may have been up to 100,000 Germans who, as in the case of 1709, came from family and village networks throughout extensive regions of the southwestern German territories and Switzerland, and like that of 1709 these migrations and subsequent developments were characterized by clustered ethnic settlement patterns, endogamous marriage, and an activist political culture oriented toward gaining and protecting property and other rights.

So the 1709 New York migrations reflect in many ways a transition in colonial migration history, and the timing is significant. These migrations were an important part of a larger transformation occurring in colonial society that Jon Butler outlined in *Becoming America: The Revolution before 1776* (2000). British North America became a growing, increasingly diverse place in which an activist political culture flourished and where ethnicity mattered, even as immigrants and their descendants ultimately made America. Ironically "becoming German" and "becoming American" were two related, simultaneous processes, as immigrants learned that bonding with similar ethnics could be a good way to succeed in a pluralistic, diverse, democratic society that they helped to create.

AARON SPENCER FOGLEMAN
Northern Illinois University

RICHARD CONNORS and ANDREW COLIN GOW, editors. *Anglo-American Millennialism, From Milton to the Millerites*. (Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, volume 113.) Boston: Brill. 2004. Pp. xviii, 210. \$126.00.

The goal of this book of essays is to contribute to the study of millennialism—the belief in a future thousand-year age of blessedness, beginning with or culminating in the Second Coming of Christ—in England and America. However, contrary to the editors' claim that "the history of millennial, millenarian, and apocalyptic thought in the Anglo-American world," especially "in the earlier or colonial period, has received little attention" (p. ix), apocalyptic and millenarian thought in fact has been explored and analyzed in many excellent studies. It is embarrassing therefore to find that one of the contributors to the book, Stephen A. Marini, flatly repudiates the editors' claim above: "Over the past several decades the role of millennial religious beliefs and symbols in America culture has been well established by historians and other cultural interpreters" (p. 159). Furthermore, the title is misleading: the book does not deal with the period from Milton to the Millerites. Instead, the focus of the two central essays, which comprises half the book, is the period before John Milton lived.

Andrew Escobedo's imaginative essay, "The Millennial Border between Tradition and Innovation," examines "the difference between the postmillennial eschatology of sixteenth-century English Protestants [the belief that Christ's Second Coming will take place after the millennium]," and "the premillennial (millenarian) eschatology of their seventeenth-century descendants" (p. 1), or the belief that Christ would come before the millennium. Escobedo compares John Foxe, the well-known Elizabethan martyrologist, and Milton, claiming that the Puritan poet's work reveals the emergence of a secular, temporal conception of time, which "replaces a history of divine providence with a history of human efforts" (p. 42). However, the author's discussion of the rise of the English "notion of historical progress" (p. 2) in total isolation from the rise of similar modes of historical thought in early modern history is not justified in light, for example, of Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (1985), which shows that during that period historical time gained more and more a new quality signified by the temporalization of history.

Beth Quitslund's erudite "The Virginia Company, 1606–24: Anglicanism's Millennial Adventure" focuses on the apocalypse and eschatology of the Protestant settlement of Virginia as revealed in the "Virginia Company's promotional literature" (p. 44). Perry Miller was the first to expose this eschatology in "Religion and Society in the Early Literature of Virginia," *William and Mary Quarterly* (Oct. 1948, 5:492–522; January 1949, 6:24–41), and Quitslund helpfully expands the scope and content of his proposals that the settlement of Virginia was based to a large extent

upon religious aims and goals. Missing, however, from her detailed discussion is the role of the Virginian "Anglican Millennialism" (p. 46) and its "Missionary Millenarianism" (p. 62) in the wider context of English eschatological and apocalyptic thought. The reader should have been told, for example, that while Protestants of Virginia emphasized the right of a sacred center (Protestant England) to expand into the New World, New England Puritans claimed that England was no longer a sacred center—hence their flight to America. John Donne's sermon of 1622 before the Company of Virginia Plantation envisioned Virginia as a "suburb" of England, whereas Puritan Thomas Hooker's "The Danger of Desertion," 1631, declared that England faced imminent judgment and destruction.

John Howard Smith's illuminating "'The Promised Day of the Lord': American Millennialism and Apocalypticism, 1735–1783" examines how "popular perceptions of the violent detachment from Great Britain and the creation of a new republic filled the public with apocalyptic anxiety and millenarian expectation" (p. 116). Instead of dealing with the oft-repeated, traditional utterances of the leaders of the American Revolution, he examines the voice of "common people" (p. 128), showing that "millennialism had a potent utility in firing resistance to British Authority" (p. 154). Yet, what is conspicuously missing from the whole discussion is Ruth Bloch's important study, *Visionary Republic: Millennial Themes in American Thought 1756–1800* (1985). Further, the author perpetuates the scholarly myth that Jonathan Edwards's *Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England* (1743) proclaimed the Great Awakening "as the starting point" of the millennium (p. 118). Yet, as Gerald McDermott showed in his *One Holy and Happy Society: The Public Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (1992), Edwards regarded the Awakening as only the beginning of a 250-year process that *might* result in a millennium.

In "Uncertain Dawn: Millennialism and Political Theology in Revolutionary America," Marini explores "current interpretations of Revolutionary millennialism and propose a new understanding of it" during the years 1783–1792 (p. 159). Political theology is currently a very promising field of inquiry, and many works have appeared on this subject (for example, *The Blackwell Companion to Political Theology*, eds. Peter Scott and William T. Cavanaugh [2003]). Marini's argument is that millennialism not only desacralized "politics by removing 'government from the religious agenda of traditional British and European regimes'" (p. 170) but also restricted "the competence of government" in religious and moral issues, placing confidence "not in covenant or leaders, but in the people themselves" (p. 175). Finally, in his intriguing "Millennial Invasion: Millerism in the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada," J. I. Little examines the influence of William Miller, famous for his prediction that the Apocalypse would take place on April 13, 1843, and his

followers on Lower Canada at the time. Little's conclusion is that the results were minimal: in contrast to the impressive power of Millerism in the United States, this movement "failed to take a strong root north of the border" (p. 204).

AVIHU ZAKAI

Hebrew University of Jerusalem

TAL GOLAN. *Laws of Men and Laws of Nature: The History of Scientific Expert Testimony in England and America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 325. \$49.95.

Tal Golan's book offers an innovative account of the fractious history of scientific expert testimony in the Anglo-American courtroom. Ranging widely over topics and time periods, Golan seeks to lend historical perspective to recent complaints about the shortcomings of expert evidence, showing that core concerns about partisan witnesses, untrammelled adversarialism, and the limits of jury competence in matters of science have deep theoretical and practical roots. The book follows a broadly chronological organization, integrating detailed discussions of individual cases with rich contextualization drawn not only from the history of law and science but from the history of technology and social and economic history as well.

The opening chapter exemplifies this interdisciplinary sensibility, exploring the complex history and legacy of *Folkes v. Chadd*, a protracted eighteenth-century dispute in the English civil courts about whether the degradation of a Norfolk harbor was caused by a man-made embankment or by the forces of nature. The case involved a clash between two distinct forms of science: an emergent "Newtonianism" seeking to provide evidence of nature's imperceptible but law-like regularities, and an older version grounded in long and tested experience in matters both practical and immediately verifiable. The legitimization of the "Newtonian" challenge, in Golan's account, was the core feature of Lord Mansfield's eventual, precedent-setting judgment, which, in recognizing James Smeaton's abstract and theoretically sophisticated report on the dynamics of harbor silting, opened up the courtroom to a new model of scientific testimony based on privileged knowledge of the unseen laws of nature. In an interesting twist, Golan demonstrates that *Folkes v. Chadd*'s iconic status in subsequent Anglo-American legal commentary rests on a series of misreadings of the case. Most tellingly, he takes on the late nineteenth-century American legal scholar John Henry Wigmore's influential view that it enshrined the expert's exclusive privilege to pronounce opinion on facts not directly observed, arguing that Wigmore was misled by incomplete court reports that neglected the painstaking direct observation upon which Smeaton's testimony was actually based.

Mansfield's radical ruling presents a paradox that Golan pursues over the next two chapters: why was he seemingly unconcerned that he might be opening the

floodgates to partisan testimony, especially since at the time other witnesses were treated with pronounced suspicion? For Golan, the answer lies in Mansfield's faith in the code of gentlemanly conduct governing late eighteenth-century science. Whether this faith was ever properly justified, Golan shows how nineteenth-century developments—notably the expanding opportunities for delivering paid expert testimony, the growing utilitarian cast of science in the context of industrial transformation, and conceptual and procedural instabilities within the rapidly proliferating scientific subspecialties—contributed to its progressive erosion among judges, legal theorists, and the wider public. Chapter two documents the increasingly conflictual nature of nineteenth-century expert testimony in cases ranging from industrial accidents, patent disputes, nuisance litigation, and criminal poisoning. The sheer range of topics covered here makes for a more fragmented discussion than the previous chapter, and the significance of each case and their relation to one another is not as clearly established. But Golan offers some fine insight along the way. For example, he explores the inherent tensions in the use of experimental science as a form of legal evidence, with the experimentalist's tendency to simplify and distill in order to demonstrate falling foul of what he aptly calls the law's abhorrence of shortcuts. Chapter three focuses on a series of mid- to late nineteenth-century debates about what, if anything, should be done about the growing contentiousness of expert testimony, situating these within broader contemporary discussions about the character of English science itself. Golan shows that tensions between an "applied" and "pure" vision of science led to different understandings of the basis for and significance of expert disagreement in courts—whether science, like law, advanced through adversarial contest, or whether dispute was a sign of science "corrupted."

In the second half of the book Golan turns from England to the United States, justifying this shift by asserting that the problem of English expert testimony was contained by an active judiciary that took part in questioning witnesses, advised counsels, commented on the weight of evidence and credibility of witnesses, and, from the 1870s, could opt for juryless trials in civil actions involving complex scientific argumentation. These important points, which Golan unfortunately does not develop or illustrate, did not obtain in the United States, where the jury's fact-finding function was considered more sacrosanct. Thus, Golan claims, it is in the late nineteenth-century U.S. courts that the problem of expert testimony reached its fullest expression.

In each of the remaining three chapters, Golan focuses on a single expert subspecialty to illustrate ongoing tensions between law and science. The chapter on efforts to microscopically differentiate human and animal blood illustrates one of his overall themes—that law served as a patron for fledgling fields of scientific inquiry—and also shows how technical

choices and what contemporaries called the "personal equation" made ostensibly straightforward exercises in measurement into legitimately contestable evidentiary matters. His discussion of x-ray testimony focuses on the tension between law's traditional dependence on words and direct visual evidence and the x-ray's promise of a nondiscursive photographic realism that opened up an internal bodily landscapes not corroborable by human eyes.

The final chapter is a fitting climax to Golan's intricate story, explaining why the expertise claimed by early twentieth-century experimental psychologists provoked a qualitatively different response from the law. Research into the psychological dimensions of human perception, and especially perceptual error, Golan maintains, was stoutly resisted because it presented a view of the human (and legal) subject that threatened to undermine the law's foundational assumptions about witnesses' capacity to deliver objective testimony. Turning finally to the legal response to the controversy surrounding the polygraph's proposed entry into the 1920s courtroom, Golan convincingly argues that it is no coincidence that the first Supreme Court ruling (the "*Frye* decision") setting out the judiciary's "gatekeeping" functions with respect to the admissibility of scientific evidence was prompted by a technology that, rather than merely supplementing jury knowledge, threatened to obliterate the jury's essential task of assessing the credibility of witness testimony. As a decision that still contributes to the management of expert evidence in American courts, *Frye* underscores the importance of the kind of historically informed analysis that Golan has delivered.

IAN A. BURNEY
University of Manchester

ANDREA A. RUSNOCK. *Vital Accounts: Quantifying Health and Population in Eighteenth-Century England and France*. (Cambridge Studies in the History of Medicine.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 249. \$70.00.

Who, in seventeenth and eighteenth-century England and France, used quantification to promote innovation in the field of population and health? Which methods and arguments did they use? How legitimate was the use of numbers as instruments of proof, and to what extent did they alter the content of debates? These are the questions raised, in a comparative spirit, by Andrea A. Rusnock's book, through a series of chapters that study the creation of new fields (political arithmetic, medical arithmetic, medical meteorology) and some major controversies, such as the pros and cons of inoculation against smallpox, or the political meaning of depopulation, which became a strong (and wrong) belief in the second half of the eighteenth century. Such issues involve a wide range of interests: medicine, health, population, statistics, environment, administration, natural philosophy, among others.

Rusnock proceeds by a succession of case studies,

which are tightly intertwined and progressively bring about a transversal narrative based on several leitmotiv. Rusnock claims that Francis Bacon's legacy was essential in the birth of political arithmetic (an issue still controversial in the literature), and in the way how John Graunt and William Petty promoted statistical tables as a tool for "independant assessment and discovery." How these tables should be constituted is one of the recurrent issues of the book, which is enriched by helpful illustrations. The long study devoted to the debates on inoculation demonstrates the author's ability, for each case, to refer to a dense context, to highlight several ways to make sense of quantification, and to conjure up the wide range of arguments mobilized, at that time, to demonstrate or to invalidate the efficiency of numbers, to display their ability to improve human conditions, or oppose their potential threat. Rusnock demonstrates how the diffusion of numbers was controversial, how their supporters themselves gave them different meanings and disagreed on the final aim of quantification: should it be introduced for the sake of the state, of the "population," of the family, or of the individual? From that standpoint, her book refutes the systematic association between numbers and social control that became a commonplace one or two decades ago. Retrieving faithfully the arguments of the time demonstrates how contemporary debates between social hygiene and individual freedom, for instance, echo in eighteenth century polemics.

Rusnock touches on well-known issues in the history of statistics, in particular the controversies between Daniel Bernoulli and Jean d'Alembert on the risks and benefits of inoculation: may a person apply to him/herself a calculation based on a whole population? But she shows how dramatically this famous problematic varied over time, since the relevance of inoculation started to be questioned in England already in the 1720s. Rusnock also reminds us that resistance to the social use of numbers cannot be reduced to cultural explanations such as the religious refusal to encroach upon God's domain, even though this argument was sometimes part of the story. The comparison between France and England is particularly valuable. The author explains how institutional arrangements in France created a gap between medical and mathematical knowledge, which harmed the legitimacy of using numbers to arbitrate health issues.

Another strength of the book concerns the data used, or to be used, for calculations. What did quantification on health or population mean in societies without censuses? This negative formulation is by no means anachronistic. At the end of the seventeenth century, Sebastien Vauban in France and Petty in England advocated the principle of national censuses. Rusnock explains why, in both countries, different institutional, cognitive, but also social configurations (the fear of a fiscal use, the desire for anonymity among the English upper classes) prevented such a

reform, and why scholars had to develop alternate solutions instead.

No doubt for specialists Rusnock's book will represent a synthesis of current knowledge rather than original insights. The author could have been more explicit in her problematic; she could have defined and justified more precisely the thematic, geographical, and chronological borders of her study. The reader can hardly understand why she did not include in her story the eventual adoption of the census by France and England at the turn of the nineteenth century, fifty years after Sweden did so. To some extent, the book reads like a collection of somewhat arbitrarily chosen case studies. Nevertheless, the wide range of issues raised by the author, and her ability to contextualize the complex web of interactions among science, institutions, and social processes and to refute simplistic and essentialist views on "the power of numbers," makes this a valuable contribution on the genesis of social statistics that any historian will benefit from reading.

PAUL-ANDRÉ ROSENAL

*École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales,
Paris*

GIULIA GUAZZALOCA. *Fine secolo: Gli intellettuali italiani e inglesi e la crisi tra Otto e Novecento.* (Ricerca storia.) Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2004. Pp. 338. €24.00.

A historical comparison of parliamentary politics at the turn of the twentieth century in Great Britain and Italy seems an unlikely enterprise. Britain's parliament was widely taken as the model (in theory if not always in practice) of a well-balanced system of crown, nobility, and commoners—and frequently self-glorified by its supporters as the "mother of all parliaments"—whereas Italy's system, following unification in the 1860s, was despised by its own citizens for introducing an unscrupulous political class and the discredited practice of "transformism," whereby parliamentary opponents were bribed into supporting otherwise unstable governing coalitions.

Crucial differences notwithstanding, Giulia Guazzaloca uncovers some fascinating points of convergence. The turn of the century, from the 1890s into the first decade of the new century, saw both systems gravitate toward institutional crisis. In each case, crisis was anticipated by a widespread commotion amongst "intellectuals" in the moderate-liberal and radical press who noted the demise of deference toward, and independence of, institutional politics. The 1890s were, of course, a period of transformation outside of parliaments across Europe as socialist parties came into existence and the pressure intensified for democratic and social reform. For Guazzaloca, crisis was thus a reflex of irreversible social transformations generating dislocation amongst liberal elites apprehensive of "mass politics." Increasingly, observers in both countries claimed parliamentary representatives were suc-

cumbing to "external" influences and identified a loss of deliberative autonomy in democratic chambers as partisanship substituted for disinterested cooperation.

The precise trajectory of crisis was different in the British and Italian cases. Guazzaloca focuses on the distinctive "narration" of crisis by the literate elite of political pamphleteers and observers. In Italy in the 1890s—a relatively young constitutional monarchy with a very restricted franchise—anticipation of crisis led to virulent antiparliamentarism. The Albertine Constitution granted significant powers to the crown, and both moderate liberals and conservatives called for a return to the crown's statutory powers (most famously Sidney Sonnino's *Ritorniamo Allo Statuto*). In Britain, by contrast, debate turned on the role and significance of the House of Lords, the unelected chamber of hereditary peers and appointees. The Lords were understood by many as effective "moderators" of the excesses of the House of Commons, even as better interpreters of the popular will.

Although the direct object of reflection in the two cases differed, Guazzaloca indicates that in both instances liberals fearful of the expansion of democracy sought to reassert the legitimacy of parliament by seeking a supposedly "neutral" institutional reference: in Italy, the monarchy; in Britain, the House of Lords. Importantly, she adds, in neither instance was representation *as such* regarded as undesirable. Rather, the expansion of democratic politics was felt to require a simultaneous rebalancing of the focus of authority.

The onset of actual crisis in the two parliamentary systems also occurred at different moments and in different ways. In Italy the crisis emerged in 1898 with an intensification of social unrest and subsequent government repression of radicals. The prime minister, General Luigi Pelloux, sought to enhance his repressive powers by limiting civil liberties with constitutional sanction. This generated a revolt among liberals, who now found themselves defending rather than disparaging parliament. Illiberal measures were castigated as evidence of the weakness of the ruling elite, not parliament as such. The Pelloux measures failed and a new style of government, openly conciliatory to democratic forces, took over. The crisis in Britain, in contrast, began in 1906 with the Lords blocking the Liberal government's reforms and, in particular, the "People's Budget" of 1909. The Lords' resistance revived debate concerning institutional balance, and the upper house was increasingly identified as a pro-Conservative Party chamber. The government successfully introduced the "Parliament Bill" reducing the Lords' powers, effectively overturning the assumed equality of the chambers and giving legislative primacy to the Commons.

Guazzaloca offers a measured, detailed analysis of liberal ambivalence in the face of social change. She documents with great effect the emergence of new styles, arguments, and limitations in the gradual liberal "containment" of democratic forces, although in neither case did liberals emerge from the crisis unscathed.

Her analysis permits us to see some unlikely parallels, as well as fundamental differences, between otherwise contrasting institutional and political histories.

JAMES MARTIN
Goldsmiths College,
University of London

ZINE MAGUBANE. *Bringing the Empire Home: Race, Class, and Gender in Britain and Colonial South Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. 222. \$18.00.

Zine Magubane's eloquent study of British colonial ideology is simultaneously exciting and somewhat frustrating. Drawing on insights from the literature of the black Atlantic, and inspired by both Marxism and postcolonialism, Magubane explores the deployment of images of black bodies from southern Africa in British discourse in the nineteenth century. Although her main focus is on the ideological productions of British and British-origin people, with particular attention to the creation of ideology concerning Africa, she also includes shorter discussions of African views of white and black identity. Her critical innovation, inspired by the work of Mary Poovey and others, is to connect discourse about blackness to discourse about economics and the normalization of capitalist economic change. Magubane's linkage of disparate places and topics in unexpected and interesting ways is stimulating; the relative orthodoxy of her narrative trajectory and her lack of archival research are somewhat frustrating. Nonetheless, she raises important arguments and illuminates complicated interconnections between different colonial sites.

Ranging ambitiously over more than a hundred years, the book takes a case-study approach, analyzing clusters of texts on particular topics in chronological sequence. The approach illuminates unexpected continuities in discourse, but threads are inevitably dropped as the book moves between fairly disparate topics and texts. Magubane first looks, for example, at a group of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century texts about Scotland and the Cape Colony in which British evangelicals and travellers link the bodily appearance of women to the economic progress of highland Scots, Khoekhoe, and Afrikaners. She terms this the "transformation of commodity into sexuality," and she sees it as part of the process by which political economy was used to rationalize separating the producer from his or her independent means of production. This particular section suffers from not including the Scottish lowlands in the discussion of Anglo-Scottish relations, but the comparison between views of the Cape and of the Scottish highlands is nonetheless intriguing. In subsequent chapters Magubane explores topics such as the deployment of stock images of colonized male bodies to describe the destitute of mid-nineteenth-century Britain; ways in which British working-class radicals, middle-class men, and middle-class women all used racial discourse as they com-

peted, both to define the “social body” and to offer solutions to its ills in the late nineteenth century; and, in perhaps the best realized of her British sections, attitudes in Britain toward the 1899–1902 South African War, including the various ways in which images of African bodies and African suffering were deployed in debates about citizenship. It is one of the strengths of the book that Magubane also asks how Africans perceived whites and how they themselves deployed images of the black body, although there still remains a great deal to explore on this topic. Among other things, Magubane argues that black people in southern Africa tended to see whiteness not as a biological state but as the practice of cruelty. In addition to exploring male African views of respectable masculinity, she also includes a terrific excursus into the minstrel tradition on the rand, the unease generated among whites by the black “dandy,” and ways in which African men used conspicuous consumption to counter the dehumanizing work conditions in the mines.

Although Magubane offers many illuminating insights, her evidence could benefit from fuller contextualization and the use of a wider range of types of sources, such as legal evidence and letters, as well as a more explicit recognition of the limitations of the early nineteenth-century sources. Arguably, however, Magubane’s main concern is not so much to undertake close archival readings as to relate her material to wider historiographical and political debates. Among other intellectual influences, Magubane takes Marxism seriously, demonstrating the enormous intellectual importance of Marxism to South African radical history, especially during the apartheid era. Magubane’s effort to reconcile Marxism with postcolonialism (not always convincingly) also reflects the growing importance of postmodernism to the South African academic left. My concern with Magubane’s use of a range of theoretical models, including Marxism, is not so much her deployment of Marxist paradigms per se but the fact that Marxism provides an overarching historical narrative which Magubane takes her case studies as illustrating. This tempts her in places to skimp on context and to import, rather than create, a model of change. For example, Magubane describes Afrikaans-speaking peasants and their Khoekhoe and San laborers as antecedent to the era of capital accumulation and not yet separated from their labor. This ignores more recent debates over whether and to what extent Afrikaners were in fact integrated into a market economy. More seriously, the analysis might take fuller account of the de facto enslavement of Khoisan workers, a reality that frames several of Magubane’s key sources. In a similar way, Magubane is interested in the idea of an overarching black view of whiteness. She does not, however, fully account for evidence that Khoisan views of the self and of identity did not always overlap with those of other African groups. She might also take fuller account of the amount of coercive sex at the Cape between female farm laborers and white masters, as well as consensual sexuality: what did identity mean

to the children of such unions? Ironically, texts are somewhat disembodied actors in this book, assumed to contain self-evident meanings. Local politics (as opposed to the grand politics of global economic struggle) is sometimes downplayed in consequence.

On a different level, it might have been fruitful for the author to engage more directly with the issue of the role of the unconscious in the production of ideology, both in the authors who have influenced her and in her own writing. The motor for debate is assumed to be the relatively unconscious self-interest of competing classes or genders. What is left out of the equation is the interplay between unspoken assumptions and arguments at the surface level of articulated ideology. This also raises the complicated question of the relationship of texts to social reality and the relative representativeness of particular texts. Magubane has, in other words, a very particular approach to ideological analysis that might benefit from being analyzed more explicitly on its own terms, and in ways shaped by the South African archives, and possibly less in terms of the “grand theory” of others.

Despite these caveats, this striking study is both passionate and thought-provoking. It will doubtless find a wide audience.

ELIZABETH ELBOURNE
McGill University

ROBERT BICKERS. *Empire Made Me: An Englishman Adrift in Shanghai*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2003. Pp. 409. \$32.50.

The treaty port of Shanghai was a fascinating outpost of the British Empire, although one discussed far more frequently by historians of China than by those of Britain. Shanghai was a curious amalgam in the period dealt with in this biography by Robert Bickers, himself one of a tiny band of British imperial historians focused on Britain’s colonial relations with China. The port city was truly a global crossing in the early twentieth century, with an extraordinarily diverse population whose presence mirrored the political turmoil of the times. It is against this complex backdrop that Bickers offers us the life of an ordinary Englishman, Richard Maurice Tinkler. Tinkler came back from the trenches of northern France at the end of World War I dissatisfied, restless, and eager for both adventure and a paying job. The working-class Tinkler saw in the empire more opportunity than status-bound Britain could ever offer him. It was an old story by 1919, the year Tinkler arrived in Shanghai to a posting in the Shanghai Municipal Police. Men unlikely to rise much in Britain took their chances in imperial settings, often though by no means always faring better than they might have done had they stayed put.

Tinkler, an anti-hero whose largely unflattering opinions of others and smug sense of self Bickers does not try to hide, epitomized what the author calls “empire manliness” (p. 146). He fashioned himself anew in Shanghai as a tough-talking, hard-boiled,

Americanized man of the world. It was ultimately an unsustainable reinvention: Tinkler fell from grace, was shamed into resigning from his job, and was killed in a minor political incident shortly before Britain entered World War II. In a sense, though Bickers does not offer this reading, Tinkler's life was quite literally shaped by the two world wars, the earlier fitting him for empire work and the second leading to his death at the hands of the Japanese military.

Bickers has done an extraordinarily good job of tracking down facets of Tinkler's life in Britain as well as in Shanghai, no easy feat when one's subject is not among the famous or the notorious. His research is impeccable, but the book nonetheless left me frustrated. Clearly written with a trade market in mind, it veers uncomfortably between Tinkler's story and a more general and largely political narrative about the region. Bickers is often unable to find a good meeting point for these two different avenues, and in the later chapters especially Tinkler fades in and out of view, more a cipher for a saga, albeit gripping, of political chaos than the focus of the narrative. This may be the dilemma of the professional historian seeking to write a book with broad appeal, but if so, Bickers has not solved the problem.

More serious, however, is the high level of speculation that dogs the later chapters especially. Bickers conjectures, for example, that Tinkler was "possibly involved" (p. 192) in a police crackdown on public gambling in 1929. And in a chapter ironically entitled "What We Can't Know," he guesses at Tinkler's travels and motives in the months after he resigned from the Shanghai Municipal Police and before the records indicate that he had returned to Shanghai. Bickers is candid that his is mere speculation, but this is, simply put, not worth doing. Since it necessarily leaves open doors that cannot be closed, why bother? Moreover, Bickers's discussion of what cannot be known comes dangerously close to an empiricist assertion that what we *do* know is fixed and stable, an assumption quite as unsettling as the gaps in the record. Are such naïve implications about the status of history and of the fact necessary, I wonder, in a trade book? I can only hope that is not the case.

For all this, Bickers has done a wonderful job of showing the human face of empire and, bravely, through a distinctively unattractive personality. There is much to be learned here, and Tinkler's is a fascinating story, a fine example of how the empire operated from day to day on the lower rungs.

PHILIPPA LEVINE

University of Southern California

HOMO SAPIENS 1900. Directed, produced, and written by Peter Cohen. 1999; color; 88 minutes. Distributed by First Run/Icarus Films.

Eugenics has become a hot field of historical research in the past two decades. Much of the interest seems to be driven by fears of a resurgent genetic determinism,

manifested by rising support for sociobiology, evolutionary psychology, genetic engineering, and cloning. Peter Cohen's film is clearly driven by concerns that science is overstepping its bounds when it reduces *Homo sapiens* to its biological and hereditary traits. Near the end of the film, the narrator states, "Speculation on the meaning of biological heredity has had a fateful impact on political and scientific ideas in the twentieth century." He then assures us that human nature is still shrouded in mystery, and science has not even come close to plumbing its depths, especially in relation to human thought, talent, and creativity.

This documentary begins (after a brief introduction) with clips from a Frankenstein movie, reminding us of the dangers of science run amok. Then it proceeds quickly to the beginnings of the eugenics movement in the late nineteenth century. However, most of the film discusses ways that the science of heredity was abused in the first half of the twentieth century. The American eugenics movement receives only brief treatment, and instead Cohen focuses on Germany, Russia, and Sweden. He ends the story with the German eugenics movement producing the Holocaust, the Russian genetics community being hijacked by Trofim Denisovich Lysenko's Lamarckian genetics, and the Swedes compulsorily sterilizing those deemed unfit to procreate.

The inclusion of the Russian eugenics movement in the early twentieth century and the triumph of Lysenko in the 1930s adds an interesting layer of complexity to this story. Unlike most works that focus entirely on eugenics, this film shows that genetic determinism is not the only problematic conception of human heredity. Lysenko's program was hostile to the Mendelian genetics embraced by most eugenicists (and most geneticists) in the 1930s, since Lysenko still believed that the environment could influence heredity. The Russian story, then, is about geneticists and eugenicists being persecuted and even executed for upholding views of heredity unpalatable to a few scientists who gained the support of the communist political elites, especially Joseph Stalin.

I was pleased with the historical accuracy of the documentary, which does an effective job describing historical developments. The clip on the German Lebensborn organization was a little misleading, however, since it focused on the (unfounded) rumors that Lebensborn institutions served as stud farms for the SS, when really they were maternity homes for women already impregnated by SS men. I was completely baffled by the narrator's statement at the close of the discussion of Lebensborn: "While convention and morality raised obstacles to positive eugenics [because of rumors of sexual transgressions at Lebensborn], the practice of negative eugenics involved no such conflict. Infants judged to be unfit were put to death." On the contrary, many Germans opposed negative eugenics, and Roman Catholic Bishop August von Galen publicly criticized the Nazi campaign to kill the disabled.

Nonetheless, these are small glitches in an otherwise smooth performance.

On historical interpretation the film is somewhat weaker. It does not even attempt to explain the causes of the eugenics movement. Its branding of the eugenics movement as bad science seems a little anachronistic at times, especially when the film implies that the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Anthropology, Human Heredity, and Eugenics in Berlin was behind the times already when it was established in 1927. I am sure that most geneticists in the world in 1927 would not have characterized it that way. Finally, the film contrasts the German and Russian eugenics movements, arguing that the latter focused on the brain and intellect, while the former stressed physical beauty. This ignores the fundamental importance of psychiatry in the German eugenics movement. August Forel, a prominent psychiatrist in Zurich, converted many leading physicians and psychiatrists to eugenics, including Alfred Ploetz, the organizer of the German eugenics movement, and the psychiatrist Ernst Rüdin, head of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Psychiatry in Munich (of these three, only Ploetz is mentioned in the film). It also ignores the fact that many people killed in the Nazi "euthanasia" program were put to death for their mental disabilities.

While the narration was impeccable, I found the visual images too redundant. As the title indicates, the film focuses on the human form, but I tired quickly of all the still pictures of facial photographs and sculptures and video footage of babies. Sometimes the pictures did not seem to fit the narration. Despite some of the interesting information in this film not available in other films on eugenics, I recommend using other videos on eugenics in the classroom.

RICHARD WEIKART
California State University

MICHAEL MANN. *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 580. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$24.00.

In a work of great knowledge and forceful argumentation, Michael Mann seeks to provide a general explanation for one of the worst atrocities of the modern era. His task is a difficult one, since ethnic cleansing spans widely diverse geographies, political systems, and time periods. How does one make sense of a phenomenon whose very ubiquity is one of its defining features? The title provides the starting point for the explanation. Ethnic cleansing is not an aberration or an act committed by individuals who are somehow different from the rest of us. It is the result of the democratic advance of the modern era, because when "the people" are made the source of sovereignty, the character and composition of the population become the critical elements in defining the polity and society. If the population is defined in ethnic terms, the demos as *ethnos*, as Mann repeatedly phrases it, then the basis is created for excluding other groups, some-

times by the most violent means. A similar phenomenon can happen in communist systems when the demos are defined as the *proletariat*. In those situations, class takes on an ethnic character and nonproletarian elements can be subject to the most severe repressions that look a lot like ethnic cleansings.

Yet if ethnic cleansing is a constituent feature of modern democracy, it does not occur everywhere and all the time, as Mann recognizes. He proceeds to a more precise delineation of the conditions that result in ethnic cleansing. These include a fractured elite in which one segment becomes radicalized; a "core constituency" that is mobilized in support of the ideology and its leaders; competing ethnic groups (usually just two) that lay claim to the state and territory; and a crisis situation, usually warfare, that dramatically heightens the elite's sense of insecurity and leads it to target a competing minority population as the source of all difficulties. Within this coterie of explanations, Mann emphasizes three factors. First, an elite, usually in possession of the state, unleashes ethnic cleansing. It is not some kind of volcano from below or the manifestation of age-old hatreds. Second, the core constituency, the people who practice violence, is typically young and male. Most often, not all that many of them are required to carry out ethnic cleansing. So Mann contests the widespread notion that ethnic cleansing requires mass support or complicity. Third, rarely, if ever, does a plan to remove entire population groups exist beforehand. As a crisis situation intensifies, the elite ratchets up the measures taken against targeted populations. When less violent measures fail to produce the desired results, the state implements the most radical policy of murderous ethnic cleansing. Here Mann deemphasizes the notion of intentionality, the key criterion of the United Nations definition of genocide.

Mann lays out this perspective in the first seventy pages or so and in the conclusion. In between he provides extensive discussions of the Armenian genocide, the Holocaust, "communist cleansing," the former Yugoslavia, and Rwanda. The treatment is highly uneven. The Nazis get the most attention, while the Soviet Union, China, and Cambodia are crammed into one chapter. All along the way, Mann reasserts his arguments in a helpful fashion. This is not a work in which the theory is found at the beginning and end with barely a mention of it in the empirical chapters. The problems lie elsewhere.

Mann states that ethnic cleansing is "the dark side of democracy." But not one of the cases he discusses involves a democratic regime. Not by any stretch of the imagination can Nazi Germany, Democratic Kampuchea, the Soviet Union, or any of the others be considered a democracy. Democracies are by no means pristine in the matter of ethnic cleansing: witness United States' policy toward Native Americans in the nineteenth century or the Great Powers and the Lausanne Treaty of 1923, which legitimized the "population unmixing" of Muslims and Christians in Turkey

and Greece. It seems to me that Mann is writing about the dark side of nationalism, which is not at all the same thing as democracy. There is a fundamental confusion of terms here that undermines the explanatory power of the book.

The author, of course, knows the difference between, say, Third Republic France and Nazi Germany. He qualifies his argument by saying that ethnic cleansing occurs when democracies, having already defined the people as sovereign, enter into crisis phases, or when regimes embark upon democratization in a multi-ethnic context. Regimes that actually perpetrate ethnic cleansings are not democratic, he states. "The dark side of democracy is the perversion through time of either liberal or socialist ideals of democracy" (p.4). But then it seems that Mann should be writing clearly about the perversion of democracy, not its essence (however that may be defined). Moreover, his effort to discount premodern ethnic cleansings as revolving around class and politics rather than ethnicity is hardly convincing. One only has to read the Hebrew Bible or Herodotus to understand that ancient peoples had a profound sense of ethnic difference that sometimes could lead to the most murderous actions against other groups. There are differences (as well as similarities) between twentieth-century ethnic cleansings and those of the ancient world, but Mann does not provide an explanation because he wants to reserve these atrocities for the modern, democratic world.

Moreover, so many cases require qualification that the reader is left wondering what remains of the explanatory scaffold. "Almost all dangerous cases are bi-ethnic ones," Mann writes at the outset (p. 4). Yet that does not hold for the Young Turk regime of the late Ottoman Empire, Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union, Cambodia, or the former Yugoslavia. One might be better off describing "core victims" as well as "core constituencies." The Young Turks committed a genocide of Armenians, but they also ethnically cleansed Pontic Greeks, massacred Assyrian Christians, and forcibly deported some Arabs, Jews, and Albanians, among others. The Nazis envisaged a racial hierarchy that entailed moving around all sorts of people, including ethnic Germans, at the same time that they sought the complete annihilation of Jews. Only Rwanda seems to fit the description of a bi-ethnic conflict. Neither the Soviet Union nor Nazi Germany were "factionalized states" when they engaged in their most violent actions against minority populations. In fact, they were marked by a huge degree of consensus at the top, and the same is true of the United States in relation to the forced deportations and exterminations of Native Americans. Whatever factions existed in Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union had been eliminated prior to the implementation of their most radical policies against ethnic and national groups.

There is a great deal to be learned from this book. Mann's knowledge is wide ranging, and aspects of his analysis are illuminating. In particular, the focus on "core constituencies," which he also developed in his

book *Fascists* (2004), is insightful, although one wishes that the extensive analysis he provides of Nazi perpetrators could have been at least partly replicated for his other cases. Mann's delineation of a succession of plans in each case, which only gradually culminates in murderous ethnic cleansing, provides a far more complex and nuanced picture than we often have. But the overall perspective, which confuses nationalism and democracy and comprises too many elements that do not always fit the individual cases, is not convincing. In the end, we have an unruly book that is more valuable for some of its individual elements than as a comprehensive explanation of ethnic cleansing.

ERIC D. WEITZ

University of Minnesota

COREY ROBIN. *Fear: The History of a Political Idea*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 316. \$28.00.

Corey Robin's historical meditation on political fear offers a sweeping spatial and temporal coverage that ranges from Thomas Hobbes's civil war-plagued England in the seventeenth century to the United States in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. He envisions his study as "an intellectual history of fear" (p. 27), challenging thinkers who might prefer to see fear as irrational and as beyond the bounds of history and politics. As a political scientist, Robin demonstrates an admirable attention to the historical development of ideas about political fear, but he dedicates himself most thoroughly to delineating the intimate links between fear and liberal political systems.

Robin divides his analysis into two distinct and—on the surface—disparate parts. Part one focuses on the titular "History of an Idea," while part two switches to "Fear, American Style." Part one presents a literate and incisive treatment of select European political theorists from the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries who contributed to embedding fear, terror, and anxiety into politics. Part two leaps to the contemporary American scene and assesses the meanings and manifestations of political fear from the era of Joseph McCarthy through September 11, paying close attention to the workplace as a site for the exercising of political fear. What connects these two segments is, of course, political fear, and more important, the questionable philosophical and political embrace of fear for enlivening, unifying, and controlling otherwise divided and demoralized peoples and political systems. In other words, there is a method to Robin's historical madness in stretching from the seventeenth to the twenty-first century and in moving between such dissimilar historical figures as Hobbes and McCarthy.

Fear has served as the foundation for modern politics, according to Robin, and this suggests to him a paucity of political vision, an inability to invent more redeeming moral and political goals for humanity. This failure and the consequent turn toward political fear have a long and storied history detailed in part one.

Choosing representative intellectuals writing during times when new political forms emerged, Robin engages the works of Hobbes (modern state), Charles Louis de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu (ideology of liberalism), Alexis de Tocqueville (egalitarian democracy), and Hannah Arendt (totalitarianism). Central to the thinking of all these intellectuals was the perceived absence of any common ethic or sense of political morality that could unite people and provide political order; fear, terror, and anomic anxiety thereafter became justifying means to the ends of political unity and state and/or personal security—or served as threats to them. Hobbes invoked fear to establish sovereign power and political order in a time of civil discord; only he, Robin claims, overtly acknowledged fear as a tool of political order. Montesquieu, Tocqueville, and Arendt later obfuscated the relationship between fear and liberalism.

Robin presents deeper, possibly contentious readings of these political theorists, including the changes in their thinking over time. A case in point is Arendt, whose views altered between the publication of *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951) and *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (1961). Arendt's views also serve as a chronological and ideological bridge between the two parts of Robin's book. Arendt's study of a banal as opposed to radical evil rendered more transparent the place of fear in the polity, reconstituting terror as "rational," as demonstrative of political and civic collaboration and cooperation as well as human agency. Although Robin never openly acknowledges the connection, his section on "Fear, American Style" could be subtitled "the banality of fear." Like Arendt, Robin stresses fear's quotidian, bureaucratic, and collusive operations in the United States' liberal democracy.

Robin's mission involves demystifying the place of political fear within the very political liberalism intended to forestall that fear. A democratic government presumably elided despotic terror and a tyrannical majority through a fragmented state characterized by a separation of powers and federalism, through the rule of law, and through a pluralistic society. Robin situates fear squarely within that liberal state and society, fashioning the putative political solution into part of the problem. Like Hobbes, Robin proposes that fear is a tool of the political order, an order that encourages collaboration and cooperation between elites and the masses of bystanders and victims. This proves true for both forms of fear identified by Robin as operational in contemporary America: fear of threats to the nation's physical security and fear among the powerful of the less powerful/fear among the less powerful of the powerful. While the first unites the nation, the second divides it, but they reinforce one another and ensure that those with power maintain it.

Robin constructed his analysis of political fear largely before September 11, 2001, but the events of that day have rendered his conclusions even more piquant. Nonetheless, much of the evidence supporting his argument stems from earlier events in recent

American history, particularly from the Cold War era of rampant anticommunism and internal security scrutiny. This historical setting allows Robin to underscore the prevalence of collaboration with and capitulation to politically coercive elites and liberal political institutions (albeit by neglecting those who resisted naming names), as does his refreshing insistence on examining the autocratic workplace as the location for the economic expression of political fear. While it is doubtful that historians would evince much shock at the notion of the American political or economic system capitalizing on fear to the detriment of dissenters and workers, Robin has laid out the case for a broader audience perhaps in need of a reminder that a liberal political system is not always a just solution to political fear or that political fear, however enlivening and unifying, is not a satisfactory foundation for political life.

MARGOT A. HENRIKSEN
University of Hawaii,
Manoa

LARRY R. GERLACH, editor. *The Winter Olympics: From Chamonix to Salt Lake City*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press. 2004. Pp. vi, 330. \$32.50.

The summer games began in 1896, the winter games in 1924, with the reluctant assent of the Scandinavian members of the International Olympic Committee. Swedish and Norwegian sports administrators did not welcome the thought of competition with their own Nordic Games. This winter-sport festival, which began in 1901 and was repeated in 1909, 1913, 1917, 1922, and 1926, was a celebration of Scandinavian cultural nationalism. The compensation for the sacrifice of the Nordic Games was Scandinavian domination of most of the events at Chamonix and at many subsequent Winter Olympics.

Originally considered an experiment, the "provisional" 1924 wintersport festival was subsequently reclassified as the first Winter Olympic Games. The winter games have never been as popular with sports fans as the summer games, which have always been much larger affairs with many more sports, and the winter games have come in a very distant second in drawing the attention of sports historians. The contributors to Larry R. Gerlach's collection ski, metaphorically, across a nearly untraversed field. (At least most of them do. David Young's essay on the origins of the Olympics is a quick run across well-mapped terrain.) Brief discussions of the winter games have been included in most comprehensive Olympic histories and in the *Historical Dictionary of the Modern Olympic Movement*, edited by John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (1996). For specific winter Olympics, official reports have been published. Recent reports have been replete with reams of quantified data and galleries of lavish photographs. I am unaware, however, of a general winter-games history published in any Western European language.

The subtitle of Gerlach's collection suggests a chronologically organized history, but the book offers something other. The basic facts—who did what when and (sometimes) why—are presented by Roland Renson, a widely read and charmingly witty Flemish historian whose book on the 1920 summer games (Antwerp) is a small masterpiece. The rest of the collection is thematically organized.

The Norwegian sociologist Kari Fasting demonstrates that female athletes and journalists have been underrepresented at the winter games and she complains, predictably, that the women “who are presented in the media are . . . seen as objects of heterosexual desire” (p. 101), a point also made, less polemically, by Mark Dyreson in an analysis of American coverage of the first four winter games. It seems not to have occurred to Fasting to ask if female (and male) figure skaters intend their performances to be erotic as well as athletic and aesthetic. (They do.) Environmental problems are discussed, briefly, by Kevin Wamsley because the winter games seem invariably to do more damage to the terrain than their summer counterparts. Jeffrey Segrave's meditation on the “Cosmopolitics of the Winter Olympic Games” goes at some of the larger political issues engendered by the winter games but seems somehow to float above rather than to deal with them. On a less cosmic level of abstraction, the history and present state of amateurism—an anachronistic concept even in the nineteenth century—are covered, thoroughly and insightfully, by Richard Gruneau, who concludes that “The moral entrepreneurs of the past have given way to the economic entrepreneurs of the present day” (p. 149). Any doubts about the correctness of Gruneau's assessment should be put aside by Stephen R. Wenn's “Television, Corporate Sponsorship, and the Winter Olympics,” a chapter condensed from *Selling the Five Rings* (2002), which Wenn wrote with Robert K. Barney and Scott G. Martyn. Wenn's chapter is especially valuable because he disaggregates information and focuses on the winter games. Barney's contribution to this collection, presenting much new material, is focused on the history of the victory ceremony and the torch relay. There is also new material in Lex Hemphill's account of the Salt Lake City games, which, despite the patriotic hype in the American media were marred by a bribery scandal of truly Olympic proportions, by more drug “incidents” than in all the previous winter games, and by one of the most flagrant and notorious instances of fixed judging in Olympic history. Whether Gudrun Doll-Tepfer's history of the winter paralympics belongs in this collection is a judgment call of another sort. It is unquestionably politically correct to have included it.

Like most other reviewers of collections of essays, I conclude that this one is a mixed bag. It provides more information and insight than one is likely to find in any other single book, with the possible exception of the Findling-Pelle collection, but I would have preferred one person's panoptic perspective on the winter games

rather than the somewhat divergent views of eleven different scholars. Several of the contributors (Renson comes first to mind) are capable of writing such a book.

ALLEN GUTTMANN
Amherst College

HARVEY LEVENSTEIN. *We'll Always Have Paris: American Tourists in France Since 1930*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 382. \$35.00.

The enduring clash between Francophiles and Francophobes among Americans in general and tourists in particular is the subject of this entertaining book. A sequel to Harvey Levenstein's *Seductive Journey: American Tourists in France from Jefferson to the Jazz Age* (1998), this volume focuses on the period from 1930 to the present. Ultimately, it testifies to a sustained Franco-American cultural tension. For long, French observers, even those preoccupied by the tourist dollar, have been torn between the siren calls of anti-Americanism and a grudging admiration of American inventiveness and openness. For long, American travellers from first class to steerage have wavered between outrage at French rudeness and deceit and a grudging admiration of French creativity and style. In this apparently eternal sense, Levenstein's research elevates *plus ça change* to orthodoxy.

Still, many changes did affect sentiment on both sides of the Atlantic, particularly the Gallic side where American tourists and French waiters met face to face. Typically, the stronger the dollar, the more insufferable Americans appeared to the French. Conversely, as in the early 1970s, the more humble the dollar and its dispensers, the less overbearing they seemed. Exchange rates, however, were but one factor. Cheap air fares were another, excursion rates that delivered to Europe more visitors than the liners had ever done and thus raised the visibility of strangers ignorant of language, currency, and culture. There was also the “sexual revolution” of the 1960s which allowed the erotic zones of Amsterdam or even New York to compete for appeal with those of Pigalle. And international politics, too, intruded into the public conscience, especially when governments from that of Charles de Gaulle to that of Jacques Chirac were seen in Washington to be headstrong and obstreperous.

Of such ideas there are many, including that of a change in the very profile of tourism: from a spotlight east-coast elite in the 1920s—which had revelled in “high-brow,” Louvre-Opéra culture—to the subsequent swarms of camera-toting tourists from middle America who were in France mainly so they could say they had been in France. Students were another element, travellers who scorned the snobbery of the patricians and the gaucheries of the lower-middle brow (p. 181). Interesting, too, is the idea that marathon sightseeing became the centerpiece of tourism in the 1970s, because seeing sights already familiar from film, book, or photograph made foreigners feel less foreign

(p. 235). Others coped with the unfamiliar by staying home, whether for reasons of resource or expectation, and by stoking with their ignorance the old fires against French rudeness and chicanery (p. 280).

These ideas are not quite so easily discerned. When spotted, they are thought provoking, but they must be brought to the surface by anyone fishing in this rich narrative stream. Angling is made more difficult by the use of tantalizing but obscure chapter titles—such as “It Never Rains in Nice” or “A Tattered Welcome Mat”—and by a reluctance to compromise titular aesthetics with dates. In short, the forecast of a chapter’s contents is usually overcast. Compounding the challenge is the ever more common device of dividing chapters into subsections, each heralded by a designer symbol. Remove the symbols, and great is the reader’s surprise as the subject of Jean-Paul Sartre abruptly morphs to gay culture, then to museums, dining, and annual incomes (pp. 124–129).

Granted, keeping a reader on his toes is not necessarily a bad thing. But better is the delight that Levenstein takes in his subject, and with which he turns his kaleidoscope. His tastes, like those of his subjects, are eclectic, and so we get bursts of color about toilets and transportation, food and fashion, exchange rates and tourist statistics, campaigns to teach visitors and hosts the basics of politesse and, failing that, the rudiments of toleration. All this is presented in a lively prose, sparkling with amusing anecdotes and quotations, many drawn from an extensive source base of newspaper materials and American archives.

This is, primarily, a book about how Americans regarded their presence in France. France is not the subject, nor French perceptions of Americans. It is not, primarily, about state intervention in the increasingly lucrative tourist industry, or about Franco-American relations in the grander sense of international politics. Instead, and appropriately, Levenstein has written what he wanted to write. The result is a moveable feast, from which we can sample at our leisure both the meats and the confection.

ROBERT J. YOUNG
University of Winnipeg

ASIA

KAI-WING CHOW. *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 397. \$49.50.

Influenced by a European historiography (Lucien Febvre, Elizabeth Eisenstein, etc.) that finds some of the origins of modernity in the Gutenberg revolution, Kai-wing Chow strives to rescue Chinese history from that line of interpretation. To do so, he must confront two influences, one historiographic (“the sinologistic mode of historical narration”) and the other historical (the enduring Chinese tendency to camouflage commercial pursuits). The sinologistic mode, Chow writes,

is constrained by “historicism, Eurocentrism, and modernism.” Having convinced his readers of the value of looking at “early modern” (not a Chinese term) China on its own terms, however, Chow undermines his achievement by leaning on a complex system of Euro-analytcs: Pierre Bourdieu’s concepts of “field” and “habitus”; Gérard Genette’s framework of paratext, peritext, and epitext; Roger Chartier’s “literary public sphere”; Michel de Certeau’s concept of reading as “poaching”; and D. F. McKenzie on the materiality of texts. Fortunately, these formulae generally take a back seat to the empirical and biographical details of China’s late Ming and early Qing (1550–1650) book production and responses to book culture.

Chow’s chief argument involves pursuit of an enlarged *gong* (here literary public sphere) and *gonglun* (public opinion), shaped by the growth of commercial publishing, particularly that related to the civil service examination system. Here Chow is on firmer if somewhat overcultivated ground. The challenge is to make this thesis appear fresh, which Chow accomplishes in his discussion of the *shishang* (literati-merchants-businessmen, a group created when degree-based politics was crossbred with market-driven educational services). Indeed, this book is presented as a first installment on Chow’s larger project dealing with the *shishang*.

The book has five substantive chapters and a separate introduction and conclusion. To demonstrate why Matteo Ricci concluded that late Ming books were inexpensive and widely available, chapter one argues that paper, labor, and printing technology, all costly in Europe, were cheap and readily available in China. Thus, printed matter was accessible to all but the poorest members of society. Chapter two continues some of this discussion but also evaluates the impact of the expanded use of movable type and the broadening book trade. The next chapter reveals the impact of growing numbers of educated but underemployed literati who turned to “commoditized writing” (read “book publishing market”) to support their quest of further degrees. The most interesting discussion here covers the emergence of commercially motivated *ming-gong* (reputable masters), *shanren* (professional writers), and *zuoja* (authors), all of whom depended on printed words for their livings. Chapter four assesses the growing impact of commercially published anthologized commentaries on the official examination curriculum; their influence reached a climax with the creation of the Fushe (Restoration) Society in Suzhou in 1632, the main topic of chapter five. In Chow’s view, the success of this coalition reveals the subversive impact of expanded printing services on examination literary standards. Professionalized critics, taking advantage of China’s early modern printing expansion, are shown positioning themselves in opposition to prevailing orthodoxy, creating a new *gong*.

Offsetting the immense amount of research and effort that went into crafting the argument, the book’s editing, organization, and referencing pose some sig-

nificant problems. For example, we are told the examination field was "unique" to China (p. 12), but what about Korea and Vietnam, which also had premodern civil service examinations systems? The concept of *shanren*, first introduced on page 51, is not actually discussed at length until pages 105–109. Although the publisher is to be praised for the comprehensive index (often lacking in Chinese history books published nowadays) and appendixes, the incomplete citations (lacking dates, making it difficult to separate primary from secondary works, apparently leading even the author himself, on at least on occasion, to misattribute a 1925 comment to a late Ming figure), the mixing of romanizations and the inconsistent jumbling of some Chinese titles with English translations of others, typos too frequent to count, arbitrary italicization, and confused tenses are editing and publishing lapses that undermine the author's important argument. Also, comparisons with European printing history would have been better relegated to the notes so that the impact of commercial publishing in late Ming China could become clear, to use the author's words, "in its own unique fashion."

CHRISTOPHER A. REED
Ohio State University

ERIC REINDERS. *Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies: Christian Missionaries Imagine Chinese Religion*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 266. \$49.95.

In this carefully crafted multidisciplinary work, Eric Reinders has attempted to answer such crucial questions as what did the nineteenth-century Christian missionaries to China think of Chinese religion and the customs of the Chinese? He addresses these intriguing questions by looking at such diverse topics as the meaning of obeisance, Chinese pidgin English, vegetarianism, how properly to translate God into Chinese, and opium, among others.

Reinders concentrates on British missionaries, particularly those of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), and begins his account by describing the Great Missionary Exhibition of 1909, which "recreated" Africa and Asia in an exhibit hall in London to promote mission work and, it was hoped, to bring in contributions. The ersatz China thus created featured Britons dressed up as Chinese so the visitors could better understand where their mission funds were being spent. This was China as understood by the Victorian missionary, and as Reinders explains, that understanding was greatly colored by the missionaries' own prejudices. The anti-Catholicism of the British Protestants, and particularly their views of obeisance in the Catholic Church, led the missionaries to view Chinese who bowed to their ancestral tablets, superiors, and temple gods with the same contempt they had for Catholics. Drawing on contemporary writings such as those of the extreme Anglophile John Macgowan, Reinders argues that the missionaries were predis-

posed to view with contempt many Chinese customs. Because Chinese, sometimes even monks, could not explain the details of their religious beliefs, the missionaries characterized them as "mentally deficient, in a stupor," to use Reinders's words (p. 46).

The author also cites other issues the missionaries found incomprehensible, such as the chanting of mantras and Chinese music, also equating these with aspects of Catholicism that they found objectionable. Complicating the missionaries' views of Chinese as unintelligent was the use of pidgin English. Unable, or unwilling, to learn Chinese, the missionaries, and other foreigners, resorted to Chinese pidgin English or China Coast pidgin, which Reinders states was one of the first documented pidgins, dating from the eighteenth century. (p. 79). The use of this language is complicated by the fact that in an attempt to communicate the foreigners often resorted to baby talk in English.

On a completely different topic, Reinders addresses what the missionaries saw as the problem of vegetarianism. Converting to Christianity, in the view of many missionaries, required giving up vegetarianism, which the missionaries associated with Chinese religious customs and particularly Buddhism. Reinders refers to this as "baptism by meat," as meat consumption was seen by many as an essential element of Christian salvation (p. 146). In their cultural misunderstandings the missionaries also railed against queues, clothes, smells, and virtually everything else they found strange in China.

In arguing his theses Reinders does not limit himself to the writings of missionaries but also includes those from Victorian globetrotters and nonmissionary Westerners living in China. However, these do not detract from the overall validity of his arguments. Many of the Westerners in China viewed the sheer number of people in China as a faceless mob, which clearly was a manifestation of cultural shock for those from less populated parts of the globe.

In the vast range of topics of cultural misunderstandings treated here, the only one I can think of that Reinders has missed is the connection between the Catholic image of a naked baby Jesus and the development of pornographic carvings by the Chinese, some done in ivory and collectors' items, which were a small part of an exhibit on Chinese ivories at the British Museum some twenty years ago. Certainly, the Protestants would have found these another example of the Catholic/Chinese connection they were so fond of denouncing.

Unfortunately, this book is marred by the repetition of material (e.g. pp. 144, 160). Does not the University of California Press employ proofreaders any more? Later the author tries to validate his arguments with references to novelist Amy Tan, characters in *Flash Gordon* (a comic book) and *Friends* (a television show), and Jackie Chan movies (pp. 218, 212). Does the author really think readers in other countries will understand such references? In a serious monograph

that would otherwise stand the test of time, I cannot help wondering what readers fifty years from now will think of these comparisons. Yet, overall, this is an interesting book that makes a significant contribution to our understanding of what the missionaries' endeavor in China was all about.

KATHLEEN L. LODWICK
*Pennsylvania State University,
 Lehigh Valley*

FRANK DIKÖTTER, LARS LAAMANN, and ZHOU XUN.
Narcotic Culture: A History of Drugs in China. Chicago:
 University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 319. \$35.00.

China and opium are not just often closely associated in Western popular culture and history books; their combination represents a standard cliché for drug use. In Chinese and foreign views of the late nineteenth century, especially those expressed in public discourses, opium was the central source of China's ills. Even if such images are no longer taken at face value, the idea that opium had poisoned a large part of the Chinese population, seriously weakened its economy through the export of silver, and contributed to the civil unrest that dominated the republican period is still prevalent in the historical literature, especially in China.

Frank Dikötter, Lars Laamann, and Zhou Xun take up the challenge of revisiting the issue of opium and drug use in China from the end of the nineteenth century to 1949. Their approach deliberately sets aside the issue of traffic and supply to focus on consumption, public policies of drug control, and the treatment of drug addicts. While a large part of the volume is devoted to opium, the authors extend their inquiry to chemically-produced opiates and other drugs such as cocaine. The book is remarkably well organized, systematic in the coverage of the topic, and it does present, convincingly and successfully, a string of arguments for a reinterpretation of drug use in Chinese society.

One of the book's main contributions is the comprehensive contextualization of the topic, both temporally—with two chapters on the worldwide expansion of psychoactive substances and their introduction in China before 1840—and culturally, namely the widespread use of opium and opium derivatives in Europe. Before modern drugs, opium was simply the "best possible and sure shield" against various ills, diseases, and pains. The authors offer strong arguments about the medical use of opium as painkiller, antidepressant, cough suppressant, etc. In that regard, China was no different than other countries. One major difference, however, came in the form of consumption—by smoking—while the main purpose, by and large remained the same.

Yet, opium smoking also developed as a form of leisure and manifestation of social status to which various practices and levels of opium houses were attached. The vast majority of smokers, the authors

argue, were not addicts. Opium houses were a place of relaxation and sociability for people from all classes, with limited or no impact on their health or work ability. The use of smoked opium generated elaborate forms of consumption, connoisseurship, and culture. Opium carried all sorts of positive values for elite, popular, and poor customers. While the balance may have been different between the search for leisure (aphrodisiac) and medical (pain alleviating) dimensions of the product, all could share its virtues in a context of companionship.

The practice of opium smoking in China was increasingly undermined by the rise of narcophobia, first among missionary activists, then among the imperial and republican political elites. Opium was progressively stigmatized and, as a consequence, rejected by the elites. Only civil unrest in the republican era actually allowed the resurgence of opium use after the successful campaign of eradication by the imperial government. With the repression of opium consumption by the Nationalists, consumers turned to new products like morphine and heroine. The authors even argue that repression stimulated the use of synthetic drugs. These drugs benefited from a positive image as "modern products" from the West, and they were easy to consume compared to opium smoking. Even the use of the syringe failed to be seen as repulsive in the "needle culture" of China.

The book very aptly deconstructs the images and discourses that distorted and eventually overwhelmed the social realities of an opium culture deeply imbedded in society. An extremely wide range of sources have been mobilized to build up the case for drug use in China before 1949. While the book offers a convincing interpretation of opium culture in its various dimensions, it leaves some questions unanswered or open to debate. The move from opium to new drugs was far from even across the country. Canton, Hong Kong, and south China, for example, remained impervious to the new drugs. Repression of opium smoking seems to have accompanied a change of practices rather than being a determinant in the change itself. The change of mood among the elites was clearly a decisive element and, in relation to it, the impact of discourses on their perception of drug use. The choice of covering the whole of China brings about spatial or chronological jumps within chapters, for the sake of argument, but this weakens the general demonstration. We need more locale-centered monographs to explore in depth the links among drug use, public policies, popular sensibilities, and changes of practice. But this book definitely stands as a solid scholarly contribution to the history of drugs.

CHRISTIAN HENRIOT
*Institut d'Asie Orientale (CNRS),
 Lumière-Lyon 2 University*

ANDREW D. MORRIS. *Marrow of the Nation: A History of Sport and Physical Culture in Republican China.* Foreword by JOSEPH S. ALTER. (Asia: Local Studies/Global

Times, number 10.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 368. \$49.95.

Until recently, sports were not considered an appropriate set of processes through which societies in Asia could be examined, and academic studies such as this by Andrew D. Morris were limited in number. Joseph Alter, in his early work on wrestling in South Asia, argued that this was partly explained by the conceptions of those societies preferred by Western scholars. A sort of Orientalism existed whereby organized sports, fierce competition, intense physicality, and corporal play were considered unlikely or atypical in cultures thought to be rigidly defined and controlled by the strictures of caste, tradition, class, or gender. Morris's book is the latest in a range of studies that have sought to address this. As its title suggests, the book covers the period 1912 to 1949, and it sets as its objective the task of tracing "the many national, racial, sexual, social and political threads of discourse that came to interrogate and define the realm of physical culture in Republican China" (p. 15). The author explains that "physical culture" is in fact a limited translation of the Chinese term *tiyu*, which can mean "body cultivation" or "physical education." Morris states that the period after 1912 represented a "decisive break" from previous modes of *tiyu*. The changes wrought in China's conceptions of *tiyu* in these years were to make "possible the organizational and philosophical directions of the Chinese Communist Party's later 'red' physical culture" (p. 15).

The book succeeds in convincing the reader that this was a time of frantic experimentation with and participation in an array of "modern" sports. Western groups like the Young Men's Christian Association consciously "taught sports as a way to transform China" (p. 19), but Japanese models were equally as important as European or American organizations. National meetings were quickly established at which the best athletes and players could compete, and teams from abroad were invited to test the skills of the Chinese. Sport was not simply a set of activities to be engaged with as a participant. Spectatorship developed, and the big international meetings could draw significant crowds; 16,000 spectators paid to watch the China-Philippines football match in 1927, and boy scouts were employed to prevent those locked out of the corresponding basketball game from breaking through the perimeter fence. Commercialism was not far behind, and the image of the Quaker Rolled White Oats advertisement featuring the brand name alongside "a muscular, tousle-haired Chinese soccer player, ball at his feet" (p. 75) is particularly striking, mingling as it does the dynamics of sport, art, commerce, body and diet in a period of cultural change.

In a book packed with examples, Morris succeeds in tracing the ways in which competing discourses of the nation sought to incorporate sports, both Western and those thought to be from Chinese "traditions," into visions of a new China. He states that this is an

ongoing process; the motto of the Beijing Olympics of 2008 is "*xin Beijing, xin Aoyun*," which translates as "New Beijing, New Olympics." Morris argues that this shows that China feels it now has the power to reshape and make new the forms of modern sport. The book should be read not only for the excellent research it contains but also for its spirited engagement with the historiography of Chinese sport; his argument that Fan Hong's analysis of women's sporting participation is "in May Fourth fashion" (p. 93) summarizes neatly the misgivings about her work.

Yet historiography is chief among the shortcomings of the book. In the first place, Morris is rather selective in his reading, referring to Partha Chatterjee's work on Indian nationalism (p. 224) or Kathleen McCrone's work on English women (p. 95) when it suits him rather than engaging fully with comparative literatures that might have informed his analysis. This lack of a wider sense of the issues means that the book leaves the reader with an image of "China's male managers of physical culture" (p. 95) energetically imposing ideas as they occurred to them on the population. Only occasional glimpses of wider society hint at how the wo/man in the street approached modern sports; the spectators' riot at the football match mentioned above, sparked by the opposing players coming to blows, gives a vivid sense that urban groups had their own ideas about sporting occasions that often frustrated or contradicted the designs of the elites who sought to shape and define sport. There is an array of studies available on sporting crowds and sporting violence to inform his analysis, so it is to be hoped that Morris brings his research skills to the issue of how ordinary Chinese perceived and shaped sports in the future to provide a "bottom-up" view that completes the picture presented here from the top down.

JAMES H. MILLS
University of Strathclyde

CHRISTIAN HENRIOT and WEN-HSIN YEH, editors. *In the Shadow of the Rising Sun: Shanghai under Japanese Occupation*. (Cambridge Modern China Series.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 392. \$75.00.

In their preface and introduction, the editors of this important volume make it clear that the focus of the contributors will go far beyond customary topics related to warfare and politics. In order to explore the wider domains of culture and economics, Christian Henriot and Wen-hsin Yeh ask what the war years 1937–1945 meant to the civilian population of the great metropolis. They ask how the brutality of siege and occupation changed "civic patterns of authority and association" and how they reconfigured "the material landscape of the city?" (pp. x-xi). To the credit of editors and essayists alike, this sweeping study of Shanghai under Japanese occupation answers those questions and many others and illuminates our under-

standing of wartime struggle and survival in China's most modern and international city.

Henriot discusses the fortunes of Shanghai's industry during the eight-year crisis period. He finds that the structure and geography of industry changed markedly. Large industrial plants of the pre-1937 era struggled under the tight controls of the Japanese military and the various puppet regimes. At the same time, new enterprises and small workshops, better able to escape controls and participate in the black market, emerged and flourished in the western parts of the city. Parks M. Coble presents a case study of the Rong family enterprises (textiles and flour milling) to illustrate the options sometimes opened and sometimes closed to large-scale companies accustomed to dominating the market. The Rong managers were nothing if not adaptable in maintaining ties with both Chongqing and the Japanese Imperial Army but in the end, geography played a large role in determining their fate. Factories unlucky enough to have been located in Chinese portions of the city were mostly destroyed or confiscated; those in the foreign sectors survived and kept the family afloat.

Chinese "fixers" are the subject of Sherman Cochran's essay on the marketing of medicine across enemy lines. Fixers were the dauntless middlemen who managed to maintain good relations with the Nationalist authorities in Chongqing, the remnants of the fading Western interests, the puppet regimes, and the Japanese military. The notion of *gudao*, that Shanghai was an "isolated island" after 1937 and certainly after 1941, is firmly rejected by Cochran in his essay on the fixers' role in "marketing medicine across enemy lines." This challenge to the *gudao* concept is perhaps the most common theme running through this book.

Mao Zedong's armies were in the main preoccupied with base-building efforts well north of Shanghai, but Allison Rottmann presents a fascinating study of the Communist Party's "Central China Base." Relying heavily on memoirs of a party worker in the Shanghai underground, she argues that the city played an active role in Communist base-building projects in the countryside. Frederic Wakeman, Jr., whose interest in this era of China's history goes back more than forty years, contributes a chapter on "Shanghai Smuggling" that explores some of the most bizarre and contradictory aspects of the city under occupation. To name just one, Wakeman notes that Chiang Kai-shek inaugurated a "Smuggling Prevention Office" that employed 60,000 men. At the helm of this organization was Dai Li, whom many "old China hands" regarded as the ruthless power behind the throne in Chongqing. By all accounts, Dai Li was the greatest smuggler of his day. In spite of the apparent contradiction, it can probably be argued that there was no one better able to manage, if not "control," smuggling.

There was one major wartime puppet regime—that of Wang Jingwei—but there were numerous ephemeral governments. Timothy Brook, who like many of the contributors handles both Chinese and Japanese

sources with facility, analyzes the fate of one of these entities, the "Great Way Government." It prevailed in Shanghai, 1937–1938, with archaic slogans about brotherhood-like *Dadao* (Great Way). Brian G. Martin dissects the activities of the "Shanghai United Committee," which was established to coordinate pro-Guomindang activities in occupied Shanghai. Martin's study brings under scrutiny Du Yuesheng, the head of this shadowy organization. From the early 1930s, the Nationalists had a compact with Du, whose criminal organization, the Green Gang, might have had more authority and raw power in Shanghai than any official entity.

Although the European colonialists appear frequently in many of the chapters of this book, two studies focus directly on them. Robert Bickers looks at the end of British hegemony in Shanghai's International Settlement, and Christine Cornet examines the demise of the French Concession and French influence in Shanghai. The collaborator Wang Jingwei made a strong effort to build support from among the large trade union movement in Shanghai; the Communists hoped to radicalize the workers; Chongqing and the Japanese also targeted the labor unions. Alain Roux, however, finds that workers were divided and ambivalent in their commitments and did not play a major part in Shanghai politics. Carlton Benson's essay on the "resurgence of commercial radio broadcasting" uncovers a complex ebb and flow between the familiar world of entertainment and advertising on the one hand and resistance propaganda on the other. The picture is clouded by the fact that many of the stations were in the International Settlement and beyond direct Japanese control, at least until 1941.

Three chapters are devoted to women. Susan Glosser's contribution, "Women's Culture of Resistance," relies heavily on an analysis of the pages of *Shanghai Funii* (*Shanghai Women*). "The most prominent 'activist' that emerged . . . was the frugal housekeeper who kept her family healthy and contributed her small bit to the war effort," Glosser writes (p. 322). Nicole Huang contributes "Fashioning Public Intellectuals: Women's Print Culture in Occupied Shanghai (1941–1945)." She uses select women writers of the era, such as Su Qing and Eileen Chang, to explore the gradual feminization of print culture during the war years. Paul G. Pickowicz concludes the volume with a postwar perspective on women in wartime Shanghai. In it he explores a number of remarkably revealing stage and film productions, especially *Liren xing* (*Women Side by Side*), which shed light on the fate of women in the occupied city.

JOHN H. BOYLE
California State University,
Chico

MICHAEL R. AUSLIN. *Negotiating with Imperialism: The Unequal Treaties and the Culture of Japanese Diplomacy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 263. \$45.00.

Modern Japanese history is full of ideas that emerged from the moment of change and continue in our interpretations. The accounts, perspectives, and memories of the actors often prevail in our historiography. This is true of Japan's foreign relations despite (or because of) the long rise of Japanese studies amid the Cold War, cemented by the very strong bond between the United States and Japan. It is striking that we have had so few monographs on U.S.-Japan relations and fewer still on Meiji foreign policy. It is a familiar story: in 1854 Commodore Matthew Perry "opened" Japan from its isolation, in 1858 Consul Townsend Harris negotiated the first of the "unequal treaties," and Meiji leaders finally renegotiated those treaties in 1894.

Now Michael R. Auslin gives us a monograph that fills in the story of foreign policy negotiations during the critical final years of the Tokugawa era. It tells of bakufu (military government) efforts to take charge of foreign policy, to negotiate with the United States and Great Britain, primarily in order to avoid being colonized, and to defend the "ideological, intellectual, and physical boundaries between [Japanese] and Westerners" (pp. 9–10). Auslin is at his best when he pieces together the documents, especially letters and dispatches, to lay out the negotiations and the unfolding of bakufu policy. He brings out the predilections and persistence, the folly and determination of these elite figures, the officials and agents representing various countries, showing how they shaped this part of the past. His most welcome contribution is to historicize the early encounter and the unequal treaties, unsettling the common narrative line. He goes over the many incidents in which Western countries sought entry to the archipelago prior to 1854 (too bad that he did not include Commodore James Biddle's failed 1846 attempt), and he covers the changing attitude of bakufu officials, and later Meiji leaders, toward treaty negotiations. We see the bakufu focused on limiting access generally, disregarding issues surrounding trade and tariff, and we learn that the most onerous conditions were agreed to by the Meiji government in the treaty signed with Austria-Hungary. (It is regrettable that this treaty, a "major break," did not receive the same level of analysis as bakufu negotiations.)

We are at a moment in our historiography when we sense that many of the categories and narratives that we have inherited are no longer apposite and seek new frameworks. Auslin is to be commended for his ambitious thesis that "the transformation of diplomatic culture led to sweeping changes in Japanese society" (p. 2); he brings us "the beginnings of modern Japan's international history" (p. 3). But by concentrating on the bakufu and stopping in 1872, he has given us more of an ending than a beginning. More important, Auslin's beginnings are framed by notions of negotiation and of a culture of diplomacy. Negotiation allows him to argue that the bakufu possessed agency and "resisted" the West (p. 4), supplanting an older pattern of encounter/reaction, or stimulus/response. Diplomatic culture stands in for traditional/modern, placing the

interaction within an international system rather than situating it in an encounter between two completely different forms of social/cultural relations, one based on status and tribute and the other based on reason and money.

As implemented in this book, however, such an approach using negotiation and culture of diplomacy returns us to the teleology of modernization. The idea of negotiation narrows our field to the interaction between representatives of the various Western nations and those of the bakufu speaking for Japan (succeeded by Meiji officials). But because "the ideological, intellectual, and physical boundaries" that Japanese sought to defend are ill defined, we return to those oft-repeated units of analysis, Japan and the West. Diplomatic culture, interestingly, allows reentry for the category of the primitive. The bakufu comes out as one of those "uncivilized partners" (p. 7) whose sole purpose is to "preserve and protect" (p. 16) those boundaries. Antiforeignism reinforces this theme. Omitted from the story is the complexity of this moment: the contestation of the several major actors (such as Satsuma and Chōshū) as they engaged with the West to enhance their position only appears in the conclusion (pp. 202–203), and we fail to learn about the efforts of numerous Tokugawa officials and intellectuals such as Honda Toshiaki, Sakuma Shōzan, Yoshida Shōin, and Yokoi Shōnan to reform the system to acknowledge trade and the monetary economy as well as the utility of Western concepts. While the antiforeignism theme persists into the Meiji period through the deliberative councils called for in Article One of the 1868 Charter Oath, Articles Four and Five, which recognize the new international conditions as well as the importance of acquiring knowledge from Western countries, are absent.

In the end, I cannot help but feel that this monograph was rushed. The will is there, as is a robust empirical base illustrating the simplistic nature of the standard narrative on bakumatsu foreign policy. There is a need for more work before we can appreciate the role of the unequal treaties in the trajectory of modern Japanese history.

STEFAN TANAKA
*University of California,
San Diego*

ALEXIS DUDDEN. *Japan's Colonization of Korea: Discourse and Power*. (The Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2005. Pp. x, 215. \$45.00.

From their first days in power, the leaders of Japan's Meiji government (1868–1912) understood the importance of capturing the minds of their Western counterparts through the use of "standard"—i.e. European—diplomatic rules and vocabulary. Indeed, says Alexis Dudden, language was nearly (although not quite) as important as actions in winning international

support for Japan's colonial takeover of Korea between 1873 and 1910.

In a short work that is sometimes meandering, often polemical, and always provocative, Dudden argues not only that Japan mastered that era's "vocabulary of power" (p. 1) and of "enlightened exploitation" (p. 8) but that the colonial nations of the West cooperated wholly—and willfully—in what was, in effect, the "legal erasure of a country" (p. 12). While Japan's activities in Korea have been described quite fully by other scholars, most recently in Peter Duus's *The Abacus and the Sword: The Japanese Penetration of Korea* (1995), Dudden is the first to analyze their "discursive aspects" (p. 2). Drawing on a rich menu of diplomatic treatises (French, English, and Japanese), journalistic accounts (including Korean newspapers), missionary archives, and government documents, she discusses both the importance of rhetoric in shaping international relationships and the need to incorporate Japan's experience into the broader theories of imperialism, most of which have either ignored Japan's case or glibly labeled it "late" or "different" (p. 24).

Dudden's dominant point is that Japan showed a brilliant, if hypocritical and inhumane, capacity for using Western legal discourse to justify each step toward its 1910 annexation of Korea. She shows how Japanese diplomats replaced the centuries-old, Chinese-dominated "*kanji* order" with English-based diplomacy, insisting early on that English be used as the mediating language in negotiations with the Chinese over Korea, first at Tianjin in 1885 and then in ending the Sino-Japanese War at Shimonoseki in 1895. She also describes Prime Minister Itō Hirobumi's astute understanding of Western rhetorical nuances when he labeled the Sino-Japanese War a "Korean War of Independence" and called Japan a "victorious liberator and benevolent protector" (p. 48).

In less than two decades, Dudden shows, Japan's officials "negated the old regional order . . . and they did so in the fully legal terms of enlightened exploitation" (p. 49). Even the era's leading internationalist, the Quaker Nitobe Inazō, used Western legal structures early in the 1900s to develop a new Japanese academic field of colonial policy studies, which justified "planting people" (p. 133) as the proper task of a civilized nation.

The thing that makes this use of Western legal discourse so important is its role in securing world support for Japan's policies. In episode after episode, Dudden shows that the Americans and Europeans gave wholehearted approval to Japan's colonizing steps, ignoring or denying Korean complaints about cruelty and unfairness. She argues that the powers' approval was more complete than earlier scholars, such as Duus and Akira Iriye, have previously acknowledged. When Koreans approached the Second International Conference on Peace at The Hague in 1907 to argue the case for Korean independence, for example, the conferees refused even to listen to them, maintaining that "according to international law, without Ja-

pan, Korea no longer existed in relation to the rest of the world" (p. 8).

In one of the book's more vivid sections, Dudden portrays American diplomats and officials giving full approval to Japan's actions in a brutal 1911–1913 roundup of Korean activists, which included jailings, torture, and even deaths—because, in the end, Japan had followed standard "civilized" trial procedures. Even brutal floggings were countenanced by the Westerners because Korea was "barbaric" and because flogging was "an 'old Korean custom'" (p. 116). And why not, she adds, since all of the colonial powers allowed their own "useful exemptions" in the colonies to homeland legal practice? (p. 115).

Dudden's work suffers occasionally from an overly polemic tone. It also is diminished by a skimpy index that omits most concepts and many names. And the narrative is disjointed at times, with some topics (e.g. Nitobe's defense of Japan's takeover of Manchuria in the 1930s) discussed at length without a clear tie to the work's central theme. A chapter on people who dissented from Japan's colonial policies catalogues a wide variety of interesting and important dissidents but never shows how their views related to the "discursive aspects of Japan's annexation of Korea" (p. 2)—or to each other.

That said, this book is a welcome and important addition to a growing body of works that show not only Japan's emergence as an imperialist power but its integration into the broader colonial system. It casts the entire imperialist enterprise—with Japan as an integral part of that enterprise—in a fresh light, even while it raises disturbing questions about the implications of Japan's experience for contemporary America.

JAMES L. HUFFMAN
Wittenberg University

INDRANI CHATTERJEE, editor. *Unfamiliar Relations: Family and History in South Asia*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2004. Pp. 302. \$60.00.

This thought-provoking collection of essays traces the reproduction of the family through time, adding to recent scholarship reevaluating kinship and gender in South Asian history. The volume's particular strengths lie in the questions it raises about the *longue durée* history of family, and in highlighting the manifold ways in which kinship was constructed in cultural codes, genealogies, languages, and other discursive and material power structures. The more creative essays straddle the "divide" between the "precolonial" and colonial period and critically assess the extent of change in the constitution of kinship during the transition to British rule.

Editor Indrani Chatterjee's precise and pointed introduction asserts that the history of kinship, hitherto a "poor relation in South Asian history," needs to be studied in its own right (p. 1). Chatterjee distinguishes the questions fueling this book from prevailing dominant analyses of the family, which, she suggests,

have been preoccupied with the “ideological deployment” of the family against colonialism and the role of the kin group in fashioning nationalism and gendered projects of modernity in colonial India (p. 2). One influential framework cited is that of Partha Chatterjee, for whom the family was a core part of the inner/spiritual domain (as opposed to the outer/material sphere) that, as a sphere autonomous of colonial control, was used by the nationalist elite to reconstitute a reinvigorated masculinity and sense of “self.” The editor also refers to Tanika Sarkar’s assertion that the family and the conjugal relationship were sites of power governed and disciplined by Hindu males in the latter’s endeavor to construct a militant nationalism in late colonial India. While acknowledging the importance of these scholarly contributions, the introduction cautions against plotting such nationalist imaginings of family, intimacy, and gender relationships onto the earlier history of kinship and treating the “family” as a hermetically sealed and static category. The conscious aim of the volume’s essays, in contrast, is to show that “the boundedness of the category—the family—was itself a historically produced effect” (p. 33) and that the family as a cultural idea and a political and material unit was constituted through conflict and ruptures and was shaped by state formation and the political economy.

The arrangement of the articles along a definitive chronology is helpful and central to the methodological approach of the book. Ramya Sreenivasan’s rich analysis of elite Rajput genealogies and literary narratives in Rajasthan between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries demonstrates how written and oral histories representing the families of “elites in the making” (p. 47) were shaped by considerations of regional power, conflict, and material interests. Thereafter, Sumit Guha’s important essay on the manipulation of elite family feuds in the powerful eighteenth-century Maratha kingdoms illustrates the inextricable connections between elite families and state formation. Importantly, these essays emphasize the inapplicability of binary categories such as “public/private” and “inner/outer” to the family in the “precolonial” world.

In what might be seen as another section, William Dalrymple’s study, entitled “White Mughals,” and Michael Fisher’s essay examine how intimacy was shaped by the imperatives of race and gender in the eighteenth century during the transition to British rule. Fisher’s contribution, which traces the rise of his protagonist Begum Samru from slave concubine to sovereign ruler of a vast territory in north India, is particularly adept at demonstrating how the Begum manipulated claims of “belonging” to a multiplicity of different power structures, whether British or Mughal, and created a racially hybrid, if fractured and conflicted, household, based on fluid ties of kinship, to assert power and overcome her marginal and “unfree” status.

Finally, Pamela Price, Sylvia Vatuk, Indrani Chat-

terjee, and Satadru Sen chronicle different aspects of the history of the family under British rule. Of particular interest are the essays examining how colonial legal discourses defining kinship, domesticity, and sexuality transformed gender relations and, alternately, were appropriated by indigenous litigants and other players. Thus Vatuk’s layered study of the claims of the Nawabs of the Carnatic for pensions from the East India Company underscores how language became the site of conflict over definitions of family for both parties. Pointing to the flexibility of Persian and Urdu, where, unlike in English, the words used for “family” also described other identities such as “community” and “tribe,” she illustrates how the Nawabs and the British manipulated legal/linguistic definitions of family in efforts to demarcate the boundaries of the kin group and the entitlements of those designated as its members. Employing a different methodology, Chatterjee’s engaging article shows how authors rewriting the genealogies/regional histories of the *rajas* of Tripura in the early twentieth century selectively appropriated colonial legal definitions of family and sexuality. Increasingly, regional genealogies consciously removed slave concubines and their children from the domain of the “family,” negating the contribution of slavery to the reproduction of kinship and erasing the central role played by violence, acquisition, and slavery in constituting familial relations in the past.

The essays engage with the core questions and goals laid out in the introduction and converse with and complement each other. The result is a diversity of creative and nuanced frameworks offering fresh insights and methodologies for the study of the family, defined as a shifting range of discursive, cultural, political and economic “formations” and practices (p. 14). The collection successfully underlines the analytical importance of kinship in writing history and for tracing the histories of region, class, caste, and community. It also contributes to current scholarly debates on the transition to colonialism and the extent and limit of its impact on gender relationships.

However, a few oversights have to be mentioned. There is little explicit analysis of the relationship between masculinity and kinship in the book, which is unfortunate, given the rich material on this theme in many of the essays. More importantly, the book’s ambition of retrieving alternative and marginalized histories of family does not fully accord with the almost exclusive focus on elite families in the essays—except for Sen’s study on convicts in the Andamans. Yet these shortcomings do not detract from what remains an original addition to the exciting and expanding field of the social and cultural history of gender in South Asia.

MALAVIKA KASTURI
University of Toronto

ELIZA F. KENT. *Converting Women: Gender and Protestant Christianity in Colonial South India*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 315. \$47.50.

This book by Eliza F. Kent is an important addition to the growing corpus on conversion to Christianity in colonial South Asia. It is not concerned with belief, or the mystique of individual conversion where analytically elusive promptings of conscience are supposed to inspire a leap from one faith to another. Rather, it probes the dynamics and the substance of the changes that the leap occasions in the converts' behavior as a group or community. Focusing on an upwardly mobile caste, the Nadars of Tamilnadu, the book "examines the formation of and negotiation over ideals of femininity and masculinity in Indian Christian culture" (p. 12) in three specific areas: marriage, domesticity, and sartorial style. It also examines the social, institutional, and ideological backgrounds of the Western missionaries who labored to effect conversions and tried, with varying success, to shape the emerging Indian Christian culture(s). Kent selects for close examination two successful Western single women missionaries, Amy Carmichael and Eva Swift, who arrived in India "in the midst of a vast influx of women into the mission field" (p. 102).

The book unravels the interplay of class, caste, race, and gender in colonial South India. Whether it related to the missionaries, or the converts, or their mutual interaction, the interplay was always contentious, and the ensuing consequences were riddled with ambiguities and contradictions. The dogged presence of the very entity that conversion was meant to erase, the converts' natal religion, further aggravated these ambiguities and contradictions. For, given its pervasion into the deepest interstices of indigenous life, formal renunciation of the natal religion brought the converts but limited release from the modes of thought and feeling they were born into.

The result is a fascinating account of the unfolding of ambivalence in the lives of the women who came to convert and of those who were converted. Working in missions that were male preserves, the "converting" women acted in ways that alternated between complicity with and resistance to patriarchy. As white evangelists—despite certain attitudinal differences between the Americans and the British—they betrayed a similar ambivalence vis-à-vis race and imperialism. In the case of the converted Nadar women, given their triple subordination on grounds of gender, race, and caste, ambivalence naturally manifested along a different trajectory. To cite but one example, besides being relatively emancipated and empowered as a result of conversion, they were also socialized into sexually constricting notions of respectability.

What, then, is new here? Has the theme not been optimally theorized and documented across cultures? Ambivalence is always and never the same. It is the never-sameness of it that makes every sensitive retelling of it, like Kent's, new and fascinating. Any attempt

to understand the fluidity of social "reality" must balance the heuristic need for a stable pattern in which to fit that reality and the refusal of that reality to be so fitted. The challenge is to defer and minimize that artificial closure to the utmost. Although generally dexterous in handling a body of evidence pointing in opposite directions, Kent is at times quick and categorical in positing a pattern that is just not there. This, significantly, happens more when she relies on secondary works. Relying, for instance, on Kenneth A. Ballhatchet and Mrinalini Sinha, she uses the *Pigot vs. Hastie* case to support her argument about what she believes was "the most significant limit that white women of all kinds—missionaries, wives, widows, and reformers—had to negotiate to carry out their projects." It lay in the "discourse of protection that took shape around stereotypes of the lustful Indian male and the desirable European woman" (p. 85). In the process are excised a host of glaring facts. Hastie, for example, was first seized by jealousy in relation to Miss Pigot on account not of a "lustful Indian male" but of a fellow Briton. Further, the reactions the case provoked could not simplistically be seen as racially inspired.

Otherwise well researched, the book remains strangely prone to elementary errors. Here is a random sample: Reverend Lal Behari Day is listed as a Brahman (p. 44); Annie Besant as the first president of the "Congress Party" (p. 84); William Hastings as governor-general (pp. 39, 308); *Indulekha* as a drama (p. 215); Nadars are designated as a race (p. 192); the English divorce law is linked with British myths (p. 174). Even as a typo, "Prime Minister of India J. W. Gladstone" (p. 257) is a bit too disconcerting.

SUDHIR CHANDRA

YASMIN SAIKIA. *Fragmented Memories: Struggling to be Tai-Ahom in India*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 327. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

History, like other social science disciplines, has until recently not only taken the national order of things for granted, but historians played a key role in putting together narratives of national history. In Yasmin Saikia's words, such narratives are constructed by "claiming, coercing, coopting, and often erasing" (p. 258) multiple histories. Despite Subaltern Studies—the powerful critique of national narratives that grew out of the study of Indian history—there is no strong intellectual tradition in India of looking at local pasts in autonomous terms. The hold of nationalism, secular as well as "communal," has undoubtedly been a factor. In Northeast India there is growing interest in autonomous histories at a popular level. But academic history has not quite caught up with it. Historians based in the West are unable to contribute because the Indian government rarely grants research visas to foreign scholars to study the region.

In this context a theoretically informed book by a

U.S.-based and Assamese-born historian that engages Assam's precolonial and colonial past as well as the present is a significant publication event. Saikia's work is no conventional history. It is about the identity movement of a little-known and tiny minority community: the Tai-Ahoms related to the pre-British Ahom kingdom that ruled Assam until 1826. According to Saikia, the term does not refer to a "fixed people"; it is only a "name in circulation" (p. 251) and a "powerful memory" (p. xv). Operating "between history and memory" (p. 13), Saikia reads the Tai-Ahom movement as an effort to "overcome erasure from national history" and to "create a 'different' sense of collectivity" (pp. 38–39).

The community acquired the suffix Tai relatively recently, a reflection of the way words and ideas travel in our times. The interest of intellectuals in Thailand in Tai cultural groups outside the country and the Thai discovery of their ethnic cousins enabled Ahom activists to add the suffix "Tai" and invoke "a mythic connection" to Southeast Asia (p. 68). Elements of the Tai-Ahom movement are quite radical; indeed, Saikia writes about an overlap between the Tai-Ahom movement and the United Liberation Front of Assam that seeks the restoration of Assam's independence through armed struggle. Yet the picture that emerges is not of an irreconcilable conflict between the local and the national. Tai-Ahom politics is primarily about recognition; it is about access to public resources and about "admission and rights to the nation as citizens" (p. 260).

I find the argument fascinating, bold, timely, and on the whole, quite persuasive. The book is a refreshing departure from the conventional division of labor between historians and political scientists that study South Asia, the former stopping at 1947 and the latter limiting themselves to the period after independence. But unfortunately, Saikia is not always on firm ground on the latter period. Some of her assertions about contemporary India require qualification. That some regions are privileged in India's politico-economic dispensation is indisputable. But the notion that "North India" is "at the top" of a "two tier society" (p. 256) is debatable. After all, two of India's most dynamic and globalized cities—Bangalore and Hyderabad—are in South India, and areas like Bihar that have become synonymous with economic and social stagnation are in North India. The argument that the peoples of the frontiers are "more isolated" in the postcolonial period (p. 51) is hard to sustain. The use of "pejorative" and "caste Hindu civilizational terms" such as *mlecchas*, *asuras* and *antariya* (p. 264) to describe the peoples of the region may have been common once, but it is hard to argue that it is an issue yet to be settled.

Saikia's transliteration of Assamese words is idiosyncratic and confusing. She uses *Aham* instead of *Axom* or *Asom* to refer to Assam and *Videkhi* instead of *Bidexi* or *Bidesi* for the Assamese word for for-

eigner. A note explaining her reasons for not following standard practice would have been helpful.

Saikia's account of the Tai-Ahom story contains important insights on why the modern nation-state has been so unkind to minorities. In India, despite official rhetoric about unity in diversity, regions with small populations lose their voice "in the cacophony of the majority of the Indian parliament" (p. 256). But the way society treats minorities, said Mohandas K. Gandhi, is the measure of civilization. Having contributed disproportionately to the invention of nations, one hopes that a new generation of historians will respond to Saikia's call for "rewriting a new, composite, national history," one that is "everyone's history, not an artificial construct given to the people as a directive from above" (p. 265). But such history, one might add, has to go beyond national geographies. Perhaps historians could learn a lesson or two from Tai-Ahom activists: to restore the autonomy of local pasts, one has to be alert to transnational ties of the past that today's national maps might obscure.

SANJIB BARUAH
Center for Policy Research,
New Delhi

RAVI KALIA. *Gandhinagar: Building National Identity in Postcolonial India*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 165. \$29.95.

Gandhinagar, the capital of Gujarat in western India, is a planned city, as are two earlier state capitals likewise conceived after independence in 1947. The pioneer was Chandigarh, designed by Le Corbusier. He had the enthusiastic support of then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, who understood that locating the new nation within the best world architectural praxis could contribute to his general objective of bringing modernity to India. The next state complex, at Bhubaneswar in Orissa, was built under the guidance of Otto Koenigsberger, who was heavily influenced by Le Corbusier. When, a generation later, the decision was taken to build Gandhinagar, the first flush of independence had faded and the context had altered. The city was not completed until 1982. Different imperatives affected how it was conceived, planned, and executed.

Ravi Kalia's monograph explores those imperatives, using the two city's predecessors for comparison as well as, sotto voce, that earlier imperial enterprise in urban grandeur, New Delhi. Their presence looms large in this detailed and illuminating monograph, which builds on the author's preceding two volumes but stands on its own. Every point here is pushed back to distant origins. Thus the achievement of statehood for Gujarat in 1960 and the perception of a need for a new, custom-built capital distinct from yet near the thriving old city of Ahmedabad is traced through the region's periods of Islamic and British rule into independence and thereafter. In a similar fashion, the book traverses architectural debates in the United States

and provides details of university training to explain the antecedents of architects, both Indian and foreign, involved in the project. Kalia provides all the information possibly needed to understand the issues involved in choosing the city site, its design, and the architects responsible. This is an interesting, if densely textured, account.

On one side were Le Corbusier and his ideas about the advent of modernism creating an alternate city life that could bring down the old walls that had imprisoned India. His vision survived in the Indian architects he influenced and through major buildings, including two in Ahmedabad. On the other side was Louis Kahn, who created a breakthrough complex for the city's Indian Institute of Management. His sponsors, progressive mill owners, wanted him to plan a new city that would expand modernism and implement the way he brought poetry back into architecture by the application of his ideas of *Order and Form*. They wanted what Kahn had already achieved in Ahmedabad: buildings that had, as local architect B. V. Doshi put it, "fantastic unfolding spaces, . . . marvelous changes of light" (p. 77), effects derived from spatial elements in Mughal architecture.

In the end, the architect who won the contract did not fit comfortably into either approach, although Le Corbusier had trained him. The appointment satisfied the increasingly strong demand that Indians create their own spaces and structures, ones coping with the conflicting trajectories of an Indian past and a contemporary modernist location. H. K. Mewada was Indian, not an outsider. He was sensitive to Gujarat's pasts, its proud political record personified in Mohandas K. Gandhi, and its rich cultural and religious heritage. Thus his Assembly building drew on symbolism of the lotus and of the *sanctum sanctorum* to weave "an air of mystic sanctity" (Mewada's office, cited on p. 117). Kalia stresses, however, that Mewada consciously resisted interweaving the secular and religious spheres. Acknowledging their continued potency, he used both to create an Indian style that was neither hybrid nor mindlessly derivative.

Kalia argues that Mewada's creation of Gandhinagar was important in the emergence of a self-confident Indian architecture. He argues that modernity is a state of mind that does not easily apply to India, and that it is not enough to build modernist structures if they do not come from changing mindsets. Mewada's approach did not enable him to plan for all contingencies. As Kalia points out, Mewada did not allow for the massive increase in car traffic in the 1990s, so that the city has serious congestion. As a capital city, Gandhinagar has not been a great success; not all instrumentalities have relocated from Ahmedabad. The site is now less the location for government and administration than for computer science. It is becoming a technology park, reflecting a different aspect of modernism from that which Mewada, Le Corbusier, and others had in mind.

Through Indian architecture, Kalia explores the nature of postcolonial identity formation in recently independent nations and their associated drive to articulate identity. While the story is partly about postcolonial constraints and bureaucracies, the author places it within other compelling interpretive contexts. He sees it as a victory of indigenous design, which is neither traditional nor modernist. He makes a strong case for his interpretive position, through a plethora of detail culled from extensive primary research, interviews, and site study. He also provides an excellent base from which to assess present-day Indian architecture, its achievements and failings, its excesses and restraints, and its successes.

JIM MASSELOS

University of Sydney

MICHAEL L. LEWIS. *Inventing Global Ecology: Tracking the Biodiversity Ideal in India, 1947–1997*. (Series in Ecology and History.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2004. Pp. 305. Cloth \$ 55.00, paper \$26.00.

This extremely well-written book is engaging, creatively researched, and a welcome contribution to the twentieth-century history of both Indian wildlife conservation and the rise of biodiversity conservation ideas globally. Tracking the emergence of a constellation of ideas about nature conservation, Michael L. Lewis follows the tested methods of many intellectual historians and historians of science. Key figures in India and the United States are subject to biographical scrutiny for what they can reveal about broader intellectual, institutional, and scientific developments. Lewis begins with chapters on Salim Ali and George Schaller, two ecologists—one Indian, the other American—whose work was foundational to scientific, field ecology-based advocacy for nature and wildlife conservation in India.

Lewis notes that, at the eve of Indian independence, some leaders of India's freedom movement were powerfully influenced by Ali's work at the Bombay Natural History Society. An expansive nationalist sensibility, at its height in the 1940s, fostered this appreciation. By the mid-1950s and into the late 1960s, however, Indian ecologists were compelled to bolster their arguments with the research findings and recommendations of influential, and sometimes even unknown, American biologists. The World Wildlife Fund set up shop in India in 1969, becoming the rallying point for Indian and American conservationists recommending national parks, tiger reserves, and other protected areas where human impact would cease and, thus, create favorable conditions for wildlife conservation and ecological research. As Lewis observes, "the desire for an unpeopled nature was almost universal among the U.S. ecologists . . . humans appear only as scientists, not as components of the ecosystem" (p. 78). Leading Indian scientists, at the time, shared this perspective.

This part of the book adds some interesting twists to the discussion of colonial scientific imperialism, and

the role of indigenous or peripheral field research in shaping metropolitan scientific advances. But the history of international scientific knowledge creation in the later decades of the twentieth century is also part of the murky history of the Cold War. Field research in tropical ecology and biological research for defense purposes were at times tangled in the same web of finance and intention. This fact, however, did not prevent a new generation of Indian ecologists training in the United States, as did Madhav Gadgil with E. O. Wilson in Harvard in the late 1960s. Gadgil returned to India and created a world-class research program in theoretical ecology, informed by field research, from his base in Bangalore's Indian Institute of Science.

Moving into the 1970s and 1980s, Lewis considers why the Indian government selected conservation strategies that emphasized large parks and reserves. He gives short shrift to ecosystem ecology as it developed through the work of the Odums and Herbert Bormann and does not discuss the political-economic factors shaping the policies of the Indian government. But Lewis does discuss in detail the emergence of conservation biology from island biogeography, and the role of Wilson and Jared Diamond, among others, in promoting the idea that bigger reserves were more likely to preserve greater biodiversity. In dealing with this more recent history, the second half of the book moves out of the archives. It relies more on interviews with major figures in ecological research in the United States and India and benefits from Lewis's travels with Indian researchers to field sites all over India. He also spent time in the Wildlife Institute of India, studying research and training programs there since 1985. These ethnographic touches add a fine-grained element to analysis of organizational alignments, historical contingencies, and personal aspirations that shape the trajectories of researchers and the fate of projects in which ecological expertise about Indian wildlife is built.

The odd misspelling of Indian names (Karanath for Karanth, Maratha for Maharashtra), and the occasional sociological inaccuracy when referring to caste practices, reveal that Lewis has a shaky grasp of some of the intricacies of Indian history and terms. But these minor errors do not take away from a fine book with an important argument and a balanced, carefully researched perspective on the shaping of a key scientific field: biodiversity research. A more serious complaint may be that Lewis pays less attention to the ideas and aspirations of the key bureaucrats who shape conservation policy in India after the 1980s. He never really tells the reader how cultural imperialism and globalization are different and why these are important categories for thinking about the science and politics of conservation in India. Despite these quibbles, however, I recommend this book highly to readers in environmental history, history of science, intellectual history, and the history of India. It will be a valuable

text for graduate and undergraduate courses in interdisciplinary environmental studies.

K. SIVARAMAKRISHNAN
University of Washington

OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

A. DIRK MOSES, editor. *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History*. (Studies on War and Genocide, number 6.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2004. Pp. xiv, 325. \$40.00.

The destruction of the way of life of the Aboriginal peoples of Tasmania is often cited as a "classical" case of genocide. Thus in a 1995 article in the *New York Review of Books*, Bernard Bailyn stated that in Tasmania there was a "goal of extermination" and that Australian "ranchers" treated remnant indigenous populations "like vermin." In 1998, D. C. Watt described the Tasmania experience as one of the two greatest pre-twentieth-century examples of state-directed genocide.

The history of Tasmania, indeed of the Australian colonies, is, however, more complex than is acknowledged by scholars with little detailed knowledge of Australian history. The most highly credentialed contributor to this volume is Henry Reynolds, one of the pioneers of the new wave of research that transformed historical understanding from the 1970s. Reynolds observes that most international commentators "appear to be unaware" that in the critical period of conflict in Tasmania, the second half of the 1820s, the colony "was immersed in fierce guerrilla warfare." The depiction of the small population of Tasmanian Aborigines "as helpless but pathetic victims" is "entirely patronizing." Rather than a simple policy of extermination, the government was involved in a form of limited warfare to stabilize outlying regions. Reynolds concludes that "many settlers undoubtedly were extirpationists at heart, but it is not clear if this was true of the officials and military officers" (pp. 146–47).

If this collection does nothing else than draw attention to the complexity of the Australian experience, then it has perhaps merited publication for an international market. Commissioned and edited by A. Dirk Moses, a specialist in German intellectual history and the comparative study of genocide, the book includes twelve chapters and an epilogue. It is the second Australian collection in the last four years to interrogate the genocide concept, following the 2001 special edition of the journal *Aboriginal History*.

The collection of essays is grouped in three categories: conceptual and historical determinants; frontier violence, with particular focus on the nineteenth century; and the policy of removal of Aboriginal children, concerned primarily with the twentieth century. One odd feature is the inclusion of two chapters dealing with aspects of Nazi policy, the "colonisation" of the east, and the policy of child removal. These chapters

were included at the suggestion of the series editor, Omer Bartov, "because of the enduring and massive presence of the Holocaust in debates on genocide in Australia and elsewhere" (p. xiii). Moses comments that it has been left to readers to "judge for themselves how relevant these cases are for Australia" (p. xiii)—a strange observation when the Australian contributors themselves conspicuously fail to engage with the German material.

With regard to the process of dispossession of Aboriginal populations, there is agreement that the harshest policies were implemented in the colony of Queensland, not Tasmania. Indeed, Raymond Evans argues that Queensland not only presents "the most troublesome frontier story" (p. 160), but its frontier "was arguably one of the most violent places on earth during the global spread of Western capitalism in the nineteenth century" (p. 167). While five chapters deal with frontier conflict, there is little attention to a major theme in the studies of the last two decades: cooperation and conciliation between Aborigines and Europeans. Missing are the views of leading historians, including D. J. Mulvaney, R. H. W. Reece, Ann McGrath, Richard Broome, and Bain Attwood. (A more nuanced discussion of the spectrum of relations embracing both conflict and accommodation is well represented in the 2003 collection, *Frontier Conflict: The Australian Experience*, edited by Attwood and S. G. Foster.) In Moses's collection, the balance is particularly toward conflict; further, some of the contributors give insufficient attention to the need to exercise caution in the handling of tenuous historical evidence.

The book's second major concern is an examination of the forced removal of children. This subject has provoked much controversy in Australia over the last decade, given prominence by assessments made in the 1997 report of the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, *Bringing Them Home*. Pamela Watson, in her study of the history of the Karuwal people of southern Queensland, mirrors *Bringing Them Home* in the application of the United Nations' definition of genocide, with reference to the transfer of children and earlier times. It is a perspective shared by a number of contemporary Aboriginal writers. Thus Larissa Behrendt has observed that "the political posturing and semantic debates do nothing to dispel the feeling Indigenous people have that [genocide] . . . is the word that adequately describes our experience as colonised peoples" (p. 17). In contrast, Robert Manne, one of Australia's leading public intellectuals, much involved in media debate over child removal policies, here presents the fruits of extensive research from which he concludes that in the treatment of Aboriginal children, particularly in the 1930s, "genocidal thoughts" are in evidence, but no more. The authorities who advocated a genocidal policy "neither possessed even remotely the financial resources, the bureaucratic machinery or, in the vast regions they administered, the kind of social control in depth that they needed if their schemes were to have any prospect

of success . . . 'Genocidal thoughts' and 'genocidal plans' are more adequate descriptors of what they were implicated in than 'genocidal crimes'" (p. 238). Russell McGregor, concerned with post-1945 Aboriginal assimilation policies, also argues against the applicability of the genocide concept. In his assessment, postwar policies were a form of "sociocultural assimilation . . . the first in more than a century to seriously envisage Aboriginal survival" (p. 290). McGregor regards *Bringing Them Home* as seriously flawed.

This book highlights the inherent weakness of collections of essays when there is minimal integration and dialogue among the contributors. This weakness is accentuated in a publication directed at a nonspecialist, international market. In this collection, there are several competing overviews, a degree of repetition that attempts to review the historiography without a comprehensive overview of one of the richer fields of Australian scholarly endeavor. For the nonspecialist reader, the detailed case studies can do as much to confuse as to enlighten. There are embarkations on many journeys, but no consolidated conclusion, not even an index or bibliographic listing of major works.

Moses attempts to advance understanding of the concept of genocide and its applicability to the Australian experience. His introduction is particularly valuable for his wide reading and detailed referencing. But his analysis is informed by a somewhat naïve belief in the prospect of resolution of conceptual differences through rigorous consideration of their constituent elements. Closer to reality is an understanding that recognizes that, rather than one conceptual approach that will win adherence across the ideological spectrum, there are several tenable positions. At the broadest level, the logic of colonialism may be understood as inherently genocidal in that it necessitated the destruction of ways of life, of civilizations. But a broad concept of genocide can be a blunt instrument. When historians scrutinize actions and intent, significant differences become evident within the one polity, even more so between colonies and nations. For those with interest in the specificity of history there is much promise in comparative studies of New World colonialism to highlight and to further understanding of the distinctive in historical experience.

ANDREW MARKUS
Monash University

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

RICHARD W. VAUDRY. *Anglicans and the Atlantic World: High Churchmen, Evangelicals, and the Quebec Connection*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, Series Two, number 25.) Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 315. \$60.00.

Historical study of religion in Canada has flourished over the past quarter-century, driven by a series of excellent scholarly monographs devoted to Protestant

evangelicalism and Roman Catholicism. However, Anglicanism has remained a relatively underdeveloped current within this new historiographic trajectory. Scholars of Canada's religious past have been reluctant to critically approach the study of Anglicanism for two major reasons. First, existing major treatments of Anglicanism have ineluctably identified it with a "failed" British attempt to transplant a church establishment that underpinned a system of aristocratic, conservative values to its North American colonies following the American Revolution. There is an implicit tendency to view Anglicanism as a major part of an obsolete social order doomed to destruction in the face of the "natural" democracy and religious voluntarism characteristic of the Canadian social environment. Second, the very existence of an institution whose identity was so emphatically "British" offends the nationalist proclivities of most Canadian religious historians, whose attention is fixed on those churches whose anticolonial or "North American" tendencies energized nation-building, both in English Canada and Quebec. At best, within the Canadian religious narrative, the colonial Church of England functions as a convenient foil to the inevitable triumph of religious pluralism, voluntarism, and political democracy.

Richard W. Vaudry's book departs from these hoary scholarly stereotypes. Based on an intensive study of the Diocese of Quebec from the 1790s to the 1860s, framed by the episcopates of Jacob Mountain (1791–1825) and his son George (1837–1863), the book anchors the colonial church within the complex intellectual and cultural developments that occurred in the Atlantic religious world following the American Revolution. Perhaps the most refreshing aspect of this work is its departure from the usual practice of casting Anglicanism as but the religious expression of political conservatism. Indeed, Vaudry makes a persuasive case for seeing transformations in the cultural and religious landscape, and more directly, within the Anglican polity itself, rather than in the political sphere, as determinant of the direction of the colonial church. The author's downplaying of the religio-political element leads to a further alteration in historiographic direction: in contrast to previous studies, this book eschews the older notion that prior to disestablishment in the 1850s, the church was a monolith whose identity was inflexibly dictated by leading individuals like John Strachan or Jacob and George Mountain. Although bishops like the Mountains adhered to a moderate high churchmanship that sought to navigate between the extremes of the ritualism of the Oxford Movement and a rising tide of evangelicalism, the history of colonial Anglicanism, according to Vaudry, was marked by fracturing and fragmentation—both ethnic and theological—rather than unity around conservative principles.

One of the major strengths of this book lies in its elucidation of a complex series of "networks" that both tied the colonial church to its British metropolis and divided and factionalized Anglicanism in Quebec.

Vaudry is particularly acute in his analysis of the intellectual and theological basis of the dominant strand of moderate high churchmanship that characterized the Diocese of Quebec throughout this period, and the nature of the evangelical challenge to the leadership of the Mountains. Lacking control of the episcopal office and powerful church societies such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which recruited a significant proportion of the colonial clergy, Anglican evangelicals were particularly energetic in activating counter-networks based on a vibrant transatlantic print culture and local groups of laity, led by men like Jeffrey Hale, who sought to impose constitutional limits on the power of local bishops. Vaudry's telling of the story of the synodical controversy of 1857–1859, the first overt clash between high church and evangelical groups, is particularly illuminating in terms of both ecclesiastical politics and the grasp of the theological and personal issues that divided the two camps.

In short, Vaudry's work poses a number of challenges to Canadian religious historians. There is an urgent need to question the predominance of the nation-building paradigm within the historiography, as well as to reassess what was once posited as a monolithic "British" identity as a series of overlapping, fragmentary, and frequently conflictual allegiances. Finally, because Anglicanism's cultural authority rested on both print culture and ritual, it provides an effective prism through which to move beyond denominational history to explore the parallel trajectories of Protestantism and Catholicism.

MICHAEL GAUVREAU
McMaster University

RICHARD HARRIS. *Creeping Conformity: How Canada Became Suburban, 1900–1960*. (Themes in Canadian History, number 7.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2004. Pp. x, 204. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

Caught as I am here between past and present, between history and social science, and between town planning and urban studies, I read this well-written and enjoyable little book with mixed emotions. In part, it was with the pride that comes to someone who recognizes a story about his own experience mixed with the dread that one's experiences are now indeed the stuff of history. In part, it is the comfort that comes to a scholar listening to a familiar story told by an accomplished storyteller mixed with a scholar's skepticism that is only heightened the better the story is told. In part, it is an exasperation with the conventional wisdom and platitudes that too often plague the practice of town planning combined with the uneasy balance in the social sciences between model simplification that allows testable hypotheses and the rich and nuanced accounts that too often do not.

Richard Harris is a well-known historical geographer with interests in social issues and social geogra-

phy and a string of lively and interesting books to his credit. This latest book will leave no one disappointed. At one level, it is an account of the making of the Canadian suburb divided into three periods: an early automobile period that stretches from 1900 to 1929; a hiatus period from 1930 to 1944, during which much new housing policy arose in response to the Great Depression and, later, the need for wartime housing; and a final period from 1945 to 1960 when automobiles had become prevalent. The book describes suburbanization and housing during each of these periods. At another level, the book is a travelogue that revisits classic examples of Canadian suburban design: the early planned suburbs of Uplands in Victoria, Shaughnessy Heights of Vancouver, and Coldbrook Garden City in Saint John, the 1920s grid streets in East Toronto and Edmonton, the curvilinear streets of postwar suburban Lethbridge, Hamilton, and Calgary, and the Park Royal shopping center in West Vancouver.

As its title suggests, this book asks whether increased suburbanization in Canada has meant greater conformity. At first glance, this would seem trivially obvious from at least a couple of viewpoints. After all, much of the population growth in Canada, particularly after 1945, was concentrated in the corporate suburbs that sprang up around the major metropolitan areas. For more and more Canadians, the view from their front door was becoming standardized: homes around them like their own, a standard infrastructure in terms of sidewalks, paved streets, street lighting, and storm sewers, neighbors who looked like themselves, with schools, parks, local shopping, and places of worship not far away. The view inside the home arguably also became increasingly similar: standardized ceiling heights, a window in every principal room, bedrooms and bathrooms off hallways, a closet in every bedroom, standardized heights for kitchen counters, and an attached garage. In these respects, there has been a creeping conformity in residential environments and experiences. However, Harris is quick to point out that in fact there has been much diversity in residential developments: evidence that would seem to undercut the *creeping conformity* hypothesis. As I read this book I came to appreciate that, although Harris acknowledges such diversity among suburbs, he has a bigger fish to fry. As he concludes, "the deeper conformity of the postwar suburbs was the way that they mandated a high level of consumption, encouraging people to define themselves through what they purchased by acquiring debt" (p. 173).

The conclusion cited above is cast in a passive voice. As I like to say in such cases, it is not clear who is doing what, to whom, and why. Was there some conspiracy here to remake Canada as a debt society? If so, who were the conspirators; what were their motives; what tools did they use to accomplish this objective; how was resistance, if any, manifested? As far as I can see, these questions are not addressed in the book. If the author's intent was to advance a conspiracy argument,

the book would not be compelling. However, I see an alternative (behavioral) interpretation to the author's conformity hypothesis, which is that individuals and families drove themselves into debt in advancement of their own desires. In contrast to the conspiracy theory approach, the behavioral approach can be paraphrased as "I have seen the enemy and it is me." If this is indeed the author's intent, how does one make that argument compelling? One possibility is to think that, in the period from 1900 to 1960, something happened that allowed individuals to drive into debt in ways that had never before been possible. I would argue the importance of two long-term trends here. One was the commodification of labor, by which it was transformed from a cooperative to a paid activity; the consumer could then borrow against the future flow of money into the household. I would imagine that this commodification of labor was largely the result of off-farm migration in the early part of the twentieth century. The second trend is change in the financial system, by which consumers borrow to consume (or possibly to invest as well). In both Canada and America, since at least the Great Depression, federal governments have seen improving access to mortgage lending as important to reducing the costs of homeownership and spreading its benefits to a wider population. From 1945 to 1960 in particular, eased mortgage lending meant that many more households were now able to incur debt. Since 1960, there have been many other changes to financial markets, some induced by policy and some the result of globalization, that have further helped to convert what had been narrowly defined home finance into a broader notion of household finance.

If the author's approach is indeed behavioral, and if my analysis is correct, I think that Harris may be missing something important. The book's concern with creeping conformity in the period from 1900 to somewhere around 1945 might best be linked to the commodification of labor, while the period after 1945 might better be linked to changes in lending practices. Unfortunately, the book does not focus on either of those things. There are only brief discussions of changes in residential finance (pp. 10-11, 119-21, and 133-36). What we get instead, I think, are orderly and at times speculative musings on the outcomes of that process: the dwellings and communities designed, planned, and constructed. Harris does a nice job of this and we come away with a more comprehensive sense of how the suburbs formed. Perhaps this is the jumping off point for his next book. If so, I look forward to reading it.

JOHN R. MIRON
University of Toronto,
Scarborough

PAUL STARR. *The Creation of The Media: Political Origins of Modern Communications*. New York: Basic Books. 2004. Pp. xii, 484. \$27.50.

Paul Starr's book joins a rapidly growing body of new scholarship concerning the role of media, telecommunications, and information over the past four centuries. It examines the development and role of media in North America from the 1600s to 1941. While the author provides comparative discussions relating to the role of media in Great Britain, France, and Canada, the book focuses squarely on the American experience. Starr describes the development of newspapers, books, postal systems, telegraph, telephone, radio, and movies.

Starr argues that the rise of modern media cannot solely be explained by economic or technological developments. He demonstrates that political considerations were often of greater influence, ranging from constitutional provisions to protect freedom of expression and to encourage distribution of newspapers, to creation of a national postal system, to various controls placed on communications and electronic media and films. Starr claims that decisions made about the nature of media in an earlier time continued to influence subsequent patterns of development and use. Like so many other students of American media, however, the author acknowledges the unique path of evolution taken by the United States: "The origins of that path lie in the country's founding as a liberal republic and its response to the peculiar challenges of building a nation on a continental scale" (p. 2). He credits a myriad of political decisions made in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for giving American communications and media a commanding global leadership in the deployment and evolution of communications. These decisions were tied to the requirements of the new state, such as making it possible for newspapers to circulate in the nineteenth century to inform citizens and, late in the twentieth century, deployment of the Internet to facilitate creation of economic opportunities and access to information by the American public.

The book is organized in three parts. The first describes the opening of the public sphere and the development and expansion of early media in America, from 1600 to roughly 1860. This section covers such topics as the effects of the American Revolution, Constitution, post office, and the expansion of information available to Americans. The second reviews the development of technological networks from 1840 to 1930. It is here that Starr describes the emergence and evolution of the telegraph and telephone, and the political decisions that made it possible for these technologies to expand. The final section, covering the years 1865 to 1941, concentrates on the rise of mass media, struggles over First Amendment issues, emergence of movies, and how the American government dealt with radio.

Although the individual stories of how one type of media or communications emerged will not seem like news, by looking at the role of political decisions affecting media, Starr reminds us that technology and economics are not the sole arbitrators of media's

evolution. In addition to being a well-written book, with a solid command of the subject, this publication plays the useful role of putting media and communications into the larger context of major political and cultural developments of the nation. Finally, by providing comparative analyses of the parallel, yet different, paths taken largely by France and Great Britain in using the same media and technologies, he is able to highlight the effects of politics and culture. This book is based largely on secondary material. The end notes contain much additional discussion.

Starr has written an excellent overview of the emergence of American media and communications to the beginning of World War II. Combining the skills of a sociologist and the techniques of a historian, he makes a solid contribution to a growing body of scholarship devoted to the study of information in America.

JAMES W. CORTADA
IBM Corporation

JONATHAN LURIE. *Military Justice in America: The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Armed Forces, 1775–1980*. (Modern War Studies.) Rev. ed. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2001. Pp. xiii, 348. \$25.00.

Jonathan Lurie has prepared the seminal history of the development of the United States Court of Military Appeals for the Armed Forces. Pursuant to its constitutional power to "make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval forces," Congress created the Court in 1951 as a component of the consolidated Uniform Code of Military Justice (commonly referred to as the UCMJ). The intent was to create a civilian appellate mechanism to provide oversight and create harmony in the interpretation of military law across all of the branches of the armed forces. The court also serves as a counterbalance to the potential for the erosion of justice within the military as a result of command pressures. The creation of the Court of Appeals for the Armed Forces is the definitive indicator of Congressional desire (on behalf of the American people) to implement core values against the backdrop of civilian standards by molding the practices of American military judges and lawyers around the world rather than allowing an unchecked evolution of practice from the British Articles of War. The establishment of the court culminated the extension of judicial authority over the eclipsing power of unchecked command discretion.

Lurie's meticulous documentation of the history of the court is an invaluable resource for any serious student of our criminal justice system as it has developed within the military context. His portrayal is predicated on a broader view of the role of military courts within our constitutional republic. Congress created military courts-martial as an aspect of the President's Article I authority more than a decade before other federal courts were created, and as such they are properly seen as the first federal judicial power. Indeed, the potential for imposition of criminal

punishment is one of the backbones of military discipline and professionalism that is an essential aspect of the creation of a standing army. The necessary corollary, which Lurie documents with particularity, is that the military justice system must be flexible, adaptable, deployable, and suitable for the reinforcement of military culture. Military professionals serving the republic have developed a distinctive military culture and sense of discipline that is one of the hallmarks of the profession. However, if the application of military justice were ever allowed to degenerate into the raw pursuit of the commander's personal will, the military justice system would undermine the rule of law and betray American values.

Lurie uses the case law of the court to document the manner in which the court has attempted to balance this tension. One of the drawbacks for practicing military attorneys is that the case law described in the book is not as fully developed as one might hope. Nevertheless, Lurie does an admirable job of tracing the exercise of military discipline that has given the United States some of the most notable and historic trials in its history, including that of the Lincoln assassination conspirators and the Billy Mitchell court-martial. In addition, Lurie gives wonderful portrayals of the incidents in political and military life that have brought civilian oversight of the military into conflict with the military commander's perceived prerogatives. For example, the account of the military commissions held in Louisiana after the Civil War is riveting. The account of the Ansell-Crowder disputes over the proper role of the judge advocate in relation to congressional authority and the commander's function is the single best source for understanding this benchmark in the evolutionary path of military justice.

Since 1776, the fault line between the executive branch obligation to defend the American people and the normal criminal functions entrusted by the framers to the Article III federal courts has been an ongoing source of tension and dispute. Lurie's book very nearly disproves Walt Whitman's opinion that "the real war will never get into the books." The detailed historical record documented is enlivened and in large part explained by insightful glimpses of the human conflicts that so often shape the arc of history. These conflicts—between judge advocates and commanders, judges and lawyers, commentators and Congress—have been the real driving force behind the progressive development of a distinctly American brand of military justice. No other federal appellate bench has functioned both in the shadow of the Pentagon's forceful personalities and under the watchful eyes of the congressional oversight committees. This work documents the creation, operation, and maturation of the Court of Appeals for the Armed Forces in a way that provides an essential framework for anyone who desires to understand the modern military justice mechanism.

MICHAEL A. NEWTON
United States Military Academy

VIRGINIA DEJOHN ANDERSON. *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 322. \$37.50.

The story of European imperialism in the Americas has been analyzed politically, economically, and religiously, but ecologically only in recent decades. It turns out that the invaders were successful not so much because they were monarchists or capitalists or Catholics or Protestants but because they were transmitters, sometimes unconsciously, of certain kinds of organisms. Virginia DeJohn Anderson's book is a bushel basket of examples, along with informed analyses of the examples.

Her analyses are based on careful readings of the early histories of the English colonies in New England and the Chesapeake Bay region. These were scenes in the seventeenth century of the arrival of not one set of colonists, she says, but of two, the English and their livestock. Omission of the second makes understanding of the relations between the first and the incumbent humans, the Native Americans or Indians, impossible.

The English, who had lived with domesticated animals for millennia, looked upon them as an essential ingredient of and a signification of Christian civilization. Fully qualified human beings, the newcomers thought, had many kinds of servant animals: cattle, swine, horses, sheep, goats. The Indians of the North American Atlantic coast had only one, the dog. The Europeans initially thought that the Indians could learn to live like proper Englishmen if they adopted European animals, especially the slow and unhysterical cow. The Indians took a long time even to comprehend and accept the concept of domestication, much less to become herdsmen, which caused trouble from the start. Kill a deer for food and everyone is happy. Kill a cow and criminal accusations will follow.

Domesticated animals became not a means of reconciling the indigenes and invaders but a cause of conflict and even of war. The problem was that the English could not live up to their own standards as masters of the barnyard and meadow. There were not enough of the colonists to do so. They let their animals wander and find sustenance in the forests while they themselves cultivated their food crops, raised tobacco and other things for export, and in general established themselves as farmers. In Virginia the English cultivators needed five to ten acres of woods for their cattle to graze in and for their pigs to root in, for every acre planted in tobacco.

North and south, the livestock roved into the interior, many becoming feral and often encroaching on Indian cultivated fields. Livestock became the avant-garde of European settlement. When and where the Indians did adopt livestock, these animals in turn encroached on English fields, and the immigrant farmers blamed the indigenous people. The friction stemming from the literally thousands of disagreements

associated with domesticated animals boiled up into two of the worst conflicts in American colonial history in the 1670s, King Phillip's War in New England and Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia.

Anderson's book is necessary reading for anyone who wants to understand colonial history. She has, in my estimation, read all the relevant original sources, assessed them wisely, and written her opinions in clear and sometimes eloquent prose. The only point on which I would disagree with her is her identification of the 1616 epidemic on the New England coast as smallpox. We can be sure that it was not that because the few Europeans on the scene, who would have been very familiar with the disease, did not recognize it as such. Furthermore, when smallpox did arrive less than a generation later, it does not seem to have spared the older Indians, most all of whom would have been immunized by exposure to the infection *circa* 1616.

But that is a minor point in a book not on epidemiology but on livestock. I recommend this book to all students of American colonial history and especially to those focusing on the sad tale of the relationship of the original with the new settlers.

ALFRED W. CROSBY,
Emeritus
University of Texas, Austin

APRIL LEE HATFIELD. *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. 312. \$39.95.

April Lee Hatfield was intrigued by a simple question: if Peter H. Wood (*Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* [1974]) found that Barbados played a fundamental role in bringing slavery to South Carolina, then why did Edmund S. Morgan (*American Slavery American Freedom* [1975]) not find any substantial external influence in the development of Virginia slavery? Their contrasting interpretations "first made me ask whether intercolonial influences might have shaped Virginia's history, as they did South Carolina's" (p. 230, n. 6). Hatfield answers that Virginia slavery had substantial Barbadian influence. She contends that historians, following Morgan's lead, have overdetermined Bacon's Rebellion, a "local" event, as the causal factor in the formation of racism and slavery in Virginia. Rather slavery and racism developed within the milieu of an intercolonial discourse, especially between Barbados and Virginia. European colonies did not develop in isolation of one another but were part of an ever-changing, widening web of trade and travel in the Atlantic basin. The development of both servitude and slavery in Virginia and Barbados was a departure from English labor relations and "uniquely American" (p. 139).

Hatfield's study is grounded in geographies, "plural," she says, because "there was no one way of understanding the Chesapeake geographically during the seventeenth century" (p. 8). Sea routes, Indian

paths, riverside plantations, soil quality, and political and cultural boundaries all helped to shape Virginia. Farms and plantations hugged the peninsular coastline in the seventeenth century. As producers for export, planters generally were tied directly to the Atlantic world. Mariners moved in and out of Chesapeake, docking at planters' wharves and bringing news from other ports of call. Skirting cultural boundaries, non-conformist missionaries preached to coreligious and traveled time-worn paths to proselytize to Indians. Fugitives traveled these same roads.

At first seventeenth-century Europeans conceived of Virginia as an island surrounded by its estuaries and a sea of Indians. By the last quarter of the century, they began to think of Virginia as part of a continent menaced by hostile Indians. English people's first imaginings of America came from reading Spanish accounts of their own interactions with Indians. The English quickly learned that they had to contend with the Powhatans, who were unlike the Indians that they had read about. They were dependent upon their knowledge of the terrain. They soon coveted Powhatan territory for its farms, which they usurped by mid-century. Nevertheless, the Indians' continental grasp was such that the English conceived of Virginia as an island.

By the end of the century the English began to think of their colonies as a strand of contiguous settlements. This development, too, was reactive to the Indians. With the demise of the coastal Algonquians, including the Powhatans, settlers moved into the piedmont. Without the buffer of the Algonquians the colonists felt the threat of the Iroquois, whose Great War Path ran from Iroquoia through Virginia to the Gulf of Mexico. Frightened that the Iroquois might align themselves with the French, intercolonial elites strategically began to think of themselves continentally for security. Fear of the Indians moved them to develop the Covenant Chain, which tied together the colonies from Maine to Virginia. The English continental elites began to separate themselves from identifying with the colonial Caribbean.

Perhaps Hatfield's most important insight is the regional distinctions that she finds. She contends that the fertile soils of middle peninsula and peninsula allowed for the growth of the highly prized, sweet-scented tobacco. The colonists there maintained the best market for their tobacco and a direct transatlantic trade with England. London's Virginia could count on a steady supply of servants and a market for sweet-scented tobacco. The southside and the eastern shore had less fertile soils and sported Orinoco tobacco. They could only sell their tobacco in the intercolonial market. They developed a more diversified economy and ancillary trades for these markets, including grains, naval stores, livestock (cattle and hogs), and meats, finding buyers in Barbados and other Caribbean markets. The eastern shore settlers, too, developed ancillary trades in livestock and grain. Their markets were New Netherlands and New England. What

emerges from this intercolonial movement of people, ideas, and goods is a "complex but patterned web" (p. 42).

Hatfield offers this book as an example of how to approach colonial history. Historians would be wise to study it carefully.

ANTHONY S. PARENT JR.
Wake Forest University

JAMES A. SANDOS. *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions*. (Western Americana Series.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xix, 251. \$35.00.

In the wake of the controversy over the possible canonization of Junipero Serra, the Franciscan responsible for the founding of the first nine California missions, James A. Sandos reassesses the missionization of California Indians. Refusing to take either a "Christophilic Triumphalist" or a "Christophobic Nihilist" position, as he describes the pro-Franciscan and anti-Franciscan divisions that have marked scholarship over the last century, Sandos suggests a third alternative. He claims that "Indians and Franciscans *together* created mission culture" (p. 184), making irrelevant the question of who were the heroes and villains. Employing what he calls a "theohistoric" method of inquiry, along with ethnohistory, Sandos focuses attention on conversion in an effort to "put Gods, both Indian and Christian, at the core of this fundamentally religious struggle" (p. xviii). To that end, he traces the history of the Franciscan mission attempt to "transform Indians into new Catholic-Spanish people" (p. xviii) while also probing the competing Indian responses.

Much of the narrative revolves around the person and work of Serra, the "first father president" of the mission system and the one who most influenced their shape from 1769 to 1784. Sandos paints the picture of a man of extreme piety who embraced a waning medieval worldview where religion triumphed over the secular, in an era of growing Enlightenment thinking that venerated the secular and sought to free it from the confines of the religious. Furthermore, Serra demanded of his fellow missionaries the strict disciplines of celibacy, hair shirts, and self-flagellation that he practiced, despite the church's movement away from such asceticism. Inspired by the piety of Franciscan founder Francis of Assisi, the Marian devotion of the theologian John Duns Scotus, and the mystical life of Maria de Agreda, Serra believed that he was uniquely commissioned and equipped by God to struggle against Satan for the very souls—and lives—of the California Indians. He fought against church officials, military personnel, and wayward missionaries to instill his utopian missionary vision with all the fiery passion and devotion of the zealot. He remained, nonetheless, an outsider among his Spanish cohorts, who envisioned Indian laborers free of church control. Ultimately, Serra not only failed to realize his dream of

converting many of the California Indians to Christianity, but he was complicit in the near destruction of the very ones he came to save by his refusal to see them as other than children in need of protective oversight and discipline.

Since Franciscans equated conversion with baptism, once baptized, the missionaries assumed moral and material responsibility for the new "converts" to such an extent that they were cautioned to baptize no more than they could clothe and feed at the mission. "Spiritual debt peonage" was less exacting than the labor exacted by the military (p. 178), but Indian failure to live up to Franciscan standards of behavior and expel all Native beliefs was labeled sin against God and summarily punished. The need to pursue frequent "run-aways" only served to reinforce Franciscan belief that the Indians were still children, even after years of service at the mission. California Indians, who did not share the same assumptions about baptism, found ways to subvert their Franciscan overseers, not only by running but also by slowing down the work, inscribing graffiti on church property, continuing their own religious practices covertly, and even carrying out major assaults on both priests and property. Perhaps only ten percent of the mission population, according to Sandos, bought into the Christianity the Franciscans offered, and these were the select few who could sing the songs that fueled the Mass. These became the mission elite whose musical abilities were crucial to celebrating the Mass and so gave them special status in the mission, as well as the means to make the faith more their own. These were the Natives who stayed, even when secularization of the missions allowed them to leave.

Sandos's final assessment of the California missions does not lend strong support to his thesis that the Indians and Franciscans shaped mission life together. Between 1770 and 1830, the death rate at the missions was seventy-four percent, while the overall death rate in California since contact was twenty-one percent (p. 179). This is only mitigated somewhat by his note that the death rate of the 125 Spanish Franciscan missionaries at this time was nearly fifty percent (p. 12) and in the twelve years following the gold rush of 1848 the Indian population declined another eighty percent (p. 183) when gold seekers and settlers waged all-out war on Indians. Despite these statistics, Sandos does provide a provocative and more balanced look at California Indian missionization. He refuses to sanctify or vilify the main characters, Franciscan or Indian, allowing that they operated under opposing worldviews but without ill intent. It seems evident, however, that the bulk of the power lay in the hands of the Franciscans. If Indians had had the power of becoming priests themselves, the story may have ended more favorably for all.

BONNIE SUE LEWIS
University of Dubuque Theological Seminary

KRISTINA BROSS. *Dry Bones and Indian Sermons: Praying Indians in Colonial America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 257. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$21.95.

In this crisply written literary analysis, Kristina Bross sheds new light on the "Eliot tracts" published between the 1640s and 1670s by missionary John Eliot and his supporters to publicize their evangelism of New England Indians. Scholars have taken divergent approaches to these seminal writings, treating them variously as crass propaganda, transparent statements of fact, or jousts between colonists' hegemonic aspirations and Indians' camouflaged resistance. Bross sees the Eliot tracts as all these things and more. Colonists, Englishmen, and Natives jointly produced mission literature by manipulating the idea of the "praying" (or Christian) Indian in response to an emerging Atlantic world.

Bross identifies two watersheds in the Eliot tracts' development: the English civil wars of the 1640s, and King Philip's War of 1675–1676. Her treatment of the first divide is especially original and important. During the 1630s, New England colonists not only ignored their earlier pledge to Christianize Indians but celebrated Natives' devastation by epidemics as God's encouragement for a Puritan Israel in America. Yet when the English civil wars shifted the Puritan frontline from New England to old, Massachusetts elites suddenly rediscovered their commitment to the Indians. Conspicuously, Eliot waited until the mid 1640s to launch his missionary work, but thereafter he and other colonial Puritan leaders trumpeted it as essential to the expansion of Christ's kingdom and the English Atlantic empire. Eliot compared his role among the Natives to the biblical prophet Ezekiel using God's breath to resurrect dry bones. In Bross's telling, the mission restored New England's lifeblood, too.

Bross submits that Eliot's mission accounts became sites of transatlantic politics and colonial encounter. Colonists used the writings to define themselves at home and abroad, critique England, solicit funds, lobby parliament, and rebut charges (stemming from the Antinomian affair) that they could not contain heresy. London's Puritan elites, the tracts' main audience, cited praying Indians in debates about the Natives' descent from ancient Jews and the possibility of their conversion ushering in the millennium. Christian Indians shaped the tracts by forcing Eliot to address their cultural priorities, theological concerns, and their continued exploitation at colonial hands. Bross echoes other scholars in attributing the end of this exchange to the rise of colonial Indian hating during and after King Philip's War. Yet she adds a new twist to this theme by suggesting that captivity narratives, with their casting of Indians as Satan's wolves and colonists as God's flock, replaced missionary tracts as the main literature for depicting praying Indians and their relation to New England colonial identity.

Bross's study would have benefited from a more

comprehensive historiographical discussion, finer qualification of the mission's colonial support, and consideration of post-King Philip's War missionary publications. Bross never weighs her case for the influence of the English civil wars against Richard Cogley's argument that the Massachusetts Indians' 1644 "submission" to Boston inaugurated the mission by convincing leading Puritans that the Natives sought Christianity out of their own accord. Without such treatment, it is difficult to gauge whether events in America or England took precedence in the mission's beginnings. Readers are likely to question whether the Eliot tracts' message was widely shared, for although Bross acknowledges widespread skepticism toward Christian Indians even before King Philip's War, in the next breath she implies that colonists derived common purpose from the mission. Finally, Bross ignores the persistence of New England evangelical work and writings after King Philip's War, when the focus shifted to the longstanding, but previously under-publicized, missions in Plymouth, Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket. The Vineyard's Mayhew family authored missionary tracts well into the eighteenth century. Considering these works might have forced Bross to modify her argument for the impact of King Philip's War, if only somewhat.

These shortcomings aside, Bross's book is essential reading for anyone interested in the Eliot tracts, for no other study places those writings in such a full transatlantic context. Moreover, this book is the strongest example to date that colonial New England cannot be understood in isolation from its Indian missions. Bross's work should restore life to the dry bones debate over New England identity by illustrating the potential for shared histories of colonists and the people they colonized.

DAVID J. SILVERMAN

George Washington University

THOMAS S. KIDD. *The Protestant Interest: New England after Puritanism*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 212. \$40.00.

Happily, the title of this short book by Thomas S. Kidd identifies its guiding concept, while the subtitle indicates the problem it addresses. The author's thesis is that "the political and military necessities after 1689, the sense of participating in an ongoing war for the fate of Christianity with Catholic foes, and the ways of print allowed elite New Englanders to imagine themselves part of an international Protestant community" (p. 2), which, when combined with the settlement of the Glorious Revolution, "provided the foundation upon which a post-Puritan New English dissenting establishment could be protected" (p. 3). Thus, the argument is explicitly linked to major themes in the New British History and fits well with recent perspectives on transatlantic history during the eighteenth century.

Kidd is obviously on the right track. Interpreting the

religious and intellectual history of provincial New England in isolation is clearly untenable. The approach here is essential. But the question remains whether the work is sufficient as either a description of New England's religious life or its Atlantic context. The argument is clear and the evidence apt, but the work is often repetitive, suggesting that it would have made a superb article rather than a decent book. Nonetheless, it remains worth careful reading.

After a solid introduction that well states the thesis, the book is organized into six thematic chapters in roughly chronological order covering the era, ca. 1689–1730. The first stresses Benjamin Colman's role as a transforming mediator between New England's reputed, but exaggerated, parochialism and a more ecumenical posture, aided by his "extensive British network of correspondence and friends, orthodox Calvinism, and latitudinarian ethos" (p. 29). Kidd also tellingly notes that Colman, especially after the Rising of 1715, overtly connected the fate of the Hanoverian Succession to "God's continuing project of reforming state and society" (p. 38). However, there is too little analysis of either the theology or the reforms he advocated within either New England or British contexts.

Chapters two and three, on the Catholic challenge to 1713 and print culture, tie important strands of recent historiography into the synthesis. Almanacs, for instance, reflected shifts in "national identity, international Protestantism, and popular scientific belief" (p. 75). The cycle of imperial wars engulfing Western Europe and the New England frontier certainly encouraged a common front among British Protestants and a conviction that "revivalism," or some form of renewal, was "the only hope for world Protestantism" (p. 71). The next chapter, on Father Rale's War (1722–1725), a devastating conflict in northern New England, is valuable in helping to explain why the zeal for militant international Protestantism did not flag among the region's clerical leadership after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. Another current historiographic concern, the role of narratives in forming social identities, is used well here.

An interesting ideological construction, "Imagining a High-Church Jacobite Threat," is the topic of the next chapter. In its course, a four-fold typology of British politico-religious opinion is offered: Dissenters of varying stripe, Whig and low-church Anglicans, Tory high churchmen, and British Catholics, few in number if one omits Ireland, as the author does. Again, this is useful but lacks nuance and requires more explication. In particular, the impact of Anglican moralism on New England thought needs sustained exploration.

Eschatology, centered on the 1727 earthquake and speculations about the conversion of the Jews, is the topic of the last chapter, providing a good contextual foretaste for the Great Awakening (which, of course, remains outside the parameters of this book). The epilogue, after mentioning "a transatlantic concert of

prayer" in 1747, notes the use of "the latest techniques of mass communication media" (p. 173) as a perennial trait of Protestant evangelicalism. The author wisely reiterates doubts that modernity necessarily entails secularism.

In connecting multiple historiographic themes, this book provides a good outline for considering an important problem. However, it omits too many factors to be a satisfactory answer. For instance, New England's leading clerics were, as Francis Bremer, Charles Cohen, and Stephen Foster abundantly demonstrated, international Calvinists from the founding, and Colman was hardly their first influential transatlantic figure. That seventeenth-century tradition and its transformations were crucial to later participation in the evolving British Empire. Another understated factor was the moderate Enlightenment, including social reform movements and Augustan literary and theological genres, which did not so much challenge as confirm the New England elite's role in helping to shape a transatlantic British identity. Clearly, however, this book is a valuable contribution to resolving the puzzle over New England's religious culture after 1689.

RICHARD P. GILDRIE
Austin Peay State University

RICHARD R. BEEMAN. *The Varieties of Political Experience in Eighteenth-Century America*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 366. \$39.95.

In this work, Richard R. Beeman, one of the most respected scholars of colonial American politics, provides a synthesis of recent scholarship dealing with political behavior in eighteenth-century America. His intent is to provide a sharper understanding of the emergence of democracy in the American colonies. He does not intend to analyze the evolution of ideas about democracy; rather, he wishes to study the political behavior that lay behind the development of those ideas. The principal theme that ties his material together is the belief that there was no single American political culture. Instead, Beeman sees "numerous, diverse political cultures, diffuse and fragmented, often speaking altogether different political languages" (p. 2). Further, he admits that his thinking regarding eighteenth-century politics has been shaped by those scholars working within the republican paradigm. For Beeman, though, republicanism exists as a starting point for testing, rather than endorsing the "power and efficacy of republican rhetoric in shaping the reality of eighteenth-century American political behavior" (p. 4).

Beeman structures his study around an analysis of the manner in which the few governed the many within a republican context. That is, how successful were the few in convincing the many that they were a virtuous, disinterested group serving only the public good? To answer this question he devotes individual chapters to

Virginia, Massachusetts, the manor lords of upstate New York, the merchant planters of South Carolina, the southern backcountry (Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina), the northern frontier (Maine), Pennsylvania, and northeastern cities (Philadelphia, Boston, New York). Within each of these areas, he focuses on men he considers to be representative individuals and relates their stories in such a way as to reveal the larger issues facing the areas in which they resided.

For those conversant with eighteenth-century American political development, Beeman tells a familiar story. The ruling elite in Virginia struggled to maintain their status as disinterested and virtuous public servants in the face of increasing contradictions within their own ranks and a growing restiveness among evangelicals and other marginal groups within the colony. In Massachusetts the late colonial years witnessed the stripping away of whatever veneer of deference had remained among the populace. And yet, the state's new constitution revealed that the attachment to traditional republican values died hard. The manor lords of upstate New York, rendered by factionalism resulting from competing family groups, still managed to retain their oligarchic hold on the state, uneasy as that might have been. Only the merchant planters of South Carolina managed to remain "complacent oligarchs" throughout the entire era. A far more individualistic, egalitarian ethos began to emerge in the backcountry of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. While similar attitudes developed in Maine, that region's goal of independence would be reached within far more traditional conceptions of law, order, and property. Pennsylvania, with its proprietary elites, Quakers, Paxton Boys, and divergent ethnic groups, resulted in the most paradoxical combination of popular and oligarchic behavior in all the colonies. This also placed the colony in the forefront of a movement toward a more egalitarian, democratic future. It was the cities of the northeast, however, that formed the vanguard of the movement toward democratic pluralism.

In his concluding—and most original—chapter, Beeman maintains that no matter how diverse the political cultures of American politics, they were all moving in a similar direction: "toward a mode of political discourse and action that gave freer rein and greater legitimacy to those libertarian and popular impulses that would eventually be articulated in the Declaration of Independence" (p. 279). Even though American citizens moved unself-consciously toward some basic convergence of values and aspirations, their colonial pasts still played a large role in shaping their postrevolutionary politics. The character of those colonial politics either tempered or accelerated the essentially democratizing nature of the American Revolution. States like New York, South Carolina, Massachusetts, and Virginia—where the traditional leadership retained relatively secure control throughout the revolution—developed governments that were models of traditional republican values. It was Penn-

sylvania that would point the way most clearly to a democratic American future. Even in the keystone state, with its paradoxical relationship between democracy and oligarchy, this process was uneven and, like the larger American experience, would remain incomplete long into the nineteenth century.

Beeman has given us a beautifully written and clearly reasoned treatment of America's eighteenth-century political experiences. It is what he claims it to be: a synthesis of the best scholarly literature of the past several years. And yet, it is a synthesis that bears the unmistakable imprint of a master historian. In Beeman's hands, familiar material takes on new meaning and provides fresh insights into the eighteenth-century experiences of America's colonial past.

ROBERT E. SHALHOPE
University of Oklahoma

JOHN DEMOS. *Circles and Lines: The Shape of Life in Early America*. (The William E. Massey Sr. Lectures in the History of American Civilization.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 98. \$19.95.

The contrast between cyclical and linear conceptions of time and experience has long fascinated philosophers, scientists, and historians. In this slim volume, based on the 2002 William E. Massey, Sr. Lectures in American Civilization at Harvard University, John Demos casts the American Revolution as the crucial turning point in the triumph of "time's arrow" over "time's cycle."

Demos deftly depicts a seventeenth century in which the cyclical framed both consciousness and experience. So tightly bound were colonial Americans to nature's cycles, in which repetition and stasis were expected, that members of the first generations could not even reckon with their own break from tradition when they migrated across the Atlantic. "Circles" refers to the sun's daily movement, the monthly lunar cycle, and the annual change of seasons: cycles that largely determined the contours of daily experience as well as of the life cycle, as Demos demonstrates with fascinating figures depicting annual cycles related to weddings, conception, births, illness, and death (pp. 12–14). To be sure, colonial life was anything but predictable, what with eclipses, Indian raids, and epidemics. Demos suggests, however, that these events were read as disruptions of cycles rather than turning points, starting points, or, indeed, endings.

The second lecture suggests that during the eighteenth century, and especially through the period of the American Revolution, "changes in experience, changes in behavior, came first, while changes in mentality lagged behind" (p. 45). That is, everyday life itself began to unfold in linear rather than cyclical ways long before Americans gave voice to new ideas about contingency, agency, progress, and decline (all linear modes of thinking). To prove this contention, Demos calls for more research into the "inner life experience among average people who lived through the Revolu-

tionary era" (p. 52), neglecting to mention Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's *A Midwife's Tale* (1990) or Mechal Sobel's *Teach Me Dreams: The Search for Self in the Revolutionary Era* (2000). These are surely two of the most thoughtful studies of everyday experience and consciousness written in recent decades, although neither provides evidence of a shift from cyclical to linear time orientations.

It is clear, though, that building a new nation only heightened the preoccupation with newness, itself a linear mode of thinking. Americans tried to forge a "new language," a "new system of law," a new "climate of religious experience," and a "new Culture" (pp. 40–41). At the same time, technological innovations like the railroad and electricity enabled the mastery of nature and its cycles. In making a case for the American fascination with new beginnings, new selves, and new things, which clearly came to the fore after the revolution, Demos underplays the continuing importance of cycles in thought and daily life through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For instance, the centrality of Sunday in nineteenth-century practice and thought points to a world view in which the weekly recurrence of the first day was fundamental to personal, communal, and national well-being. As my study *Holy Day, Holiday: The American Sunday* (2000) shows, Sunday was at the heart of American temporal rhythms, which I see as one sign of the persistence of a cyclical orientation.

Nearly forty years ago the great English social historian E. P. Thompson proposed that in the 1820s and 1830s time discipline replaced task orientation. Demos errs in exactly the same way as did Thompson: in boldly seeking to mark out paradigms related to time consciousness, each forecloses the possibility of multiple temporal senses shaping perceptions of time, and by the same token, of life experience. Historians and sociologists have shown that task and time orientation coexist; historical evidence demonstrates that circles and lines define the lives of most peoples across space and time. To suggest otherwise is to engage in a similar nostalgia that made out the lives of peasants as free from time pressures.

But I do not think this is what Demos intended to do. His lectures muse on the shape of time in the first three centuries of American life as well as in his own life, as he acknowledges in closing. In doing so, Demos ranges widely, drawing on decades of work in colonial, social, and intellectual history. That he passes over much that would amplify his contentions, as well as much that would contradict them, does not diminish the value of this volume for students of history and of life itself.

ALEXIS MCCROSSEN
Southern Methodist University

MICHAEL KAMMEN. *A Time to Every Purpose: The Four Seasons in American Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. 336. \$39.95.

One of the great pleasures of Michael Kammen's new book are the forty-eight color plates of paintings, vases, prints, and other media representing seasons of the year. The richly reproduced works of art range from Roman mosaics and medieval tapestry to paintings by Jasper Cropsey, Marsden Hartley, Paul Cadmus, and Felix de la Concha and prints by Jennifer Bartlett and Will Barnet. Even before one starts reading, the sumptuous plates are an invitation to reflect on the theme and variations of seasons as they have been handled in different eras. This visual narrative is matched by a remarkable catalog of American writers who over the course of two centuries have written about seasons, both literally as observers of the natural world and figuratively as poets developing metaphors for the cycles of life and creativity. Kammen is at his most eloquent in appreciating the work of writers like Henry David Thoreau or Wallace Stevens, who integrate a powerful sense of the seasonality of nature with an equally profound sense of seasons in human life and work.

A second great pleasure of this book is observing the historian as collector. Occasionally in the text Kammen refers directly to his fifteen or more years seeking out visual and literary works that treat nature's annual cycle, and as is true of any passionate collector, he relishes sharing his discoveries with the reader. One is especially grateful for his introduction to contemporary artists, some of whom he interviewed in order to render their own aspirations in adopting the four seasons as serial motifs. Kammen has also gone into archives and to reviews to explore both artists' intentions and public receptions of works that he describes in thoughtful detail. He relies on commentators—a fulsome William Styron, a perversely terse Jasper Johns—to help him develop his own larger arguments about the changing meaning of the seasonal motif to Americans.

Kammen aims to take the measure of American cultural exceptionalism by looking closely at American artists' and writers' particular handling of what seems a universal—because natural—phenomenon of seasonal change, especially in temperate climates. He deftly surveys classical and Christian conventions of representing cycles of time and nature before highlighting the enormous influence of James Thomson's 1746 pastoral poem, "The Seasons," on three generations of American artists and writers, who first imitated Thomson and then used seasons to mark out a unique national geography, distinguished, for example, by the brilliant colors of a New England autumn. Still, Americans intent on mastering nature matched sentimental renderings of national landscapes in different seasons with close empirical investigation of local ecologies. Once Thoreau organized *Walden* as a scientific as well as moral record of the year's unfolding, American naturalists had the template for their rich and varied studies of seasonal change in all parts of the country, a template that Henry Beston, Hal Borland,

and Edwin Way Teale turned into an enduring popular genre in the twentieth century.

Kammen argues that seasons allowed Americans to express feelings not only about a unique and vast landscape but also about the passage of time and especially the transition from a rural to urban world. The classical motif of seasons had been linked to the labors of cultivation. In an industrial society, to invoke and often to domesticate seasonal rhythms, Kammen suggests, was to look backward to a prior cultural era. That impulse, which he variously calls nostalgic or antimodern, gained resonance as cities materially altered Americans' experience of nature and seasonal change. Not only are contemporary Americans insulated from the weather, they are far more likely to encounter seasons as cycles of holidays rather than of labor. Yet, even as consumer appropriations of holidays have reworked the modern calendar, consumer culture's sentimental depictions of seasons also feed the American impulse to turn to nature for relief from the excesses of a pecuniary civilization. Thus, Thoreau's legacy yielded the seasonal meditations of both Norman Rockwell and Aldo Leopold.

It is hard to keep the terms "nostalgic" and "anti-modern" historical; as analytic tools, they risk becoming as timeless as seasonal cycles themselves and thus lose some of their explanatory power for why American artists and writers have invested so much imaginative energy in contemplating the turns of the year. But Kammen takes a fresh and rewarding tack in the concluding chapters by exploring how recent artists and writers have closed down seasons as a retrospective theme and instead opened them up as a synchronic structure—what Jennifer Bartlett calls "symbolic serialism"—in order to express ideas about subjectivity, sexuality, and creativity. Probing contemporary artists' ambivalent relation to the tradition he has just documented, Kammen himself pays tribute to artists' and ordinary people's expression of nuanced, personal, and local attachments through their observations of the all-encompassing experience of changing seasons.

ELIZABETH BLACKMAR
Columbia University

CAROLINE COX. *A Proper Sense of Honor: Service and Sacrifice in George Washington's Army*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xxii, 338. \$37.50.

For the past thirty years, historians have paid considerable attention to the individuals who bore arms for the revolutionary cause. Who were they? Where did they come from? Why did they serve, and what happened to them? All of these questions have been central to broadening our understanding of the War for Independence from the vantage of those who actually fought it, and we now know a great deal more about these men and women than we did a generation ago. Caroline Cox's book continues in this vein but

adds a remarkable new layer of subtlety and detail to the subject.

Cox's new departure comes with her focus on the gulf between officers and rank and file, an aspect of the revolutionary military that she sees as fundamental to understanding early American social relationships and values generally. Her chapters tell the story, detailing the differences in social expectations of officers and men, in their training and living conditions, their punishments, medical treatment, circumstances as prisoners of war, and even funerary arrangements. In all cases, it was clear that patriots routinely saw common soldiers as representatives of the lower social strata from which many, if not most, had enlisted. Officers, by contrast, were military manifestations of the social betters they considered themselves as civilians; they were men with aspirations to gentility, and it was "civilian standards of gentlemanly honor" that the army relied on to "maintain the distinctions of rank under all circumstances" (p. 71). The revolution, as Gordon Wood and others have reminded us powerfully, offered fundamental challenges to many existing social norms; but the army was a relatively insular organization that prized discipline and hierarchy, and such challenges had little place.

Cox presents a convincing case in this regard. The harshest aspects of military discipline, for example—the lash and other frequently brutal physical ordeals—were reserved for enlisted men; gentlemen were rarely flogged as civilians, nor were they whipped or subjected to humiliating punishments as officers. Sick and wounded officers seldom endured the horrors of army hospitals, which many soldiers rightly saw as way stations to death. Rather, commissioned ranks usually had better access to doctors, medicines, and treatment in private homes. Captured officers might be paroled, but common soldiers usually languished in squalid and often fatal prisons. And distinctions in rank persisted even in death. Whenever possible, officers were buried with the honors of war, and even memorialized in some fashion. Personal effects frequently were sent home to families. But a common soldier was much more likely to end up in a common grave, often unmarked, and the lower ranks often had little or nothing to send home anyway—if they had a home. Of course such disparate social values existed in the civilian world as well; but in the army they were actually enforced by custom and even military law. The war may have been waged in the name of liberty and freedom, but hierarchy remained the norm. Indeed, Continental Army officers clearly saw themselves as entitled to the prerogatives of legally established authority and the traditional deference accorded eighteenth-century gentlemen.

As difficult as their lot was, the army's enlisted men generally accepted the recognized order. But as Cox explains, the regulars' forbearance stemmed from more than mere deference (although deference remained a significant element). Officers and men were united in a shared military mission, which all ranks

understood. Relationships between the ranks generally were harmonious as long as commissioned and enlisted personnel accorded a proper respect to one another's rank, no matter how inferior. Officers had their sense of honor, but so did the rank and file. Their ranks were subordinate, but they were an essential part of the army and knew it, and they took umbrage at needless insults that disparaged their value as good soldiers. In fact, disrespect on the part of the officers was one of the likeliest sources of grumbling or truculence in the ranks. That the army held together, according to Cox, was attributable in large measure to the fact the officers and men "knew their rank[s] and acted accordingly" (p. 71).

This is a very good book indeed. Cox's writing is concise and graceful throughout, her organization is admirably clear, and her argument is compelling. Moreover, she has a fine appreciation of the grim irony inherent in the disconnect between the popular myth of a yeoman soldiery and the harsher realities of the social status of the Continental Army regulars. The entire volume represents deep and convincing scholarship, matching genuinely exhaustive original research with a thorough command of the literature of the patriot armed forces. It is no stretch to call this book one of the most compelling and significant works on the revolutionary military to appear in the last decade.

MARK EDWARD LENDER
Kean University

ANDREW S. TREES. *The Founding Fathers and the Politics of Character*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004. Pp. xvi, 208. \$29.95.

Political life in the early American republic often looked more like a court without a king than the classical polities idealized by the founders. Instead of the eloquent Cicero or the incorruptible Cato, the new nation's capitol seemed to be populated by courtiers, poseurs, and political operators on par with the capitol of Europe. To the chagrin of the likes of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, by 1800, calumny and the odious spirit of party seemed to have overtaken classical virtue as the defining traits of national politics. In this elegantly composed study, Andrew S. Trees explores four founders' efforts to reconcile this new, contentious political world with their classical ideals. But, following the lead of Joanne Freeman, Trees looks neither to ideology nor to the myriad policy imbroglios of the era to illuminate this dissonant moment in American politics. Instead, he focuses on a single aspect of the founders' premodern system of values: namely the notion of character, by which Trees seems to mean the exterior display of merit. It was to character, Trees argues, that the idealistic founders looked for a way through the cruel, often personal politics of the 1790s.

For Jefferson, Trees suggests in his opening chapter, the chief indicator of character was friendship. It was

the ability to forge and maintain bonds of affection—above political disagreement—that distinguished the virtuous from the not virtuous. Focusing on a single letter to the unpredictable Elbridge Gerry, Trees deftly explores Jefferson's rhetorical strategies for mastering the gentlemanly protocols of friendship. In chapter two, we learn that for Alexander Hamilton, character revealed itself in the defense of one's personal honor, a point made plain in his published response to accusations that he abused his privileges as secretary of the treasury. For Adams, the subject of Trees's third chapter, good character came from a distinct form of virtue, expressed poignantly in his personal diary, as a quest for faultless sincerity and candor, whatever the political cost. And, finally, for James Madison, it was ultimately justice and the peoples' determination to uphold a just constitution that would reflect fundamental character. Madison makes his case for this particular aspect of character most explicitly, Trees believes, in *Federalist* 37.

Trees links these four portraits with several subordinate arguments, some of which are better developed than others. On the point that these varying notions of character reflected their advocates' varying conceptions of American national identity, Trees is fairly convincing. Citing David Waldstreicher, among others, he notes the common use of physiognomic and psychological metaphors to characterize the body politic. A nation of friends would thus be akin to a giant affectionate family; a nation of honorable men would be a nation united by the passionate determination to defend itself, whatever the individual price; a sincere republic would be harmonious, since there would be no way for politicians to conceal interests that deviated from the peoples' interests; and a nation defined by a just constitution would cohere and flourish precisely because law, rather than the petty habits of mortals, would be the foundation of government.

Some might wonder just how far these conceptual distinctions advance our understanding of the post-revolutionary settlement. Trees does, at points, mention a new American "public," but in this study it exists more as specter than political or social fact, much as it did with the older ideological school. Similarly, Trees has much to say about how the founders' varying ideas of character influenced their vision for the nation's future. But he skirts the matter of exactly how, if at all, these ideas shaped the institutions of government. In his discussion of Adams, for instance, he reminds us that Adams saw in the very un-republican popular appetite for arbitrary social rank a means of harnessing the latent good will of the people. But he offers very little about how, if all, such thinking played itself out in the emergence of, say, a new American navy.

Trees's least well-developed theme centers on the familiar notion that, in the eighteenth century, writing was usually as much a public political performance as a personal act. Trees cites several students of early American literature, including Thomas Gustafson and Robert Ferguson, on this point. But his own contribu-

tion here is not clear. We know that writing—even allegedly private writing—was never really private in the eighteenth century, especially for that aspiring, reputation-obsessed class from which the founders came. Trees is aware of this but he says little about how, if at all, this actually shaped what was written. In a world where anything committed to paper could and often did end up in the hands of political enemies or social competitors to devastating effect, the written word took on the awesome weight of an entire reputation. If, as Trees insists, any full understanding of what the founders said depends partly on a better understanding of the media in which they said it, one would expect more about precisely what it meant to produce a personal letter, a personal defense pamphlet, a personal diary, or an anonymous newspaper essay—the four forms on which Trees focuses. All of these forms—very different in their production and use—presumably had both conscious and unconscious effects on their users, yet Trees says very little about this. The omission makes it difficult for him to disguise the fact that he is more interested in the founders themselves than their fraught and often wayward writings.

EDWARD G. GRAY
Florida State University

TIM MATTHEWSON. *A Proslavery Foreign Policy: Haitian-American Relations during the Early Republic*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2003. Pp. xii, 159. \$64.95.

The last decade has seen a welcome expansion of scholarship on the impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic world. Tim Matthewson's book makes an important contribution to this literature by providing a careful analysis of how political leaders in the United States responded to and sought to shape the course of Caribbean revolution. Organized chronologically through chapters on the Washington, Adams, and Jefferson administrations, the work effectively analyses the strands of thinking that generated varying and at times sharply contradictory policies.

Matthewson's work draws on state documents produced by presidential administrations and on correspondence of prominent leaders. His treatment of the Washington administration, whose response to events in Saint-Domingue has received little attention, is a welcome addition to the scholarship, and the work's examination of the Adams administration is superb. It provides us with new and important perspectives on the crucial period in the Haitian Revolution, which saw the "first intervention" of the United States in the Caribbean, when Adams provided naval support for Toussaint Louverture in his war against André Rigaud, who controlled the southern part of Saint-Domingue. This action, Matthewson argues, "established a precedent for military intervention in the Caribbean" and was a precursor to the Monroe Doctrine and the declaration of "an American sphere in the Americas" (p. 92). The fact that military support was provided to

Louverture and his army of former slaves, however, usefully highlights the complexities of U.S. attitudes toward the Haitian Revolution. The work's treatment of the better-known policies of the Jefferson administration, and of the central role of Haiti in the transfer of Louisiana, is also insightful.

At some points the treatment of the Caribbean context could be stronger. In his introduction, Matthewson overstates the influence of the ideologies of the American Revolution in Haiti. He claims, for instance, that the unit of free-colored soldiers who fought with the French army at the siege at Savannah included "many future leaders of the Haitian Revolution," and that they brought "the ideology of the American Revolution" to Saint-Domingue (p. 7). In fact, it is not clear exactly which future leaders actually served in Savannah, and their role as a conduit from one revolutionary movement to another is difficult to establish. Matthewson also presents a limited view of the diverse engagements and perspectives of the slave insurgents of Saint-Domingue when he writes that they "seemed less interested in abstract theories of freedom than in their provision grounds or garden plots" (p. 8). Since the work rests on the claim that the Haitian Revolution played a central role in defining politics surrounding slavery in North America during this period, a better presentation of the political history of this revolution would have strengthened the work.

What impact did the Haitian Revolution have on the United States? Matthewson notes that it spoke powerfully both to "defenders and opponents of slavery, providing them with ideological armor that helped them combat or support calls for emancipation" (p. 141). While he acknowledges its role in inspiring U.S. antislavery activity, Matthewson ultimately argues that the major impact of Haiti's revolution was to buttress proslavery ideologies in the United States, as it "legitimated the proslavery orientation of American foreign policy" and "restored racial fears to the center of attention in the Southern United States" (p. 141). Although I am not sure that "racial fears" had ever receded, Matthewson does convincingly show how reports about slave insurrection were mobilized in the political sphere to buttress the proslavery party, which "achieved a strategic ideological victory in their interpretation of the Haitian Revolution and in their proslavery foreign policy" (p. 146). The government's willingness, evident during the Adams administration, to support figures like Louverture in pursuit of broader geopolitical goals ultimately ceded, during the Jefferson administration, to a diplomatic approach to Haiti that was saturated with racism.

But Matthewson's narrative usefully emphasizes that the Haitian Revolution also generated sympathy in the United States, and not only among communities of African descent. Indeed, one of the important contributions of his work is to highlight how complex and contradictory the response to Haiti was, even in the mind of a single figure like Thomas Jefferson, as well as how prescient many U.S. observers were about the

course of the revolution. This book, then, provides a wealth of interesting details and useful interpretations of the choices and reactions of U.S. leaders during a formative period in the history of the Atlantic world.

LAURENT DUBOIS
Michigan State University

SCOTT C. MARTIN, editor. *Cultural Change and the Market Revolution in America, 1789–1860*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2005. Pp. vi, 298. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$27.95.

The proposition that a market revolution occurred in the United States during and just after the Jacksonian era is by now well settled in American historical analysis. A good sign of the triumph of this idea is the appearance of essays such as the ones collected here, in which the market revolution forms an understood and generally uncontested backdrop to a variety of cultural changes. Only one or two of the contributors to this interesting volume question the existence of a market revolution, or its extent and timing, and only a few focus on specific economic developments and behaviors. It is, as editor Scott C. Martin explains, the “cultural impact of the market revolution” (p. 7) that is the subject here. This turn toward culture is not in itself notable; what is novel about this volume is that the market revolution is so often invoked and so little described. The clear implication is that there is no longer much need to tell the reader about cash crops and railroad schedules, or of daughters who spun yarn and thread in factories rather than at home. What are the unexplored cultural implications of economic changes we now know well, and seem largely to accept?

Confidence in this moment of historiographic transition is reflected in the substantive foci of these essays, which range across American culture to some of its geographic and ethnic edges—French Canadians in Vermont, Choctaws in the Mississippi Delta—and to movements and productions that would not be the first to come to mind as exemplars of the larger cultural response to the market revolution—black protest thought, exhibitions of exotic animals, and Edwin Forrest’s portrayal of an Indian chief in the play *Metamora* (1859). In these and in other essays on such subjects as Yankee clock and tinware peddlers in the South, Lafayette College’s program of manual labor education, and Timothy Shay Arthur’s temperance novel *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room* (1855), there appears to be no pressing concern to prove the extent and significance of the market revolution by probing the experiences and cultural responses of broad and manifestly representative groups. The important exception is Catherine E. Kelly’s thoughtful analysis of rural and small-town sociability, which, Kelly argues, changed during the last two decades of the antebellum period in response to new, big-city patterns of middle-class social life, incorporating in a selective fashion whatever new ideas and styles could be comfortably accom-

modated to the less formal and smaller-scale social networks of provincial towns. The setting is New England, a large enough zone of analysis, but it is clear that Kelly’s insights can be extended much further, perhaps to most of a rustic American landscape that revolved ever more tightly around emerging urban centers.

Kelly’s essay leaves us in little doubt about our being in touch with main lines of cultural change during the Jacksonian market revolution. But even here the revolution itself is kept at a certain distance. What Kelly examines are not changing market relations but bourgeois patterns of social life that are assumed to have been created anew within the centers of the market revolution. The same can be said of Patrick Rael’s fine discussion of “The Market Revolution and Market Values in Black Protest Thought.” Rael’s essay has several interesting dimensions, but central to it is a sequence of cultural influence that leads from the market revolution to middle-class formation to bourgeois notions of respectability to black leaders’ conceptions of injustice and racial uplift. Again, the market revolution is a step or more removed from its apparent cultural outcomes. Is there no need here for examining the first stage of this sequence? Could “bourgeois” values not have developed within more traditional market economies, and if so, is there so clear a relation between black protest thought, or changes in provincial sociability, and new relations of production and exchange? Others, myself among them, have made more and less detailed connections between the market revolution and bourgeois or middle-class formation, and it is on a body of earlier historical work that the present authors rely to help sustain their arguments. I do not wish to undermine these arguments—far from it!—but I would again point to the manner in which they proceed from assumptions about the market revolution that not so long ago were contested issues.

In one or two of the essays in this volume market relations are closer to hand. In James Taylor Carson’s examination of hunting and cattle-raising among Choctaw Indians, and in Joseph T. Rainer’s delineation of new modes of peddling Yankee clocks and tinware, we find new economic forms that led more directly to cultural consequences. In these essays, indeed, it is the economic details that are more fully spelled out. Carson tells us how new experiences in cattle-raising were accommodated to older Choctaw patterns of ritual, kinship, and community, while Rainer observes forms of resistance to sharp Yankee sales techniques among rural southern customers. But what is most likely to remain with the reader are their explications of changing economic modes in these two very different southern worlds. It should be noted here that to the extent that Carson and Rainer do connect economic change to culture it is to describe accommodation and resistance, not change, in the realms of values and cultural practice. Resistance is part of Kelly’s story, too, and we encounter it again in Jeffrey

A. Mullins's account of the manual education program at Lafayette College. This experiment in combining scientific and professional training with manual work failed, Mullins argues, because it could not bridge the cultural gap between middle and working classes grounded increasingly in the very experiential divide—work with the “head” and work with the “hands”—that Lafayette and several other institutions were trying to eliminate. Students, it turns out, quickly learned to disdain sweaty manual labor on their way to a distinctly nonmanual middle class. And what cultural change shall we find on the French-Canadian “frontier” of northern Vermont? Kevin Thornton does well to contrast frontier ethnicities related to modest geographic expansion from an adjacent cultural region with those resulting from more distant and decisive migrations, but the results he describes seem more conservative than radical in the realms of both market and culture.

The final three essays of this volume concern cultural productions that were sold to readers and paying audiences; hence, they are simultaneously about culture and the marketplace. But do they illuminate a revolution in the market? Brett Mizelle's examination of exotic animal exhibitions, and Martin's close look at Forrest's *Metamora*, fit somewhat uneasily into this volume. Mizelle makes a number of references to an expanding market culture, but many of the exhibitions he describes occurred during and shortly after the 1790s, and it is difficult to see how they changed in structure or in meaning during the Jacksonian era. Martin devotes most of his attention to discounting the connection between the popularity of Forrest's play and support for Jackson's policy of Indian removal, and he seems less interested in discussing possible differences in American theater before and after the market revolution. It is in Graham Warder's essay on Timothy Shay Arthur that we find the most interesting and persuasive observations about the nature and meaning of marketed culture, in this case in the form of the temperance novel. Again, resistance and accommodation are important themes: “The novel was a commodity that denied its own commodification” (p. 238), denouncing the disruptive effects of a market revolution that included an expanding traffic in alcohol, even while contributing to a nationwide revolution in the distribution of books.

The nine essays in this volume vary widely in the manner in which they connect the market revolution to cultural change in Jacksonian America. Some are more persuasive than others, but they are all interesting, and they are all worth reading. The collection as a whole, and the relative youth of its contributing authors, suggest that this is an area of American history from which we can expect much fruitful continuing research.

STUART M. BLUMIN
Cornell University

CARL OSTROWSKI. *Books, Maps, and Politics: A Cultural History of the Library of Congress, 1783–1861*. (Studies

in Print Culture and the History of the Book.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2004. Pp. x, 261. \$39.95.

In this cultural history of the Library of Congress, Carl Ostrowski demonstrates that the library was “a site where competing visions of the national character met and played out” (p. 2) during the period from independence to the Civil War. He does this largely—although hardly exclusively—through a detailed examination of the collections, and of the debates over those collections, as is reflected in the title. In so doing, he not only illustrates how the Library of Congress reflected Congress's political or cultural concerns, but he sheds light on the development of the library in relation to the nation's print culture and on the development of the Library of Congress and of libraries generally as institutions within a democratic society.

Within a chronological arrangement that starts with proposals for a library to serve the young Congress and moves through the early years of the republic into the Jacksonian era and then into the immediate antebellum period, Ostrowski looks at the collections, the users of the collections, and the physical facilities, and frames them within the discourses of the developing nation. One of the book's great virtues is a clear organization with threads of Ostrowski's arguments drawn from one period of the library's development to another. Although at times the sight of many book titles on a page might tempt one to skip paragraphs, Ostrowski manages to utilize this specific evidence of the interests of Congress and how the purposes of the Library of Congress differed from other libraries of the time, such as Benjamin Franklin's Library Company of Philadelphia, without bogging down. In fact, the contrasts and comparisons with other libraries provide a unique perspective on the knowledge deemed important by those crafting the United States' foundations.

Ostrowski also contexts his work in the general print culture of the time, from the attitude toward books as luxury items in the earliest years, to the antipathy to foreign language materials, to a growing interest in a national belles lettres and a growing belief in the role of publishing and libraries in the diffusion of knowledge and creation of an informed citizenry. Users, too, reflect the changes in United States' culture, expanding from Congress alone to other officials and their families, to a grudging tolerance of some of the general—though clearly still elite—populace. Women's “separate sphere” in society was mirrored in the titles apparently selected for women's reading and for their viewing when they visited the Library of Congress on social occasions. The facilities reflected the changes in attitude toward both the library and the national interest in supporting literature and the arts, as the collections were housed in progressively finer—although still restricted—quarters.

But Ostrowski also demonstrates that the collections of the Library of Congress responded directly to the

specific concerns of its users, especially regarding defining, protecting, and expanding the territory of the young nation. From its earliest days Congress demanded maps of the United States and contiguous areas as well as geographies and travelogues. By 1861 the Library of Congress had not only gathered materials in support of Manifest Destiny but had begun to collect material about Central and South American countries, as southerners began to look for areas into which they might expand slavery and as interest in a canal across Central America increased (pp. 192–193).

While Congress's support for a working library slowly increased during the period covered in this study, the legislative appropriations and statutory supports grew even more slowly. Congress was not interested in supporting a national library in the antebellum period; the appointed librarians were hardly knowledgeable bookmen, and the Joint Committee on the Library took varying levels of interest in the collections and role of the library. The ambiguous relationship of the Library of Congress to the newly founded Smithsonian Institution and the slow adoption of a copyright deposit law both demonstrate how conflicted Congress was regarding the role and symbolic status of its library. Considering this slow start, it is remarkable that the Library of Congress today functions as a de facto national library.

Ostrowski grounds his work not only on solid histories of the library but also on the work of print culture and library historians, as well as a huge number of primary sources including accessions lists, borrowers' registers, bills of sale, letters, Congressional documents, and contemporary periodical literature. The notes and index are more than adequate—with one tiny exception: I wished for a footnote for the seldom-used definition of "filibuster" as a noun meaning an individual fomenting insurrection in South America in the mid-nineteenth century. This book is a good example of the ways in which library collections, their users, and their uses can shed light on larger phenomena. When those phenomena include the changing ideologies and attitudes of the shapers of a nation, the study can be significant. This one is.

LOUISE S. ROBBINS
University of Wisconsin,
Madison

MARK DOUGLAS MCGARVIE. *One Nation Under Law: America's Early National Struggles to Separate Church and State*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 256. \$38.00.

Debates about religious disestablishment in America have frequently centered on the meaning of the first amendment's establishment clause: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." Thomas Jefferson, for example, insisted that the first amendment had erected a "wall of separation between church and state." Mark Douglas McGarvie agrees that the Constitution constructed a wall, but he finds

its chief masonry in the contracts clause of article one, which was, he suggests, "absolutely crucial to the resolution of the church-state relationship" (p. 12). Moreover, McGarvie ascribes to the Supreme Court's *Dartmouth College* case (1819) the kind of disestablishing force typically reserved for twentieth-century cases proscribing state aid to religious institutions. There, the Court interpreted the contracts clause to invalidate New Hampshire's attempt to seize control of a private, religious college. By characterizing Dartmouth College as a private institution, according to McGarvie, the Court laid the framework for divorcing religious institutions such as churches and schools from their public role as providers of necessary social services. This divorce inexorably led to separation between religious institutions and government. The *Dartmouth College* decision thus "privatized religion" and "secularized and expanded the public realm" (p. 188).

Of course, the history of disestablishment in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is primarily about disestablishment in the states, since no national church ever existed. Moreover, the history of disestablishment in the states during this period has little connection to the Constitution's first amendment, since the latter applied initially only to actions by the federal government. Claims that state governments had deprived citizens of religious liberty or had improperly established religion fell initially under state constitutional provisions relating to religious liberty and disestablishment. But McGarvie suggests a supplemental account of disestablishment in the states during the early republic, which focuses on the transformation of churches from public to private institutions as a result of emerging principles of contract law.

The law of contracts undoubtedly assisted in the restructuring of churches and religious schools from public to private institutions. Accordingly, McGarvie's work is important for detailing this assistance and locating it within a broader historical context. Yet, before religious institutions were privatized, religion itself had to be stripped of at least some of its public character. Important aspects of this privatization of religion occurred during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, before republican contractualism made its presence felt. Protestant pietism privatized religion by locating its essence in the encounter between the individual and God. Lockean liberalism privatized religion by marginalizing the social significance of faith and denying the appropriateness of governmental involvement in the propagation of that faith. McGarvie seems to acknowledge all this, but at times his emphasis on the significance of the contracts clause is stated forcefully enough to conceal a more nuanced historical reality. He acknowledges, for example, that the political decision to remove government support for religion preceded the kind of institutional separation accomplished by the application of contract principles. But it is surely an exaggeration to say, as he does, that the elimination of public support for religion came "comparatively easy" (p. 9).

McGarvie focuses almost exclusively on the separation of church and state as institutions. Thus, he provides little assistance in understanding what separation might have meant, or mean, as to government and religion more broadly construed. Nevertheless, the continued resilience of what Mark DeWolfe Howe termed "de facto establishments of religion" at the level of public symbols and ceremonies probably reinforces McGarvie's claims about the importance of the law of contracts in disestablishing religious institutions. Contract analysis was especially potent in the context of institutions, less so in the context of ceremonies and symbols and other features of civil religion. We might thus expect institutional separation of church and state, buttressed by the contracts clause, to be more vigorous than symbolic separation of church and state.

It has been extraordinarily difficult for observers of disestablishment in America to avoid isolating one particular actor in this drama as the key to understanding the implications of this momentous historical process. The Supreme Court, in its early forays into the meaning of the first amendment's establishment clause, assumed that the predominantly secular voice of Jefferson could be trusted to announce the true meaning of this clause. Over the past half century, more scholars have emphasized the voice of Protestant dissent in disestablishment. McGarvie is most convincing when his analysis inspires readers to pay more attention to the voice of the law—contract law in particular—in understanding the historical process of disestablishment. He is less convincing when he privileges this voice above the many others whose ideological polyphony invented religious liberty in America.

TIMOTHY L. HALL

University of Mississippi Law School

DAVID PAUL NORD. *Faith in Reading: Religious Publishing and the Birth of Mass Media in America*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 212. \$35.00.

In a series of articles published in the last ten years, David Paul Nord has expanded an idea he first articulated in 1984 about the evangelical origins of mass media in the United States. He has now assembled his reflections and research in a short, clearly argued book that is a valuable contribution to the study of print media and an illustration of how much scholars owe to the "History of the Book in America" project sponsored by the American Antiquarian Society.

Nord begins his narrative in the early republic with the formation in New England of a large number of Bible, tract, missionary, and Sunday School societies. The Society for Propagating the Gospel led the way in committing these associations to the free distribution of books, Bibles to be sure but also spelling books, psalters, and a variety of devotional and moral pamphlets. Many of these not-for-profit benevolent societies were in fact among the first corporations in Amer-

ica granted state charters to accumulate, manage, and perpetuate capital. They were very much in the vanguard of America's emergent market economy. That market, however, according to Nord, never quite subverted their purposes, which included the dissemination of values critical of the materialism associated with profit-oriented capitalism.

Developing businesses with the intention of giving away most of the product to people whether they wanted it or not saddled the early benevolent societies with some formidable logistical problems, beyond the issue of how to manage a bottom line when no sales supplanted the costs of manufacture and distribution. Nord recounts their organizational strategies, not all of them successful, and the truly daring way Bible and tract societies laid out large amounts of capital to invest in new print technologies. Stereotypography and steam-powered presses took hold in Bible societies before commercial publishers made similar investments.

To improve efficiency, the not-for-profit societies moved toward centralized production managed by national societies with numerous local auxiliaries for distribution. Two of these, the American Bible Society (1816) and the American Tract Society (1825), chose to locate in New York City, the emerging capital of American commerce. The third, The American Sunday School Union (1824), settled in Philadelphia. In the period from 1829 to 1833, these organizations produced a million Bibles, 15 million tracts, and a half million Sunday school books. They failed in their final aim of putting religious reading material into every home in America. Even with a system of salaried colporteurs, more books found their way into the hands of middle-class urban dwellers than into the hands of America's barely literate citizens living at scattered fringes of the frontier. To make ends meet, the societies started to sell, with differential pricing, a portion of their output, a move that struck some of their benefactors as a corruption. Still, most of their print material was free and was as ubiquitous a commodity as any other product that circulated in antebellum America.

Nord draws on research done by Alfred Chandler to argue that not-for-profit religious publishers were "early adopters of techniques of internal organization and communication that would become, by the end of the century, standard operating procedures of the modern, large-scale business firm" (p. 91). "A step ahead of commercial corporations," they substituted the "visible hand" of administration for the invisible hand of Adam Smith. Direct comparisons would be needed to make this point completely convincing. However, Nord is surely correct in saying that religious benevolence was a large-scale enterprise that required clever innovation and adaptation to new forms of product distribution. A more general point emerging from Nord's book is that many ideas associated with industrial capitalism, the division of labor for example, can in fact be related to the expansive evangelical

moral impulses of antebellum American rather than a simple desire to make money. Christianity restrained the commercial practices of many businessmen who gave generously to sustain the benevolent societies.

Nord does not write extensively about the men who founded and ran these societies. But in his final two chapters, he talks about readers, making sensible interventions in ongoing debates about how prescribed reading techniques affected actual practices of readers and how they understood texts. The reports that colporteurs wrote back to the societies provide Nord with a rich source of evidence about reading practices and tastes. What the reports reveal may not be especially surprising, but they help to bring Nord's own readers into intimate contact with readers of the nineteenth century.

R. LAURENCE MOORE
Cornell University

CLYDE R. FORSBERG, JR. *Equal Rites: The Book of Mormon, Masonry, Gender, and American Culture*. (Religion and American Culture.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2004. Pp. xxiv, 326. \$35.00.

Through manifold parallels, Clyde R. Forsberg, Jr., presents Mormonism as "a revitalization of Masonry" (p. 51) that Joseph Smith, Jr., established as "both a church of Jesus Christ and a Commandery of Knights Templar or Medieval Latter-day Saints" (p. 47). This revisionist, provocative book is myopic and disappointing.

Early America, Europe, and the ancient Middle East have many kinds of parallels to Mormon documents, teachings, and practices—archetypal, biblical, cultural, ecclesiastical, liturgical, magical, philosophical, radical, social, textual, theological—but other academics acknowledge significant exceptions from the particular one(s) they emphasize. Forsberg, however, doggedly affirms the legitimacy of only one parallel: the fraternal.

He dismisses other antecedents, or counters that Freemasonry embraces all. Mormon restatement of the "four-square gospel" (p. 145) is Masonic because the "sacramental life of the Knight Templar, moreover, consists of faith, repentance, baptism, and the 'gift' of the Holy Ghost" (p. 148). Religiously orthodox formulations in the *Book of Mormon* "may not be simple biblical revamping but Masonic recitative based on the Bible" (p. 105), are "more than likely a Masonic variation" (p. 176), "could be a defense of Christian Masonry" (p. 180), or "as easily be seen as Masonic speculation" (p. 195). Even when acknowledging Mormon departures from "Masonic mainstream" or orthodoxy (pp. 173, 129), he regards these as reformist Freemasonry (pp. 127–28) rather than admit their close affinity with non-Masonic antecedents. Inclusion of a woman in a dream of salvation is "shocking" (p. 94) only because Forsberg sees the *Book of Mormon* as "surrogate for Masonic ritual" (p. 86), refusing to regard it as a religious text. "Swedenborgian-like

ideas" are "Masonic subtext" (p. 158), while "classic Jacksonian economic theory [is] in keeping with the general Masonic understanding of such things" (p. 227).

This tautological reductionism undermines Forsberg's analysis, which is sometimes contradictory. "There are also reasons to suspect that" Smith became a Mason before his own Mormon lodge admitted him in 1842 (p. 45), that "in 1820 he was old enough to have been a juvenile Knight Templar" (p. 64), and "perhaps Smith became a Mason in 1830 and kept it a secret" (p. 45), versus Forsberg's discussion (p. 51) of absolute barriers against non-Mormon lodges admitting him as a younger man.

No Mormon text even implies Forsberg's outrageously misogynist "exegetical possibility" that "Lucifer had a radical, Evangelical-feminist agenda, that he spoke on behalf of and thus his [Lucifer's] angels were largely women" (p. 175), who were "lobbyists for an equal rights amendment to the divine rule of heaven" and a "demonic-inspired, Evangelical-feminist-like campaign for equality per se" (p. 182), plus this beyond-exegetical reading of the Mormon text: "Lamanite women are not attractive even to Lamanite men" (p. 215). Those statements amplify his preface's disparaging references to "the feminist quarter" (p. xviii) and "tyranny of the (female moral) majority" (p. xx).

Factual errors abound. Instead of "Josiah Stowell, [being] the farmer who brought him [Smith] up on charges" (p. 52) in 1826, Stowell's nephew made the criminal complaint and Stowell testified in favor of Smith's treasure-digging. Forsberg implies the 1830 *Book of Mormon* is "quoting Grand Master Rob Morris" (p. 73), whose publication first appeared in 1860. Pre-1837 publications cannot be examples of "widespread Victorian belief" (p. 92). Few theologians would agree that "the heavenly flesh theory" of Anabaptists is "equivalent to the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation" (p. 169). Smith died when thirty-eight, not "at just forty" (p. 191), and Charles B. Thompson was never one of "Smith's advisers" (p. 221).

There are strange lapses. Despite referencing an earlier article by Michael W. Homer, Forsberg fails to cite his comparison of Mormonism and Royal Arch Masonry, although that is crucial to Forsberg's book, which cites fifteen other articles from the same periodical in which Homer's article appeared in 1994. Despite frequent comparison of Masonic-Mormon illustrations, there is no illustration of "actual Royal Arch tracing boards" (p. 34) that allegedly have identical Hebrew and Greek phrases that appear on an esoteric parchment possessed by Joseph Smith's family (illustration 11). Although Forsberg cites the source calling Mormons "republican jacks," he gives no citation for this being "a term for Masonic sympathizers" (p. 44). Specific names are missing to illustrate that "the New York record is silent concerning the membership of some of the order's most distinguished

Masons" (p. 45), while sources are absent for Leo Tolstoy's alleged assessment of Mormonism as "a case of lies for a good purpose" (p. 80), and "The orthodox in Masonic circles believed that early Mormonism had a radical feminist agenda" (p. 91).

If one wants to understand a religious tradition as absent any cultural influence except Freemasonry, this is a book to read.

D. MICHAEL QUINN
Los Angeles, California

KARIN E. GEDGE. *Without Benefit of Clergy: Women and the Pastoral Relationship in Nineteenth-Century American Culture*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 290. \$49.95.

Lyman Beecher, vigorous defender of Calvinist orthodoxy and patriarch of a large and influential family of reformers, was skittish about his prospects as a young minister-in-training. His parishioners, he feared, would not be as appreciative of his pastoral talents as his peers and future historians would prove to be. "The people watch me as narrowly as a mouse is watched by a cat," he complained in his diary (p. 146). This cat-and-mouse relationship between American pastors and their (largely) female congregants—distant, adversarial, suspended uneasily between the need for mutual cooperation and the fear of unhealthy dependency—neatly captures the essence of Karin E. Gedge's argument. Far from being the "uneasy alliance" first sketched by Ann Douglas some thirty years ago in *The Feminization of American Culture* (1977), an alliance forged by practical necessity (women outnumbered men in the pews in all churches throughout the century) as well as by common interest, the relationship between ministers and the women they served in the nineteenth century was marked by mutual distrust, dislike, and even fear. Examples of ministers who abused their power by emotionally and sexually manipulating the impressionable women in their charge were everywhere on display in nineteenth-century popular culture, but sorting out who was the prey and who the predator in these fraught relationships is no simple matter, as the young Beecher learned to his discomfort.

Deftly weaving her way through the large (and frequently entertaining) literature produced by Americans to describe and critique the pastoral relationship between 1800 and 1880, Gedge divides her analysis into four broad sections: perceptions, images, ideals, and experience. Her decision to move from the imagined to the real lends a certain dynamic to the story, as we progress from stereotypes of clerical venality (ministers as sexual predators, despots both tyrannical and benevolent, effeminate and ineffectual "half-men") to the depressing reality of anxious pastors and the needy women who so frightened them revealed in the private diaries of men and women. Her conclusion is thoroughly discouraging and hard to dispute: alienation, not intimacy, characterized the relationship of Amer-

ican ministers to their most important constituency, and neither party (nor the church) was well served as a consequence. Gedge is an astute and sympathetic reader of popular texts and never condescends to her historical subjects, be they sentimental novelists or craven (my word, not hers) seminarians more interested in promoting their careers than serving their parishioners.

One wonders how the story would read if the sections were reversed, if we began with accounts of individual men and women struggling to find a middle ground between the lofty ideals of a professionalized, vigorously evangelical church and the cold realities of America's newly decentered and commercialized religious market, and moved on to consider the cultural prejudices they were up against. It is hard to imagine the conclusion would be much different, yet the reader's sympathies might subtly shift away from the ignored women in the pews to the clueless pastors in the pulpit. It was the young Beecher, after all, who likened himself to a mouse at the mercy of his relentless parishioners. Both predator and prey, American ministers were in a singularly unenviable position, if Gedge is right, vis-à-vis the women who listened to their sermons, requested their assistance in times of trouble, housed and fed them on their travels, and persuaded husbands and fathers to pay their salaries. The costs to both were certainly high—nervous young men too afraid to do their job fell prey to depression, acute status anxiety, and fears of emasculation, while women felt abandoned if not abused by the very men to whom they entrusted their souls and affections—but Gedge's primary sympathies, perhaps understandably as a feminist scholar interested in redressing a historiographical distortion, lie with the latter. The very title of the book hints at this; it is the women who were "without benefit of clergy" who most interest Gedge.

The work of Douglas has cast a long shadow over the story of nineteenth-century American religion, where the "feminization" of the church has come to be associated with political marginality, cultural suicide, and spiritual debility. A "feminized" church in Douglas's "nightmarish interpretation" (p. 217) cannot help but be an intellectually and culturally impoverished one, hence all the easier to ignore or dismiss, and Gedge is determined that the women who made up that church not suffer the same fate. I do not mean to suggest that there is a polemical or strident edge to Gedge's analysis; far from it. She is at all times a generous and engaging host, writing with admirable command of the theological and personal stakes at risk. To her credit, she never loses sight of the larger cultural war while reckoning the personal casualties inflicted on both sides. And the very accessibility of her prose invites us to share in the struggles and anxieties of the men and women whose stories she recounts; this is a book I will use to introduce my students to the sexual politics of America's regnant Protestant culture in the nineteenth century. If they come away more drawn to the women who were promised so much yet

received so little from the architects of this culture than to the all-too-human men who failed them, I will not be unduly bothered. Beecher, after all, hardly deserves our pity, even if his youthful fear of being devoured by his rapacious parishioners speaks to the very real distress shared by so many of his less successful colleagues. America's ministers continued to enjoy the "benefit of clergy" after disestablishment, even if their path to respectability and influence was bumpier than they would have wished.

SUSAN JUSTER
University of Michigan

STEVEN CONN. *History's Shadow: Native Americans and Historical Consciousness in the Nineteenth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 276. \$35.00.

In this scrupulous and imaginative study, Steven Conn examines nineteenth-century American intellectual preoccupations with Native Americans. The century gave rise, Conn argues, to voluminous writing sweeping across the fields of art and photography, history, ethnology, linguistics, anthropology, archaeology, natural science, and pseudo-sciences of various kinds. This constant, if not always fruitful, inquiry was driven by a quest to understand who Native Americans were, why they lived as they did, and, often, what defined their relationship to history. Ironically, and tragically, even as amateurs and experts pondered such weighty questions, the nation pursued policies and military campaigns that provided some definitive answers to the last question, at least. There is little evidence in this account that the Indian removal generated an equal degree of enthusiasm among intellectuals to prevent the real, as opposed to putative or cultural, extinction of tribes in the United States. On the contrary, the scholarship generated often served to rationalize if not advance the goals of conquest and annihilation.

The varied studies Conn analyzes merit examination mostly for what they reveal about the world views of the nineteenth-century Americans who produced them. As Conn observes, "writings about Native Americans in the nineteenth century traversed the full spectrum from the serious and learned, to the silly and laughable" (p. 7). The ends of the spectrum are not always entirely distinguishable, however, as Conn details the earnestness with which nineteenth-century intellectuals pursued a range of theories and ideas long since discarded by more contemporary scholarship.

In a fascinating chapter on archaeology, for instance, Conn tells the story of the "greatest pursuit of nineteenth-century American archaeology: the hunt for the Mound Builders" (p. 120). Convinced that mounds located in the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys were built by a single people unrelated to the region's contemporary Indians, antebellum archaeologists initially advanced explanations rooted in biblical and classical texts. Such interpretations mirrored pre-

vailing methods for understanding the course of human history and attracted much popular interest in the archaeologists' research.

Excavation of Indian sites and antiquities, Conn argues, also joined the imperatives of American archaeology to the promotion of national pride as writers catalogued America's prehistory. But rather than promoting an appreciation of native peoples, many of these studies took pains to emphasize the distance between the extinct race of mound builders and the living tribes still visible in the mid-nineteenth century. The latter were "backward, savage" people incapable of such mysterious and extraordinary cultural feats (p. 130). In time, these historically based, if flawed, notions gave way to an archaeology more deeply rooted in anthropological modes of understanding. During the late nineteenth century, "postwar scientific archaeologists succeeded in slaying the Mound Builders" (p. 135). By then, much of the public had lost interest in the question as the "Indian problem" itself reached its sorry resolution.

Conn finds a similar evolution of thought and disciplinary culture in the other fields of inquiry he surveys. For in the century-long conversation about Native Americans, Conn argues, intellectuals gradually came to discard explanations based in religion and classical history in favor of secular and scientific methods and claims. Extraordinarily detailed and painstaking studies of Indian languages, for example, were viewed as pathways not only for missionaries to convert Indians but also as ways of enriching understanding of human history. By century's end, however, anthropology had absorbed the study of Indian languages as a component of methodology without preserving deeper ties to historical inquiry. "What had once been seen as the key to understanding Indian history," Conn writes, "was now used primarily to create a system to classify Indian groups" (p. 9).

By the 1890s, history itself had made of Native Americans little more than a "shadow," a group of people with a past, yes, but not a history joined to the central narratives that dominated the study of United States history. The romantic historians could not easily integrate Native Americans into their highly stylized and optimistic renditions of the nation's founding and progress as a democratic society. Instead, Native Americans were relegated to a "pre-historic" past that antedated European settlement of North America and the chronological parameters history itself imposed. According to Conn, scientific historians of the late nineteenth century not only failed to correct such distortions; they ceased paying much attention to Native Americans at all. Indeed, despite all the additions now made to the historical record and all the attention shown to native peoples by contemporary scholars, survey courses and textbooks still routinely begin with the European discovery of North America. As Conn concludes, "in America 1492 still stands as a historical rupture so complete and total that for the most part all that came before, and much of Native

history that happened after, stands outside standard historical narratives" (p. 228). One cannot be encouraged by the story Conn tells of scholarly predecessors that the world of letters and ideas will inevitably correct such distortions in years to come. This valuable book helps us understand why that is so.

ELLEN FITZPATRICK
University of New Hampshire

MICHAEL SAPPOL. *A Traffic of Dead Bodies: Anatomy and Embodied Social Identity in Nineteenth-Century America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 430. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

Michael Sappol's "subject is the anatomical acquisition, dissection, and representation of bodies," presented in "a series of interlinked narratives and interpretations about anatomy, death, and the body" (p. 3). Had Sappol focused only on his effort to "recast" the history of American medicine and medical education in the nineteenth century as "an anatomical narrative" (p. 48), the story would have attracted a limited audience. But he sets himself several wider goals, including showing how "the anatomical body became our body" (p. 1) and how the study of anatomy contributed to "the making of American class identity and the modern self" (p. 2). The latter effort is not entirely persuasive.

The author has delved deeply into various records to demonstrate the increasingly important role anatomy played in medical education. As medicine shifted from theory to empirical knowledge in the nineteenth century, giving doctors the cachet of science to bolster their status, anatomy was the first tool they had. In the second half of the century, increased use of the microscope and the germ theory added to the scientific aura of medicine but reduced the importance of anatomy to the profession. One result was the popularization of anatomy, begun by the doctors themselves, but eventually taken over by businessmen who ran museums of anatomy, often full of curiosities and freaks of nature, that were popular after the Civil War.

In seeking to understand the motives of the doctors and to place anatomy in the forefront of nineteenth-century cultural history, Sappol claims that scientific knowledge of the body became part of the search for "bourgeois identity" and a tool for the creation of the "bourgeois self." Curiously, these terms are never clearly defined, and they are not included in the index, despite their recurring importance. Postmodern sensibilities for such things as "performance," "discourse," and "hegemony" are duly noted, and "cultural politics" and "poetics" are discussed in the framework of contested values. It is possible to agree with Sappol that anatomy was "linked to the creation of a distinctively bourgeois social order and culture" (p. 11), but to question not only the strength of that link but also the flow of the casual connection. Perhaps anatomy was useful as a metaphor and tool for those already engaged in asserting their cultural dominance and

desire to reform, and was not quite so much the driving force.

The first half of the book focuses on anatomy in medical education. Chapter one discusses the roots from which the new anatomized body emerged and reflects on how new funeral customs meant bodies should be treated with dignity, not dissected. The second chapter is devoted to the cooperative efforts of medical school professors, their students, and patients to make anatomy the centerpiece of scientific medicine and a claim to respectability. Dissection as an act of ritual and performance is the concern of the third chapter, in which the ability to control one's nerves to dissect is seen as an initiation rite for new doctors, as transgressive behavior created fraternal bonding. Chapter four explores the dilemma of supplying more bodies to expanding medical schools that increasingly emphasized dissection. A "traffic of dead bodies" emerged to supply cadavers, with few questions asked. Eventually doctors prevailed upon state legislatures to permit unclaimed bodies in prisons and poor houses to serve medical needs. The familiar story of alternative medical enterprises in the nineteenth century is addressed in chapter five, where Sappol shows how even the critics of regular medicine soon adopted anatomy as part of their training and rhetoric.

The place of anatomy in popular culture moves to the foreground in the second half of the book. Chapter six examines how reform movements made use of the vocabulary of anatomy to pursue various goals. The body as house became a useful metaphor, permitting upkeep, but also disassociating the body and spirit, making dissection less of an intrusion of the self. The seventh and eighth chapters focus on three authors who found the new vocabulary useful in their fiction. But this seems a small foundation for the interpretation erected on it. The final chapter explores anatomy museums and their popular appeal. Here, as elsewhere, the story is essentially New York City, or at most the Boston-Philadelphia corridor. Does the interpretation hold for the West or South? Given his attention to how race and class exposed certain Americans to the anatomists' scalpel, Sappol might have examined what happened in the South. Northern doctors assumed African-American bodies could be used to teach the anatomy of white bodies. Did the same hold true in the South?

Certainly medical historians will want to read this book. Cultural historians may also find it worthwhile, although the claims regarding the role of anatomy in the fashioning of identity and self are, at least to this reader, less well established.

ROBERT V. WELLS
Union College

ANTHONY CAVENDER. *Folk Medicine in Southern Appalachia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 266. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

A prominent theme of scholarship in Appalachian Studies over the past twenty-five years has been to argue that while Appalachian culture has many strong elements that link it to the region's past in ways that have perhaps disappeared from much of the rest of America, that culture itself is not a unique way of life that is completely unknown in other places. Scholars who write about Appalachia have been finding increasing amounts of evidence to disprove the well-known adage that Appalachia is "in but not of America." In Anthony Cavender's new book on southern Appalachian folk medicine, he puts himself squarely in the middle of this current interpretation of the mountain South's culture when he writes in his preface that "Southern Appalachian folk medicine is best understood within the context of Euro-American folk medicine." In fact, he asserts that "there never was nor is there now a variety of folk medicine unique to Southern Appalachia" (p. xiii).

Throughout the study, Cavender provides ample evidence of the place that folk medicine has played in the lives of Appalachian people of every social stratum. While the author provides examples of folk medical beliefs and practices in southern Appalachia that have persisted from the late eighteenth century to the present, he is most concerned with exploring and explaining the many ways that folk medical beliefs in Appalachia changed and evolved over time and "mirrored the changing health care environment of America" (p. xiv). Because of this interaction with events and developments in health care in and outside the mountains, Cavender can argue, like most other contemporary Appalachian scholars, that in the field of folk medicine and the healing arts, "Southern Appalachia was not shut off from the rest of America at all; to the contrary it was very much part of it" (p. xiv).

Cavender begins his study of Appalachian folk medicine with a brief history of folk medicine scholarship in the region with an emphasis on the folk medical beliefs and practices in the mountains from the late nineteenth century to World War II. In this introduction the author connects the interest in folk medicine that arose in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries among outsiders to a similar interest that emerged in Appalachian folk music, crafts, and cultural preservation in general. Cavender sees folk medicine and the various home remedies that were a major part of it as evidence of the resiliency and stamina of Appalachian people. While, according to the author, health conditions in southern Appalachia in the late nineteenth century were deplorable, they were not much different from those in the rest of America. "Living in an era when the cause of many diseases was unknown and medical resources in some areas were scarce or nonexistent, Southern Appalachians did all they could to adapt and survive" (p. 29). For most people in southern Appalachia well into the twentieth century this meant the widespread and persistent use of folk medicine.

The sheer quantity of information the author presents in this short volume is, in places, rather daunting. For example, in an early and very interesting chapter, Cavender explores both the Appalachian belief system about the fundamental causes and treatments of illness and the historical origins of that belief system. He seems to want to cover nearly every conceivable ailment and illness that might have afflicted anyone living in Appalachia during the last one hundred to one hundred and fifty years. The heart of the study consists of two chapters in which the author goes through an encyclopedic list of the natural materials available to people in Appalachia as medicines and how these "folk materia medica" were applied to various conditions and illnesses. In his chapter on folk treatments he covers botanicals, animal substances, commercial medicines, ailments of the respiratory system, the gastrointestinal and excretory systems, eye and dental care, the nervous system, and skin disorders, among others. Lengthy sections are given over to discussions of the treatment of illnesses and diseases of children and women.

The book concludes with two chapters that investigate Appalachian folk medicine in the recent past and present. First Cavender looks at the way folk medicine has endured into the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries by scrutinizing the lives of several mountain folk healers, including the rather well-known purveyor of herbs, Clarence "Catfish" Grey of West Virginia. In the book's concluding chapter, the author reviews recent cross-disciplinary research in his field and concludes that the persistence into the present day of folk medical practices and beliefs in Appalachia causes grave concern among the region's professional medical caregivers, given the significant improvements in the quality and availability of modern medical practices and services.

Cavender's conclusions are useful. Among the generalizations he asserts are that folk medical beliefs and practices are shared by people in Appalachia in all walks of life and from all income levels. Other conclusions are that "the knowledge and use of folk medicine among Southern Appalachians has diminished over time" (p. 185) and that many beliefs will certainly disappear completely soon. Cavender's book informs the reader that religion does not limit health care delivery in Appalachia and that southern Appalachian people are witness to a sort of medical pluralism that encompasses much more than just folk beliefs and modern medicine.

RICHARD A. STRAW
Radford University

RICHARD A. STRAW and H. TYLER BLETHEN, editors.
High Mountains Rising: Appalachia in Time and Place.
Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004.
Pp. vi, 240. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$20.00.

In his introduction to this much-needed and important book, Richard A. Straw, co-editor with H. Tyler

Blethen, tells what happened when, in 1970, he suggested to a professor the idea of teaching a course in Appalachian history. Such an undertaking would present a problem, the professor said, "because Appalachia has no history." So some progress has been made, and today we can say, yes, there is an Appalachian history. For overwhelming evidence I refer to these splendid essays by distinguished scholars, not only of history but of several other disciplines as well. Approximately half of the fourteen contributions to this highly readable text deal with historical subjects from Native Americans to modernization, while the remaining ones are concerned with cultural themes such as folk life, language, literature, religion, and stereotypes.

In his celebrated book, *The Hero: a Study in Tradition, Myth, and Drama* (1936), Lord Raglan reminds us that there are two types of truth, historic and dramatic or mythical. So, wisely, do the editors of this text.

Blethen's essay on "Pioneer Settlement" identifies the theme of the book and the challenge to scholarship throughout the region. Much discussion, he says, "has revolved around the notion of 'Appalachian exceptionalism' whether the region developed a unique culture that sharply distinguishes it from the rest of America. Recent scholarship argues that it did not" (p. 25). For example, Blethen says that "Appalachian farming households produced mainly for their own consumption, but contrary to stereotype few were completely self sufficient" (p. 22). The phrase "contrary to stereotype" could have served as a title for the text. If there is what one might call "a mother of all myths of Appalachia," it is that of cultural isolation, especially before the Civil War. In essay after essay, regardless of the subject under investigation, that myth is confronted by considerable evidence to the contrary.

There is not time nor space to identify every myth that is challenged in this text, but John C. Inscoe suggests the implication for a reassessment of our culture when he says that "Census figures alone refute misconceptions of the racial purity of the southern highlands. Slavery had infiltrated almost every Appalachian county by the mid-nineteenth century, although it did so more sporadically and much more sparsely than was true for the rest of the South" (p. 34).

It now appears that Appalachia might be a bigger player on the national stage than any of the flatter territory that surrounds it, owing in large measure to the remarkable group of settlers that in large numbers began coming into these hills back in the eighteenth century, the Scots-Irish, not the only group of immigrants, as Blethen and others show, but an influential one. Considering both the complex history of Appalachia as well as the current political and cultural scene in the region and nation, there is every reason to believe that a course on Appalachian history could well be the hottest on campus, north or south, and the text

for that course could be this book. As Herman Melville said, "America begins at the Alleghenies."

ROBERT J. HIGGS,
Emeritus
East Tennessee State University

VICTOR GREENE. *A Singing Ambivalence: American Immigrants between Old World and New, 1830-1930*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 2004. Pp. xxvii, 215. \$39.00.

On one level, Victor Greene's book attempts to cover a vast terrain: the song lyrics of multiple ethnic groups who immigrated to the United States in the hundred years from 1830 to 1930. On another level, it is a very focused work, looking for evidence of an ambivalence about the emigrant experience that transcends the identity of any individual ethnic group. Greene seeks to uncover the emotions felt by individual immigrants but shared among the various groups as well, revealed through the texts of the songs they sang. He succeeds admirably in this task.

The introduction to this work, although less than thirteen pages in length, is an invaluable survey of the scholarly literature on song and ethnicity. This is an essay in which the footnotes are as important as the text itself, for they lead the reader through a wide range of anthropological, ethnomusicological, and other multidisciplinary studies related to the task at hand. The author provides a wide spectrum of views, so much so that the reader may be tempted to begin making a personal reading list of titles taken from these footnotes.

The introduction is followed by eight chapters looking at ten immigrant groups: the Irish, Germans, Scandinavians and Finns, Eastern European Jews, Italians, Poles and Hungarians, and finally, among non-European immigrants, Chinese and Mexicans. Each of these short chapters, almost all of them consisting of fewer than twenty pages, takes a brief look at the musical repertoires associated with each ethnic group. One of the difficulties in trying to assess a past musical culture, especially before the advent of recorded sound, is the evidence itself. How does one determine which of the hundreds of songs were truly a part of the active repertory of a particular group? Moreover, how does one determine the way in which a particular individual or group interpreted the song or understood its meaning? Like a cookbook with hundreds of recipes, the vast majority of which the owner has never attempted to make, so a published collection of songs does not mean that any one song was ever sung by a significant number of people. A possible solution to this problem is the one Greene employs. He covers a tremendous range of materials from different ethnicities, geographies, and historical periods and looks for those sentiments that seem to cross all of these differences. Greene finds ample evidence of a deep ambivalence in the immigrant experience of

all ten groups, what he calls "the uncomfortable anxiety over the emigrant experience" (p. 113).

The danger of covering such a vast amount of territory is that one can easily misstep. For example, in the chapter on the Irish Greene uses the song "The Emigrant's Farewell" as an example of an Irish song (pp. 9–10). Actually, the song under discussion is a popular song from 1843, "The Lament of the Irish Emigrant," with words by Mrs. Price Blackwood and music by William Dempster, neither of whom were Irish or Irish immigrants. The song he quotes in the final chapter, "To the West, to the West," was again a popular song from the stage entertainment "The Emigrant's Progress, or, Life in the Far West," by the Englishmen Henry Russell and Charles Mackay (p. 155). These are small details, but they point to the one element that discomforts this reader: the lack of distinction among a variety of forms such as native songs, popular songs, and professional entertainment. To what extent do commercial creations reflect an immigrant group's feelings and emotions and to what extent do they create them? Written accounts of musical activity can help situate the place of music within a community. One such example that bolsters Greene's argument is a story of Irish-American troops during the Civil War. At night with Union troops encamped on the north shore of the Rappahannock River, and the Confederates on the southern, a song began and was quickly taken up by both armies: "Deep in Canadian woods we've met, from one bright island flown; Great is the land we tread, but yet our hearts are with our own. And ere we leave this shanty small, while fades the parting day, We'll toast old Ireland, dear old Ireland! Ireland, boys, hurrah!" Such stories would add a vivid sense of actual musical activity within an immigrant group.

With its thorough documentation and complete citations, this book will undoubtedly serve as a springboard for further and more detailed studies of the emigrant experience as manifested in song lyrics. But it is precisely because Greene surveys each group in broad strokes that we come to see the commonalities among people of different backgrounds and generations. Greene's work is a significant addition to the scholarly study of immigrant musical life and its significance for historians and social scientists.

ROBERT R. GRIMES
Fordham University

JOSHUA D. ROTHMAN. *Notorious in the Neighborhood: Sex and Families across the Color Line in Virginia, 1787–1861*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 341. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Joshua D. Rothman's provocative analysis of interracial sex and families in Virginia adds many layers of nuance and detail to the study of race and sex in the South. In six thematic chapters, Rothman demonstrates that in pre-Civil War Virginia, as in other places and earlier periods, whites and blacks had sex

with each other far more often, in more varied contexts, and with more variable outcomes than a strict reading of southern whites' supposed gender, race, or sexual beliefs would suggest was possible. Rothman also argues that sexual encounters across the color line might contravene conventional (elite) white morality—and the law—at one level and yet still also have their own "ethical norms" (p. 50). Respecting or violating those norms could make the difference between toleration and harassment, "common knowledge" and "public knowledge," prosecution and conviction, a sentence and its execution, at least until the 1850s, when white Virginia began to draw stricter lines and to police them more vigorously (p. 16).

Looking first at Thomas Jefferson and Sally Hemings, Rothman argues that white Virginia took interracial sex more or less as a given in a biracial society and established norms for dealing with this conventionally unethical and even illegal behavior. If sufficiently discreet, a white man in a long-term interracial affair could avoid falling afoul of laws against fornication and public opinion. The second chapter explores a similar theme in a lower stratum of Virginia society, with the intriguing case of Nancy West and David Isaacs, a free woman of color and a white Jewish man, who had several children together. Merely crossing the color line did not provoke a campaign to stop or punish them; rather, it took a series of property transfers and cohabitation to provoke legal charges of fornication, interracial marriage, or, paradoxically, both. As subsequent chapters show, while interracial socializing and prostitution in Richmond occasioned considerable hand-wringing, the city made little comprehensive effort to shut down its night life and sex trade until the 1840s and 1850s. Nor was interracial sex so repugnant to whites as to be automatic or instant grounds for divorce. Instead, many spouses continued to try to make the best of their bad marriages for months or even years—or so their eventual divorce petitions claimed. Interracial adultery did, however, improve the chances of a successful petition, especially for men. Even where violent crime across the color line was concerned, white Virginians' reactions involved many contingencies. Blacks accused of killing whites faced near-certain conviction, but their death sentences were sometimes commuted to transportation following white petitions for mercy. Gender, sex, and class played a significant role in whether and how whites acknowledged mitigating circumstances. A black man who killed a white man for raping his wife rarely gained much sympathy, even though white men's honor might have prompted them to violence in similar circumstances. But whites might seek clemency for a slave woman who killed her rapist-owner if there was some additional circumstance, like incest.

The final chapter explores how Virginians decided "whether someone was white or black" (p. 205). Looking back to the colonial period and forward to the postwar one-drop rule, it explores ancestry, appearance, and social reputation in defining the color line

or, more often, failing to do so. Virginians acknowledged many phenotypical differences among the nominally black or mulatto, but they disagreed about whether visual common sense could in fact distinguish a white person. Social reputation could be equally unreliable. White Virginians could accept that some people in their midst were racially indeterminate, and when they were forced to resolve an ambiguity, they did not always agree. Indeed, given the ways in which Virginians interacted sexually, it stands to reason that they would not agree on who was black or white, let alone whether those categories could encompass the entire population.

On the whole, this is an intriguing and impressive book. It may attract a wider readership than many monographs because of the topic and the relegation of much historiographic debate to the endnotes. This does not mean that Rothman is interpretively timid—far from it. However, he does not engage the burgeoning scholarship on colonial sexuality, for example, in the text proper. Similarly, we get no ringing claims about how his findings reshape old questions about antebellum black communities' definition of family or assessment of black women's sexuality. One reason for this seeming omission may be that this book is more about whites than blacks: even though black men and women appear in plenty and vividly, whites seem to have had the last say in terms of how the color line was drawn, policed, enforced, flouted, and punished. At one level, this reflects the undeniable truths of power in Old Virginia and is central to the overall argument about how power gave whites the luxury of choice in terms of when and how to enforce the color line. And yet, Rothman's data surely gave him opportunities to speculate more fully how the rest of Virginia defined race, sex, family, and the "ethical norms" that governed them (p. 50).

KIRSTEN E. WOOD
Florida International University

JONATHAN H. EARLE, *Jacksonian Antislavery and the Politics of Free Soil, 1824–1854*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 282. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

Jonathan H. Earle's book traces the ideological contributions of radical Jacksonians to the political movement against slavery in the antebellum United States. After starting with a chapter on the origins of free soil ideas in the 1830s, Earle details the emergence in the 1840s of Democratic Party antislavery thought in a series of chapters focused on, successively, New York, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. The book closes with a chapter on the 1848 election, and another covering the years between 1848 and the start of the Republican Party in 1854.

Earle's study argues two interrelated but distinct ideas. First, he writes that radical northern Democrats in the 1830s fashioned ideas that later became indispensable parts of Republican Party ideology. Second,

this book enters into a larger historiographic discussion of the Jacksonians. While recognizing that Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s interpretation needs revision, Earle argues that antislavery activism in the party of Andrew Jackson forces a reassessment of the current tendency to make "white supremacy and proslavery the underpinnings of Jacksonian political thought" (p. 5).

Earle is largely persuasive in his efforts to find many of antislavery's ideological roots in Jackson's party. Starting with three "dissident Democrats" (p. 17) in the 1830s, Earle rediscovers how William Leggett, George Henry Evans, and Thomas Morris created ideas on which Republicans later capitalized. Leggett applied "Jacksonian equal rights doctrine to blacks" (p. 24). Evans's Jacksonian dislike of the "Land-Monopoly" became the "Free Soil" of Republican slogans and eventually the Homestead Act. Ohio Democrat Morris was the first senator to denounce the slave power and its evil influences. These examples show, Earle notes, that antislavery has ideological roots in social movements other than the Second Great Awakening. Jacksonian labor radicals and even some mainstream Democrats made the transition from opposing land monopolies, corporations, and activist governments that benefited one group at the expense of others to fearing slavery and its aristocratic tendencies. Earle's book serves as a valuable reminder that evangelicals should not enjoy all the credit for the antislavery movement.

Nor, according to Earle, should the market revolution be seen as the source for all antislavery activity. Historians, myself included, have tended to talk about antislavery politics as something that could only happen if a railroad, canal, or merchant capitalist came through a region first. In his study of antislavery Democrats in five northern states, Earle argues that hard money, antimonopoly Democrats in economic backwaters became some of the earliest and most determined constituents in antislavery politics. Calling these regions the "passed-over districts," Earle locates a new constituency for antislavery and explains how David Wilmot, John Hale, Preston King, and others brought antislavery voices to Congress from remote, economically isolated areas. While usually persuasive, the inclusion of Herkimer County, New York, in the "passed-over" category seems like a stretch since it sat astride the Erie canal. In that case, an analysis that compared voting in towns on the canal with villages in the county's Adirondack Mountains would have been welcome.

Earle's book is less successful in its attempts to present the Democratic Party as anything less than riddled with proslavery (and racist) sentiment. While Earle has uncovered many antislavery Jacksonians, he also shows them battling constantly with their party's leadership over slavery. In New Hampshire, antislavery radical John Hale debated fellow Democrat Franklin Pierce over the issue of Texas annexation. While no one can doubt Hale's Jacksonian background or his antislavery beliefs, it was Pierce who later

received the Democratic presidential nomination. Indeed, the state Democratic Party removed Hale's name from their ballot soon after he opposed annexing Texas. Democrat Marcus Morton in Massachusetts may have been genuinely antislavery, but the national party forced him to recant publicly in 1845 in order to maintain his federal patronage connections. Ohio Democrats dropped the antislavery Senator Morris because of his radical speeches in the late 1830s. Thus, while Earle argues that Free Soil Democrats—even ones accused recently of racism such as Wilmot—were often motivated by a sincere desire to end slavery, their constant and unsuccessful battles with proslavery Democrats remind the reader that the party was solidly in the South's pocket by the 1840s.

Earle's book serves to remind us that the antislavery coalition was diverse. While middle-class Protestants may have given antislavery politics its largest constituency, the ideas and much of its early leadership came from the secular egalitarians and labor reformers of the Jacksonian party. As such, the book argues for an understanding of antebellum parties as especially broad coalitions of people for whom ideas lived even as they changed subtly over time.

MICHAEL D. PIERSON
*University of Massachusetts,
 Lowell*

CARL A. BRASSEAUX and KEITH P. FONTENOT. *Steamboats on Louisiana's Bayous: A History and Directory*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 277. \$54.95.

This is the first major work on southern Louisiana's steamboat industry, but the book is unfortunately very narrowly conceptualized. By focusing almost entirely on the business history of the steamboat industry, and by almost ignoring the social and cultural history of steamboats in the bayou region, Carl A. Brasseaux and Keith P. Fontenot limit the importance of their findings. The authors subtly romanticize steamboats in a way that is reminiscent of early twentieth-century steamboat historians who longed for days just then passing from view. Like those early works, this is a story about the boats, where they went, how much they carried, and how the railroads won. Furthermore, the authors discuss steamboating as a world separated from land, rather than as being intimately connected and sustaining to economic actors on the banks of Louisiana's bayous. The result is a book with strong antiquarian elements that lacks an analytical hook. The authors tell a well-worn story from the perspective of those who owned the steamboats and who profited from their success.

The book's five chapters unfold chronologically and highlight how the river industry changed over time. The first several chapters of the book describe how steamboats extended through Louisiana's bayou country, gradually replacing preindustrial forms of river transport. This section has wonderful local detail. But

because the book does not include a map of the bayou geography, the reader quickly feels lost in the swamps. Readers who have not lived in southern Louisiana or studied its complex riverine geography would be well advised to study the relative position of places such as Bayou Teche, Bayou Courtableau, Bayou Lafourche, and Bayou Plaquemine before beginning. A chapter on the Civil War allows the authors to explore a neglected part of the military history of the war while also highlighting how the war years, with their commercial disruptions, marked the beginning of the long decline of the steamboat industry. The book's final chapter continues to narrate the decline of river commerce.

Most steamboat histories focus almost exclusively on the antebellum "golden era," but Brasseaux and Fontenot nicely document how the river industry evolved in response to the rise of railroad shipping. In the nineteenth century, the authors describe the invention of postbellum floating showboats, towboats, and the development of excursion trips. In the twentieth century, they document the substitution of propeller-driven boats for sternwheelers and the rise of diesel engines over wood and coal powered engines. This material is all well researched and will aid future scholars who seek to investigate the neglected world of twentieth-century rivers.

There are numerous historical topics that the authors might have engaged to further their story, but their omission of African-American history is particularly egregious. Most of the goods that were shipped on bayou steamboats were made by slaves and later by postbellum freedmen, but these workers have been nearly erased from the text. The omission is particularly strange considering that several of the images that the authors use in the book portray African-American subjects. How did Louisiana's sugar slaves, whom Michael Tadmán has depicted in the pages of the *AHR* as living in a demographic deathtrap, view the region's steamboat industry? How did their labor contribute to the success of the region's steamboat owners? Incorporating the perspective of slaves would considerably complicate this tale of technological progress.

Brasseaux and Fontenot have scoured newspapers, government records, court records, travel accounts, and other sources to tell their tale. Their annotated appendix listing steamboats that operated in the bayou country is a particularly useful part of the book. However one might quibble with their research design, this book will be an important starting point for future scholars interested in the subject.

THOMAS C. BUCHANAN
University of Adelaide

ROBERT D. SAMPSON. *John L. O'Sullivan and His Times*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 2003. Pp. xvi, 304. \$38.00.

John Louis O'Sullivan is a familiar name to historians of the antebellum United States, but that familiarity

tends to be based on a single piece of information: a Democratic newspaper and magazine editor, O'Sullivan coined the term "manifest destiny" in 1845 during the buildup to the U.S. conquest of Mexico. These days, O'Sullivan's name lives more or less in infamy. It has been a long time since manifest destiny called up anything other than a belligerent, racist expansionism that seems shameful to most thoughtful people today. While Robert D. Sampson's new biography hardly dispels this shadow from O'Sullivan's reputation, it will surprise many readers with its careful account of the ideological and cultural company that the author of manifest destiny kept.

In Sampson's account of his early life, O'Sullivan emerges as a strikingly cosmopolitan figure for someone who concocted so all-American an idea. The multilingual son of a globe-trotting, part-Swiss, Irish Catholic sea captain and an Englishwoman from Gibraltar, the future editor was educated in European schools and graduated from Columbia College before taking up the editorial pen. The vast majority of the book focuses on O'Sullivan's relatively brief period as an active writer, editor, and publisher between 1835 and 1845. His most famous and original venture, the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, was launched with typically bad economic timing amid the Panic of 1837. Jacksonian Democrats felt that most of the country's cultural and economic elites were arrayed against them, and the *Democratic Review* was intended as an alternative to the dominant, Whig-oriented literary publications of the day, especially the *North American Review*. In fact, while Sampson emphasizes politics, he observes that the majority of the magazine's content was literary, featuring essays, reviews, and fictional works from numerous prominent or soon-to-be-prominent authors who were active Democrats or sympathizers, including William Cullen Bryant, Walt Whitman, and O'Sullivan's close friends Nathaniel Hawthorne and Catherine Maria Sedgwick.

What made the *Democratic Review* famous, however, and what draws most of Sampson's attention, was its ambitious political content, especially the sweeping philosophical essays produced by O'Sullivan himself. Sampson follows many other authors in taking O'Sullivan's "Introductory Statement" as the defining manifesto for "romantic democracy," a term that looms large in the interpretation presented here without being clearly defined. "Democracy is the Cause of Humanity," O'Sullivan wrote, in a turn of phrase that Sampson uses as the epigraph to chapter three. According to O'Sullivan, democracy was a cause that sought to "emancipate the minds of the mass of men from the degrading and disheartening fetters of social distinctions and advantages." It was "at war" with "fraud, violence, and oppression"; it was "a cheerful creed, a creed of high hope and universal love" (p. 32).

The overarching theme of the book is that this "romantic democracy" deserves to be taken seriously despite its many contradictions (especially concerning slavery) and departures from anything resembling

nineteenth-century reality. Sampson correctly points out that, like his editorial role model William Leggett, O'Sullivan espoused a laissez-faire political economy that, contrary to later versions, was rooted a strong sense of "social justice and social rationality" (p. 30). As they saw it, government intervention in the economy usually served to protect or create economic privilege rather than breaking it down, which was true enough up to O'Sullivan's time. Active government also corrupted democratic politics by "mixing up pecuniary interests, as connected with bank charters, extensions of capital &c., with the contests of parties of which ought to be confined to principles" (p. 37). Treating Jacksonian attacks on banking as a serious response to the market revolution, Sampson closely follows O'Sullivan's editorial course in the ideological vanguard of the struggles for hard money and the "divorce" of banking from the state.

The extensive material on the economic aspects of romantic democracy is solid but familiar. Much more enlightening are the sections in which Sampson recounts the broad agenda of related causes O'Sullivan took up as an editor and as a state legislator in New York. These included replacing war with a system of international arbitration under a United Nations-like "Congress of Nations," reform of the conspiracy laws to prevent their use against labor unions, and most importantly, abolition of the death penalty. O'Sullivan wrote the New York legislature's influential *Report in Favor of the Abolition of Punishment of Death by Law* and almost succeeded in overcoming the doubts of some fellow Democrats and the determined opposition of the moralistic Whigs. Sampson also finds O'Sullivan expressing remarkably progressive views in many other areas, including women's rights. In general, Sampson provides a useful corrective to the currently standard accounts suggesting that only Whigs and evangelical Christians bothered themselves with social reform and improvement in the Jacksonian era.

Sampson is well aware of how deeply much of the rest of O'Sullivan's career undercuts the visionary ideals expressed in the *Democratic Review*. The bulk of the text follows the editor's activities as a loyal Democratic partisan, an enthusiastic patronage seeker, and an incompetent businessman of questionable ethics. At the same time, Sampson argues convincingly that these ideals underpinned even the apparently bellicose phrase "manifest destiny." O'Sullivan the hack was able to make a fairly easy transition from his longtime idol Martin Van Buren to challenger James K. Polk during the 1844 election, when he operated a campaign newspaper called the *New York Morning News*. At the same time, O'Sullivan the idealist opposed Polk's drive toward war with Mexico and used manifest destiny to describe "a peaceful and gradual process" (p. 192) that would win the continent "without resort to force of arms" (p. 201).

Losing control of both his publications in 1845, O'Sullivan spent the remaining fifty years of his life pursuing "romantic democracy" in less high-minded

and more soft-headed ways. Sampson covers almost all of this period in a lengthy but still rushed final chapter; some readers may wish that greater effort had been expended analyzing the links between O'Sullivan's early ideals and the wrong turns he took later. Despite his longstanding crusade against war and other forms of state-sponsored violence, 1846 saw O'Sullivan and his new wife honeymooning in Cuba at the home of an anti-Spanish conspirator. This visit was the beginning of the former editor's involvement with a series of filibustering plots to liberate and annex Cuba. During the Pierce administration, O'Sullivan lobbied for the Kansas-Nebraska Act and landed a job as consul to Lisbon. By 1860, he had drifted into an open embrace of the proslavery argument and disunionism that horrified old Democratic friends like Hawthorne. After spending the Civil War producing Confederate propaganda in Europe, O'Sullivan lived in exile until the 1870s, when he returned to New York, penniless, a devout spiritualist, and a forgotten man.

While O'Sullivan is a fascinating character, this is not a uniformly fascinating book. There is too much detail on patronage disputes and failed business ventures, perhaps because they are more heavily documented than other aspects of O'Sullivan's life. At the same time, too much space is devoted to summarizing various essays where analyzing and contextualizing them more thoroughly would have been better. Perhaps most disappointingly, Sampson embeds O'Sullivan's life story chiefly within a conventional narrative of Jacksonian-era political history, missing the chance to bring in ideas from cultural history (especially print culture) that might have defined the significance of the *Democratic Review* and its editor a bit more clearly. Largely absent is the sense that O'Sullivan was actually one in a long line of political publishers who had tried, since Thomas Jefferson's time, to combine partisan politics with literature and reform while still making a living. Nor does the reader get much sense of how the *Democratic Review* compared to other literary and political publications of its time. Sampson's coverage of the democratic literary movement O'Sullivan sought to foster is limited chiefly to a narrative of his relationship with Hawthorne.

These flaws notwithstanding, this is a valuable book that should be consulted by any scholar tempted to generalize about Jacksonian politics or the expansionism of the 1840s.

JEFFREY L. PASLEY
University of Missouri

RICHARD FRANKLIN BENSEL. *The American Ballot Box in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 302. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.00.

Recent explorations of "cultural politics" aside, the study of nineteenth-century U.S. politics generally remains closely tied to the functionalist theoretical models and rational choice assumptions of post-World

War II social science. Of course nineteenth-century voters carefully weighed the competing platforms put forth by the parties and voted according to their own policy preferences. Naturally the policies that nineteenth-century legislatures enacted reflected the will of the people—or at least the will of the majority. These scholarly commonplaces require amendment, and perhaps even wholesale overhaul, argues Richard Franklin Bense in this original analysis of the mid-nineteenth-century polling place.

Mining the transcripts of hearings involving forty-eight contested congressional elections between 1850 and 1868, Bense seeks to establish the variety of sociological contexts in which men voted. The contested elections in question provide plenty of regional and socioeconomic variation: sparsely settled frontier districts, rural districts in the Middle Atlantic region, and urban districts such as St. Louis and Baltimore. Underrepresented in Bense's data is the Northeast, and completely absent are hearings from contested elections in the Deep South. To be sure, the mid-nineteenth-century polling place shared common features wherever Americans voted. Important among these were the party workers who watched the polls, worked the crowds, and mounted all manner of creative efforts to suppress the opposition's vote. Election judges were also mainstays of the polling place, charged with enforcing residency, age, mental competency, naturalization, and, during the Civil War, loyalty requirements. Various forms of intimidation, coercion, and violence suffused the electoral process, as did bribery, ballot-stuffing/stealing, multiple voting, and out-of-precinct voting. And, of course, virtually all polling places were notable for the free flow of liquor.

At the heart of this book is an analysis of the interplay between the sociological environment of the polling place and the practice of voting. Mediating this dynamic interaction were the ubiquitous party agents and loyalists whose actions fundamentally shaped the democratic experience of ordinary men. In urban precincts, where anonymity prevailed, partisans relied on ethnocultural stereotypes to identify the likely political preferences of the men approaching the polls. Challenges to a man's legal status as an eligible voter, for instance, often arose from something as simple as his accent. Meanwhile the riots and violence that attended urban elections reproduced deeper ethnic and religious fissures. Thus, Bense argues, the culture of the urban polling place grew from neighborhood ethnocultural loyalties and divisions, not partisan ideologies. The same can be said for rural polling places, where community relationships based on mutual familiarity and social consensus shaped the behavior of party workers and ordinary voters alike. On the frontier, vigilante interventions kept other voters from the polls, or literally stole results—as when mobs pilfered ballot boxes. Bense's most fascinating chapter deals with Civil War elections. The war created a unique sociology in which federal agents constantly intervened at the polling place. Republican troops, provost mar-

shals, and draft officials worked to prevent the votes of those they defined as disloyal. In the crucible of war the only "democratic" outcome acceptable to these agents was victory for the candidates who vigorously backed the northern war effort.

In a variety of ways, then, Bensel establishes how community-based norms, identities, and relationships were central to the ways party agents intervened at the polls. In turn, Bensel also establishes how those same environmental factors shaped how and even why men voted or were kept from voting, as the case may be. The basic point here is that scholars can no longer accept voting returns as neutral registers of mass political preferences. The central role played by party loyalists in shaping voting behavior and election outcomes, moreover, raises fundamental questions about the relationship between mass opinion and government policies.

Bensel draws a very sharp distinction between the behavior of party agents, who intervened in the electoral process because of their political ideology and deep knowledge of the policies at stake in elections, and the mass of ordinary voters, who Bensel contends only dimly perceived the policy differences in play. Likely some readers will find this formulation troubling. Yet it seems to me that Bensel is onto something here, even if he has overstated the case (much of his material on the Civil War polling place, for instance, suggests to me that ordinary voters broadly understood what was at stake). Then, too, the inclusion of Deep South precincts during the Reconstruction era might well have modified Bensel's findings, since it is clearly the case that ordinary southern voters perceived the basic policy differences between "black" Republicans and their Democratic opponents. Nevertheless, Bensel's fascinating and original analysis should prompt us to rethink the relationship between voting and government in the nineteenth century. This is a provocative book, sure to have important consequences for how scholars interpret nineteenth-century politics.

MARK VOSS-HUBBARD
Eastern Illinois University

TUNDE ADELEKE. *Without Regard to Race: The Other Martin Robinson Delany*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2003. Pp. xxxiii, 274. \$42.00

A simplistic version of African-American history is often taught as a series of pairs of ideologically balanced leaders: accommodationist Booker T. Washington versus activist W.E.B. Du Bois at the beginning of the twentieth century and integrationist Martin Luther King, Jr. versus separatist Malcolm X in the 1960s. Regarding the nineteenth century, the cautious advocacy of Frederick Douglass is often contrasted with the uncompromising militancy of his contemporary, Martin Robinson Delany.

A free-born black abolitionist, the highest ranking black Union army officer, and a South Carolina Re-

construction politician, Delany already is the subject of thoughtful biographies by Victor Ullman, Dorothy Sterling, and Frank [Frances] Rollin. He is also a central figure in influential studies of antebellum black nationalism by Cyril Griffith, Floyd Miller, Wilson J. Moses, Nell Painter, and Sterling Stuckey. The latest study of Delany's public career by Nigerian scholar Tunde Adeleke is not a full-scale biography but rather a detailed indictment of that older historiographical tradition that the author labels "instrumentalism." According to Adeleke, the scholarly pioneers of modern African-American Studies were representatives of the desire in the 1960s and 1970s to use history to effect social change. They wrote to fill a strong demand for a new black history that was designed to inspire readers to enlist in the struggle against the nation's long racist history.

The goal of black biography in that era, says Adeleke, was to create heroes, not to portray real human beings capable of making judgmental errors. These instrumentalist biographers highlighted only their subject's radical and militant behavior. Such works, argues Adeleke, portray Delany as "the quintessence of blackness, black pride and capabilities" (pp. xix-xx). Delany's advocacy of emigration in the 1850s is translated into a nascent global Pan-African nationalism. This instrumentalist interpretation immediately won the admiration of cultural nationalists and gained Delany a place in a pantheon of countercultural protest icons alongside Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X.

Adeleke contends that Delany's "life brilliantly illustrates the limitations of ideological pigeonholing of black leaders" (p. xxi). Breaking free from the preconceptions of instrumentalist historiography, Adeleke reassesses his subject's career and finds another Martin Delany who was "conservative and accommodationist, who compromised when necessary, and who advocated and defended color-blind policies" (p. xiv). Adeleke finds evidence for this revisionist appraisal in his analysis of Delany's youth in Pennsylvania in the 1830s. Adeleke contends that Delany's ideology was molded by such black mentors as Lewis Woodson, William Whipper, and John Vashon, who believed that economic elevation and integration into American society were possible for all members of their race embracing the prevailing middle-class values of the dominant society. Following their lead, Delany in the 1840s argued that black elevation depended on economic development, education, moral uplift, and thrift. Far from alienated, he repeatedly endorsed the progressive and democratic character of American political culture and worked with white abolitionists to demand its universal application. Only after growing frustrated at the slow pace of such reform in the 1850s did Delany, reluctantly and temporarily according to Adeleke, turn to African emigration and a more radical critique of America.

Adeleke then examines what instrumentalists regard as Delany's ideologically inconsistent behavior after the Civil War when he became a Republican politician

in Reconstruction-era South Carolina. After service in the Freedmen's Bureau, Delany entered state politics, where he publicly battled the radical wing of the Republican Party before finally defecting to the Democrats in 1876. For Adeleke, Delany's behavior is not an aberration but rather a return to the conservative, integrationist values of his youth. Delany advocated reconciliation and compromise with the former slaveholders in matters of political rights and power in order to induce concessions of economic benefits to blacks. Returning to his position in the 1830s and 1840s, Delany argued that the freedmen should focus on economic and educational achievement and forgo seeking high political offices until they were better prepared to exercise their responsibilities. While conceding Delany's naïve trust in the good intentions of the South's white redeemers, Adeleke contends that Delany's actions in the 1860s and 1870s were consistent with his fundamentally "conservative and pragmatic nature" (p. 187).

Without endorsing Adeleke's poorly substantiated accusations of intellectual dishonesty and ideological partisanship cast at earlier historians, modern-day scholars can benefit from using his findings to take a fresh look at Delany. The book contains valuable insights about the limited options available to nineteenth-century black leaders as they faced the unrelenting racism and economic avarice of the nation's white ruling class. Such revelations do not diminish Delany's stature but add elements of tragedy to his heroic quest to find justice for his people. What use can we make of that history?

JOHN R. MCKIVIGAN
Indiana University-Purdue University,
Indianapolis

JEAN M. HUMEZ. *Harriet Tubman: The Life and the Life Stories*. (Wisconsin Studies in Autobiography Series.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 471. \$45.00.

Harriet Tubman is "still the most famous African American female hero," and this book attempts to sort out how and why that came to be the case. Historiographically, this study is part of a body of scholarship that investigates the role black women played in American history and the ways in which they sought to shape the representations of that history. Like her contemporaries, Tubman commandeered her own legacy, although not always to the extent she would have liked. However, Jean M. Humez believes that Tubman "produced a self-authored life story" and one of the central tasks of this study is to evaluate the differences between how Tubman was presented by others and how she presented—through life stories—her own history. The book is divided into four parts—"The Life," "Life Stories," "Stories and Sayings," and "Documents"—rendering the text part biography, part archive, and part folklore. For example, in "Stories and Sayings," the author has "assembled every individual

life history story" she was able to locate, including the three previously published biographies, into a "hypothetical version of Tubman's autobiography" (p. 7). Unconventional as it is, this is a generous and arduous endeavor, providing scholars with innumerable sources and citations for future research.

It goes without saying that readers will be fascinated by Tubman's life: her work as the Underground Railroad Moses, leading her family and countless other slaves to freedom; her participation in the Combahee River Raid during the Civil War; and her railway car protest. All make for a riveting read. But just as compelling are the accounts of Tubman's daily struggles to earn a living (and pay off her mortgage) after the war in her home town of Auburn, New York, by washing clothes and cleaning the homes of antislavery families. These stories speak volumes about the gender and racial politics of the nineteenth century, and Humez pays careful attention to them. Tubman's life intersects with key figures in nineteenth-century America including Frederick Douglass, Lucretia Mott, William H. Seward, and John Brown. And in spite of the fact that evidence is lacking in places, the author makes excellent use of these connections in the narrative.

There are places in the text that could benefit from additional information about African-American history. Tubman's life as a slave in the middle ground of Maryland, for example, brings to mind Douglass's experience as a slave in this border state. The author is, however, careful to show the tensions within and between Tubman's friends and family members, and to link these to wider debates in African-American history; there is an especially insightful discussion of Tubman's purchase of the John Brown Hall (later called the Harriet Tubman Home) that highlights the debate over whether teaching black women domestic science was an appropriate use of the space.

The second part of the book addresses Tubman's vast repertoire of life stories and provides keen analysis of the ways she delivered these narratives. Drawing on a wide range of scholarship on mediated texts, Humez highlights the process that turned storytelling into text creation. Without a doubt, Humez has remarkable evidence vis-à-vis Tubman's role in shaping her own history. The account of Sarah Bradford's biography, "Scenes in the Life of Harriet Tubman," which originally sold for one dollar in December of 1868, provides ample evidence of the ways Tubman participated in the process and the marketing of her own history. Printed four times, this text originated with interviews between Bradford and Tubman but morphed into a very different kind of story as Bradford revised it and "censored aspects of Tubman's witty and salty persona, as well as her politics" (p. 149). In many ways, this section seems to be the heart of the book; it demonstrates beautifully how history gets written and the part memory plays in the process.

The stories, sayings, and documents collected in parts three and four of the book allow us to glimpse

into the complexity of the biographer's craft. While it is sometimes difficult to remember the background of each storyteller or story (these have been explained in earlier parts of the book), it is worth the effort to study these carefully. There are 121 stories and sayings and 64 documents, and the reader cannot help but marvel at the tremendous archival and detective work that made such a collection possible. Humez has made the stories as approachable as possible by organizing them chronologically and by topic. In a section called "Storytelling Performances Described," Tubman's grandniece, Alice Brickler, described her Aunt Harriet "flat on her stomach and with only the use of her arms and serpentine movements of her body, gliding smoothly along" in the grass to demonstrate "the way she had gone by many a sentinel during the war" (p. 203). These stories and documents are not meant to be conclusive. The letters between Tubman biographer Earl Conrad and woman's rights activist Carrie Chapman Catt, in which they debate Tubman's role in the woman's rights movement, for example, raise significant questions about how this part of Tubman's life has been interpreted. But Humez's book is not meant to answer all of the questions about our favorite black female heroine; it is intended to raise questions about her and about the history making that began when Tubman was still alive.

LYNN M. HUDSON
Macalester College

KIRSTEN E. WOOD. *Masterful Women: Slaveholding Widows from the American Revolution through the Civil War*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 281. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

In the Old South, ostensibly immutable differences in class, race, and gender marked elite white men as natural leaders. Yet occasional rights claimed by poor white men and even slaves challenged those "natural" boundaries, bringing into question how elites maintained authority. Kirsten E. Wood offers new insights into this power structure by singling out one exceptional group, slaveholding widows, and exploring how fully they maintained social position after the deaths of their elite white husbands. In a well-written study based chiefly on a close reading of the correspondence and personal accounts of this group, Wood argues that above all else southern elites prioritized the "mystique of privilege" (p. 179), and thus granted widows the rights of mastery due them by their slaveholding status rather than denying them such because of their gender. Although the sources are too incomplete to make Wood's answer definitive, her compelling analysis, clearly connected to the current scholarship, make this book an important contribution to the field.

In framing her provocative argument, Wood concedes a host of variables. Not only could widows' ability to extract concessions based on their social status vary by time period, socioeconomic differences

created by the major crop farmed, or the extent of slaveholding, they could also vary by the widow's age, the geographical proximity of her male kin, the presence of children, and several other contingencies. Wood most carefully explores the first of these variables, noting that the overlap between household and market production permitted postrevolutionary widows some legal and commercial control. As this overlap declined in the nineteenth century, and the rhetoric defining women as essentially delicate and helpless grew, widows confronted internally and externally an image of women left alone as "broken reeds." Moreover, in the era of the common man, southern elites came to depend upon yeomen's ownership of wives to maintain their allegiance for the hierarchical world slave law created. For all of these reasons, much of the scholarship on southern society has suggested that gender differences remained paramount. Wood counters that antislavery rhetoric and increased socioeconomic inequality unnerved elites, pressing them to endorse the power of fellow (female) planters. Rather than diminished prospects for widows in the antebellum period, she finds an impressive record of continued economic and public activity. Ultimately, widows used their status as ladies to reinforce their mastery—to gain the support of kinsmen in legal disputes with neighbors or other family members, or when undertaking any action allegedly beyond their abilities as women but required for the upkeep of their economic position. Elite men went along because "gender hierarchy both masked and reinforced class privilege" (p. 130).

In making such a case, Wood opposes the argument that planters' wives, who had to meet social expectations of women's fragility to claim the privileges of ladyhood, found slave management impossible during the Civil War because they could not marshal the necessary threat of violence. While Wood acknowledges that "slaves routinely undermined widows' mastery," she contends they acted similarly in male-headed households and were "in no position to ratchet up their resistance when a widow took over" (p. 55). Relying heavily on the very real threat of sale, and with the aid of male agents, widows wielded enough control over their slaves to run their plantations. That they could no longer maintain that control during the war, Wood insists, had everything to do with the instability of the entire social order during wartime, not women's socially constructed weaker role. Still, she concedes, "the military maw consumed most of the white men on whom slaveholding widows relied to help them surveil and punish their slaves" (p. 161).

This last observation is less of a concession than it initially seems, as Wood suggests that all slaveholders confronted this and other power-eroding shortages. But, based as it is on anecdotes of Confederate wives' numerous complaints, her distinction here reveals the methodological problem that limits either side's claim to authoritative conclusions. Without a systematic study of court and other more consistent records, both

readings—that during power struggles elites privileged class boundaries, or they privileged gender—are plausible. Wood's research does include an examination of Rowan County, North Carolina, probate records, and an extensive reading of notorious court cases. But while Wood draws nuanced conclusions from her sources, her database is necessarily small; her elaborate construction of the differences in widowhood between the postrevolutionary and antebellum period rests, more or less, on seven cases and two novels.

Wood exploits the advantage of these records—the insight they provide into the mindsets of widows, their enemies, and supporters—to the fullest, however. Her stories of the doubts that necessarily wracked independent women in the nineteenth-century South are poignant. She also provides first-hand accounts of why they chose not to remarry, evidence that bolsters her contention that they recognized that their class position overcame obstacles their gender posed. In the end, this book does just what it is supposed to do, leaving us with provocative questions that will undoubtedly stimulate new research into the lives of women (and men) on the edges of southern society.

STEPHANIE COLE
University of Texas,
Arlington

ALLEN C. GUELZO. *Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery in America*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2004. Pp. xiii, 332. \$26.00.

Allen C. Guelzo's meticulous and imaginative analysis of the origins and impact of the Emancipation Proclamation resurrects that beleaguered document as the cornerstone of freedom for America's four million slaves. Abraham Lincoln's personal commitment to emancipation has suffered egregiously at the hands of critics, both scholarly and popular, who discount his proclamation's centrality to emancipation while pointing to his zest for compensated emancipation and colonization as an indication of his true feelings—lukewarm, vacillating, and even racist—toward African-American freedom. Guelzo's masterful reconstruction of Lincoln's motives and methods, rendered within the political and military context in which they played out, challenges the notion that the Emancipation Proclamation “accomplished nothing” (p. 2) and reinforces Lincoln's genuine personal commitment to end slavery.

The crux of Guelzo's argument is his portrayal of Lincoln as an “Enlightenment president” who was steadfast in his pursuit of freedom but equally “prudent” in his efforts to attain and secure it. “Emancipation, for Lincoln, was never a question of the end,” Guelzo reasons, “but of how to construct the means in such a way that the end was not put into jeopardy” (p. 25). Guelzo surveys several possible routes to freedom: self-emancipation, military decree, congressional legislation, executive proclamation, and state legislative action. Weighing these options, Lincoln distrusted the

federal judiciary to uphold either a presidential proclamation or congressional legislation freeing slaves and considered state legislative action the only way of permanently guaranteeing emancipation. Throughout his presidency, therefore, Lincoln worked tenaciously to wring emancipation from the states, beginning with the four loyal border states. Depending on state action, however, meant that emancipation must be gradual, compensated, and voluntary and include the prospect of colonization to make it workable within a racist society. Simply put, as a pragmatist Lincoln was determined to work patiently for freedom, state by state, recognizing realistically that the means must be as legal and constitutional as the end was necessary and moral. Hence, Lincoln clung tenaciously to his dream of “state by state” emancipation—what an abolitionist critic labeled “shooting a gun a little at a time” (p. 95)—from the beginning of his presidency to the end.

Guelzo's Lincoln therefore pursued two parallel but complementary paths to freedom. Voluntary, gradual, and compensated state action was the only way to achieve an emancipation that was both immune to legal challenge and permanent. Lincoln pressed this initiative throughout the Civil War, continuing to ply the border states with compensation proposals even after issuing the Emancipation Proclamation, not to head off real emancipation but rather to make it irrevocable. The Thirteenth Amendment itself represented a form of state legislative action, with ratification by the states in 1865 protecting freedom forever by removing it beyond the purview of federal courts. Simultaneously, however, Lincoln pursued emancipation through executive action, fending off both martial law and congressional legislation and timing his proclamation to work the greatest military, economic, political, and moral impact on the war effort. In this sense, Lincoln issued the proclamation to help win the war, as his harshest critics have charged. But his proclamation simultaneously undermined and indeed doomed slavery, compelling Americans, both North and South, to accept emancipation in one form or another as inevitable. In this ironic sense, the proclamation was truly, as Lincoln's critics have reiterated, not an end in itself but a recognition *and a hastening* of the inevitable. In Guelzo's skillful reinterpretation, Lincoln's state-level initiatives were not mere “flirtations” or backsliding that belie his commitment to freedom but were in fact fundamental to his strategy of achieving an emancipation that was constitutional and therefore irrevocable. Hence, they confirm rather than contradict his zeal to end slavery.

Steeped in an authentic Civil War context, Guelzo's narrative systematically addresses and overturns the logic that has made Lincoln look regressive. Assuming familiarity with controversies surrounding Lincoln's views on race, religion, reconstruction, and civil rights, the book's greatest strength is its steady focus on the unfolding of emancipation as a wartime policy. Crisply told, the story depends foremost on Lincoln's own

words and deeds but finds abundant confirmation in the testimony of Radical Republicans, abolitionists, African-American leaders, journalists, and Democratic opponents alike. Guelzo's simultaneously shrewd and honest portrayal of an earnest commitment to freedom will inevitably provoke critics but is likely to prevail. This book has already won the Lincoln Prize and, as the Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial approaches, offers a definitive account of emancipation for this generation.

KENNETH J. WINKLE
University of Nebraska,
Lincoln

C. WYATT EVANS. *The Legend of John Wilkes Booth: Myth, Memory, and a Mummy*. (CultureAmerica.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2004. Pp. xv, 269. \$24.95.

Anyone who has studied the Lincoln assassination is familiar with the legend that John Wilkes Booth escaped from Garrett's barn in April 1865. The prime promoter of the Booth escape story was Finis Bates, whose *The Escape and Suicide of John Wilkes Booth* (1907) told the convoluted story of Texas drifter John St. Helen who in the 1870s supposedly confessed to being Booth. When another vagabond, David George, committed suicide in Enid, Oklahoma in 1903, amid rumors that he was Booth, Bates made his way to Oklahoma and identified George's remains as his old acquaintance St. Helen. Bates eventually took charge of the body, which became part of traveling carnival exhibits. Traditional historians have dismissed the legend as part of the sensational nonsense that often surrounds American assassinations.

While the story is obviously sensational and untrue, C. Wyatt Evans urges that historians should not reject it so readily, since the legend reveals a great deal about the Civil War and its aftermath. There were many myths of the "Lost Cause," and this is in effect one of them. From a southern perspective, the idea that Booth escaped capture resurrected the South's vindicator, who became a symbol of vengeance against the North and perpetuated the idea that the South would not be reconstructed according to northern wishes. Booth also became a symbol of white supremacy.

Northerners also played their part in the creation of the legend. George/Booth did not spend his last days in some sparsely populated rural southern town but rather in a place of growing modernity and commercialism. Turning to the concept of borderlands that historians have increasingly been utilizing as an interpretive tool, Evans argues that it was not unusual for many individuals in a frontier borderlands community to make up or exaggerate their background. In the beginning the Enid reports of George as Booth were a publicity stunt to draw attention to the town, but the account quickly took on an independent life of its own.

Additionally, Bates tried to link Vice President Andrew Johnson with the assassin. Johnson, who

benefited from Abraham Lincoln's death, became the heavy in the piece, urging a reluctant Booth to commit murder. This made the vice president the villain, while maintaining veneration for Lincoln and portraying the assassin as a manly southerner. Mistrust of government goes back at least into the nineteenth century and is hardly a recent phenomenon. In fact, the entire idea that Booth escaped his fate speaks of betrayal, since if the assassin evaded his pursuers, someone must have helped him and there had to be a conspiracy.

Even the clergy were not immune from the mummy's allures. Methodist Minister Clarence True Wilson viewed the remains at least once, became friendly with Bates, and wrote and lectured on the topic. In Wilson's view, the assassin had lived on to suffer moral retribution. Booth was a symbol of the corrupt past but the future was bright. Evans argues that the fact that a minister could become so involved belies the alleged dichotomy between carnivals and more respectable forms of entertainment.

In preparing his study, Evans relies on a growing body of literature involving cultural theory. One minor criticism is that the reader who is interested in assassinations may not be totally familiar with this literature, making it a bit more difficult to follow all of the nuances of the author's arguments. Evans also occasionally seems puzzled at the vehemence with which traditional historians have attacked the Booth escape legend but this is hardly surprising. Assassinations are by their very nature so surrounded by myth and legend that it has only been in recent times that academically trained historians have even tackled such a topic. There is a certain level of frustration that, despite their best scholarly efforts, the public still seems willing to opt for sensational conspiracy versions of Lincoln's death.

In this well-argued, well-researched, and thoughtful work, Evans does make a strong case that traditional historians should pay more attention to fringe assassination tales. While academic historians can never lay claim to the truth in the way the legend makers do, the legend makers can sometimes capture the emotions of an event in a way that factual history cannot. There are alternative windows into the past beyond the written word.

Utilizing the results of a 1931 autopsy that included x-rays, doctor and historian Blaine Houmes investigated the mummy's authenticity in an article in the *Lincoln Herald* (Spring, 2004). Houmes concluded that the mummy did not have any signs of a broken leg, proving that the corpse could not be that of Lincoln's assassin. However, the mummy remains unburied, allegedly the property of a collector of circus paraphernalia, perhaps waiting to play additional iconic roles in the future.

THOMAS R. TURNER
Bridgewater State College

SHIRLEY SAMUELS. *Facing America: Iconography and the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 186. \$49.95.

A study of Civil War iconography is long overdue. The period from 1861–1865 witnessed a vast outpouring of images that sought simultaneously to digest and to direct the war experience. Illustrated newspapers, songsheets, stationery, cartoons, banners, stamps, currency, and photographic exhibits brought Americans face to face with themselves and their war in new ways. As with gender relations and race relations, the country's symbol system was destabilized by the conflict, and the slippages are telling.

Shirley Samuels offers a fertile reading of that symbol system and its slippages. Examining texts of all types—novels, statues, and images—she lays bare the preoccupying anxieties Americans sought so avidly to deny in their presentations of a coherent national self. During the war, gender role reversals, free slaves, and a potential unnationing created a reinforcing discom-bobulation of the national enterprise that could not be denied in wartime self-imaginings. Thus the war's iconography, according to Samuels, reveals what she calls "substitution panic": the tendency of allegory merely to displace and occasionally to deepen the very anxieties it seeks to assuage.

This book might well have been titled *Embodying America*. Samuels writes about "facing" Americans as they "faced" themselves, but the body of the body politic receives more consistent attention. Her presentations of three national "embodiments" are particularly impressive. First, she suggests some of the reasons why the ultimate avatar of America changed from a Native American woman in the eighteenth century (a Pocahontas-type figure) to Columbia in the antebellum period (a white warrior goddess of Manifest Destiny) to Uncle Sam during the Civil War. Second, she shrewdly discusses the rise of photography and its impact on an America unaccustomed to images of war. In laying bodies in American dooryards, Mathew Brady and others dramatically highlighted the vulnerability of the white male body, and through it the vulnerability of patriarchy. Finally, Samuels presents the national fetishizing of Abraham Lincoln's body as it decomposed its way back to Springfield. All of these embodiments work together of course. Even as Uncle Sam was being born, he was shot to pieces at Antietam and assassinated at Ford's Theater.

Samuels has an intriguing mind, and it is a pleasure to watch it work. Text after text, subhead after subhead, she offers compelling readings and telling juxtapositions of familiar and unfamiliar documents. Occasionally, though, her writing is obscure. Like many bright literary critics, she sometimes cannot resist layering on meaning until meaning is lost; the complexity she ought to clarify is only re-rendered. Thus, her analysis "at once images and disavows" (p. 6), "both reveals and covers" (p. 41), "at once removes . . . and retains" (p. 46), "at once answer[s] and denie[s]"

(p. 77), "at once enhances and evades" (p. 121) her subject, until she has created a sort of "synesthetic," "paramnesic," "substitution panic" in the reader.

This makes the book at once brilliant and frustrating. Not all meanings are symbolic, particularly during war; looking does not always ravish, language does not always enslave, and images do not always do violence to their intended message. When a soldier from the Fourth Alabama sent his sweetheart a few pebbles from the Bull Run battlefield, he, too, created a sort of text he wanted his partner to read. "I trod this field, this America," he was saying. "This America is me, and I hope you will treasure us both." Samuels, though, does not read texts of inclusion, connection, and sacrifice. For good or ill, she reads only texts of exclusion, disjunction, and violence. In doing so, she does a mild violence of her own. The Civil War, after all, did "embody" America. Through it, Americans took a large step toward becoming a people of the, not these, United States.

In her introduction, Samuels asks how "American citizens respond[ed]" to symbolic encounters with their own face, but it is not a question she answers. An insightful reader of texts, she rarely reads the readers, much less the writers. Historians will be frustrated by loose attention to context (differences between northern and southern iconography; who made what images when, why and for whom) and chronology (misdating of the New York City draft riot; conflation of bellum and postbellum texts). To be fair, though, this is not her job; it is a historian's job, and one of us should do it.

STEPHEN BERRY
University of North Carolina,
Pembroke

ROBERT R. MACKEY. *The Uncivil War: Irregular Warfare in the Upper South, 1861–1865*. (Campaign and Commanders Series, number 5.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 288. \$34.95.

Robert R. Mackey is a career army officer and an academically trained historian, and he brings to bear insights from both professions in this study of irregular warfare in the American Civil War. In doing so, he sheds new light on the ever-contentious issue of why the South lost.

More precisely than any historian who previously examined the subject, Mackey defines the contours of irregular Civil War military operations. The Confederacy, he shows, waged three kinds of warfare aside from the traditional maneuvering of large bodies of highly-organized infantry, artillery, and cavalry on the battlefield. There was, first of all, what he terms guerrilla warfare, carried on by small bands of citizens not in uniform, not enrolled as soldiers, and not acting within the formal military chain of command; they typically made hit-and-run attacks on the periphery of invading enemy armies. The second was partisan warfare, waged by small units of enrolled and uniformed

rebel soldiers specially recruited for scouting and sabotage behind enemy lines. The third was raiding warfare, carried out by sizable bodies of regular Confederate cavalry that penetrated deeply behind enemy lines to disrupt supply and communications and then returned to their own lines.

While noting that all three forms of irregular warfare were waged to some extent in every major theater of war, Mackey chooses to focus on a single case study of each: guerrilla warfare in Arkansas, partisan warfare in northern Virginia, and raiding warfare in Kentucky and Tennessee. In Arkansas, guerrilla warfare was sanctioned by Confederate general Thomas C. Hindman's General Orders No. 17 of 1862, which called on citizens to form ten-man bands to harass the Yankee invaders. Partisan warfare was authorized by the Confederate government's Partisan Ranger Act of 1862, and was waged most effectively by Colonel John S. Mosby's 43rd Virginia Cavalry Battalion behind Union lines in northern Virginia. Raiding warfare reached its apogee under Generals Nathan Bedford Forrest and John Hunt Morgan, whose cavalry commands ranged through Kentucky and Tennessee gobbling up Yankee rear-guard detachments and destroying bridges and railroad tracks.

Mackey's central point is that all three forms of Confederate irregular warfare ultimately failed in their aim of hurting the Union armies enough to prevent the conquest of southern territory and the defeat of the rebel armies. In explaining why, he emphasizes not only the weaknesses and hindrances and blunders that foiled the Confederate efforts but also the successful counter-measures devised by the Union army. In Arkansas, Hindman's guerrilla bands pestered the Yankees, but they were not controlled or supplied by the Confederate army and soon degenerated into plunderers preying on their own people, who consequently turned against them. Meanwhile, the Union army adopted practices that effectively nullified the guerrilla threat, such as recruiting Unionist militiamen and posting them with their families in fortified agricultural colonies around the state. In Virginia, Mosby's partisans achieved some striking successes, including capturing a Union general asleep in bed; but circumstances forced them to operate on such a small scale that they could not seriously harm the powerful Union army, especially after it instituted such counter-measures as the use of armored trains to protect railroads and sturdy blockhouses to defend bridges. In Kentucky and Tennessee, Forrest and Morgan became legends in their own time through some brilliant exploits, but they were eventually thwarted by improved Union anti-raiding strategies, better trained garrison troops, and strengthened defensive works at vulnerable points.

In his conclusion Mackey addresses the question, much debated by Civil War historians in recent years, of why Confederates chose not to prolong the conflict through irregular warfare after their armies surrendered in the spring of 1865. His answer is simple and flows logically from the points made in the preceding

chapters: the Confederates had tried irregular warfare for four years, it had failed, and they knew it. Fighting on by irregular means after Appomattox was pointless.

Mackey's major arguments are well documented and persuasive. Advocates of the new military history, however, will wish that he had linked the military matters he discusses more thoroughly to the political, social, and economic contexts in which the war was fought. Mackey certainly does not ignore context; for instance, he provides an interesting analysis of the social background and ideology of Mosby and his troopers and the impact of those factors on partisan warfare in Virginia. But the book is for the most part traditional military history, focused on strategy, tactics, technology, and command decisions and informed by military theory. It is nevertheless an enlightening study that should be read by everyone who seeks to understand the outcome of the Civil War.

STEPHEN V. ASH

University of Tennessee

WILLIAM A. DOBAK and THOMAS D. PHILLIPS. *The Black Regulars, 1866–1898*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2001. Pp. xviii, 360. \$34.95.

Black Americans fought in the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, and in the volunteer United States Colored Troops in the Civil War. Prior to Appomattox, however, African Americans were never part of the regular army. In 1866, for the first time in American history, Congress incorporated black soldiers in the U.S. regulars, creating six black regiments officered by whites. The army reorganization of 1869 reduced the number of black regiments to four, two of cavalry (the Ninth and Tenth), and two of infantry (the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth). Over the next thirty years until the Spanish-American War, blacks participated in the civic life of the United States as regular army soldiers. They manned outposts from Canada to Texas and as far west as Arizona. Indians called them "buffalo soldiers" because of their woolly hair, and the press popularized the term. Black soldiers themselves, however, regarded the buffalo epithet as insulting.

This book by William A. Dobak and Thomas D. Phillips examines the "everyday lives" of the less than 20,000 black men who served in the post-Civil War army. For the most part, it is a story of daily existence on isolated frontier outposts. It is not campaign history. This "first generation" of black regulars left little in the way of manuscripts, and Dobak and Phillips rely mainly on court-martial testimony and pension records in reconstructing black soldier life. Valuable though they are, these sources have obvious limitations, and there is much that we will never know about this fascinating black legion.

The army's use of black regulars, Dobak and Phillips contend, had little to do with civil rights or black uplift; the four black regiments met vital national needs. The post-Civil War army was perennially stretched thin. Numbering only 25,000 men, it occupied the Recon-

struction South, guarded the Rio Grande, fought Indians, and sometimes acted as police and strike-breakers. Because they were less likely to desert and more likely to reenlist, black soldiers were a good investment. Their lower desertion rate, the authors suggest, owed much to demographics. The black population in the West was small; hence, unlike their white counterparts, black deserters did not easily blend into the civilian population. Then, too, the authors argue that army life offered more inducements to blacks than whites.

Contrary to some historians, the authors find little evidence that black regulars comprised the army's frontier "elite." The authors also refute scholarly claims that the black units were the victims of constant war department discrimination, routinely receiving the worst horses, food, uniforms, and equipment as well as postings to the most undesirable locales. The quality may have been less than ideal, but black regiments received the same quality mounts, provisions, and accoutrements as white units. Army records show that the complaints of officers and enlisted men in black units about equipment and isolated postings were virtually identical with those of their counterparts in white units. This equality of treatment (or mistreatment) had little to do with the racial views of quartermaster and ordinance chiefs; it was dictated by expedience and economy. Perpetually on the edge, the army simply had too few men and resources to discriminate between white and black units.

The color line, of course, existed in the army as it did in the society the army represented. Had it been otherwise, there would have been no segregated black regiments with white officers. Time and again, white officers tempered their evaluations of black soldiers with a proverbial "but." Yes, they made good soldiers, as long as they had white officers. Yes, they took naturally to soldiering, but they were addicted to stealing; and so on. Some officers were out and out bigots. Still, the army offered black men opportunities denied them in mainstream America. Where else could a black man rise to a position of authority commensurate with that of a company first sergeant? (A few ambitious sergeants even made regimental staff.) Where else did courts convict black men of offenses in about the same ratio as whites? Civilians in the West were also less hostile to black soldiers than whites back East or in the South. (After 1866 few black troops were stationed in the South.) White settlers rescued from bandits or Indians were grateful for their deliverance, whatever the skin color of their deliverers. The small communities that grew up around isolated frontier forts, moreover, were totally dependent on army trade for survival. Merchants and saloonkeepers could not afford to offend soldier customers, black or white.

In one key respect, the color line shielded the black regulars. Periodically, bills were introduced in Congress to eliminate color distinctions in army recruitment and organization. Had such a measure ever

become law, the likely outcome, the authors rightly suspect, would have been a virtually all-white army. Overall, solid research and even-handed judgments make this book a valuable contribution to an important subject.

TED TUNNELL
Virginia Commonwealth University

CLARE V. MCKANNA, JR. *The Trial of "Indian Joe": Race and Justice in the Nineteenth-Century West.* (Law in the American West, number 7.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 155. \$35.00.

Jose Gabriel was hanged inside the walls of San Quentin Prison on the morning of March 3, 1893. He had been sentenced to death in San Diego County three months before and was executed without appeals, or even an application for clemency. His crime was the murder of a farmer and his wife for whom he had worked. About sixty years old, Gabriel, known locally as "Indian Joe," had worked odd jobs in San Diego County for about twenty-five years. He was a hard worker and had never been in trouble with the law. The evidence against him was purely circumstantial and, by any standard, incredibly flimsy: while he had been caught at the scene of the crime, all concerned simply ignored the fact that he had lived there, sleeping in the barn.

Clare V. McKanna, Jr., tells a powerful story of racial injustice in southern California. This story, turning on the racism implicit in the nickname, "Indian Joe," is doubtlessly typical of marginal lives on the frontier. While the "Indian reservation," often far removed from the dominant society, was one model, hundreds of thousands of Indians followed work or survival to the margins of white communities. McKanna was unable clearly to identify the tribal identity of "Indian Joe": he was born in a Borjano mission community, Vinadaco, in Baja California, of an Indian mother and (apparently) a Mexican father. Assuming he had worked in the San Diego area for twenty five years and was sixty years old, he had spent thirty-five years living somewhere else. He had a son, living in Los Angeles, but there is no more information about the Indian life of "Indian Joe."

The same kind of study might be made of the thousands of other Indians who filled the jails of late nineteenth-century America. We know little about them, or of their collective years of imprisonment. Gabriel was stoic during his short time at San Quentin. He apparently said nothing, and asked nothing, although he always denied his guilt. He spoke limited English and may not have understood much of what was going on: it is not clear that he understood what his death warrant said when it was read to him by the prison warden in English.

The core of the book does not focus on the Indian roots of "Indian Joe." Rather, the book is a detailed study of the operation of frontier justice in one case, a classic case study. McKanna masterfully reconstructs

the crime scene, the prosecution, the defense, and the conduct of the trial. The defense lawyer was not very competent and did not work very hard. The judge let a local jury run away with the case, being disruptive and asking dozens of questions of witnesses. In one chapter, the author discusses the state of forensic evidence in the 1890s and the fact that even basic scientific evidence might have cleared "Indian Joe." All of this is strangely relevant in an era when death penalty convictions regularly turn out to be miscarriages of justice because of poor lawyering and poor forensic evidence.

It is now clear that the mystery of this murder will never be solved: all the parties are dead, and there is no evidence. Indeed, as McKanna points out, Gabriel might have committed the crime, although it is impossible not to note that it is incredibly unlikely statistically that a sixty-year-old man with no history of violence would beat two old people to death: this crime has the hallmarks of a much younger offender.

At the end of the book, McKanna asks a strange question: "was justice served?" Given the racism on the frontier, poor criminal investigation, incompetent legal representation, and the inherent injustice of the death penalty, the question seems irrelevant, or even trivial. Thousands of Indians languished in jails, just as "Indian Joe" did. Some of them actually committed crimes; others doubtless did not. Criminal justice is political and serves a broad range of social interests. It comes down hard on poor people and racial minorities, in ways that historians both know and are still working on, in a society that today faces the same inequities.

SIDNEY L. HARRING
Queen's College,
City University of New York

BONNIE LYNN-SHEROW. *Red Earth: Race and Agriculture in Oklahoma Territory*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2004. Pp. ix, 186. \$29.95.

Bonnie Lynn-Sherow offers a revealing history of settlement in Oklahoma that is both ecological and cultural. Capitalism and race relations figure largely in a story of resource exploitation. "An elite group of native-born white farmers," she observes, "were eventually triumphant over all others in ordering those resources into pathways of production and personal prosperity, although the bold traces of black and Indian efforts can still be seen throughout the former territory" (p. 146). Her research base is wonderfully rich, her argument well made. Lynn-Sherow is equally at home discussing political economy, historical ecology, and agricultural practice. This is a fine book, one worth arguing about.

The period of study is 1889–1906, the territorial period of Oklahoma; the geographical scope is the counties of Logan, Blaine, and Caddo. "I wanted to learn how the ecology of Oklahoma Territory had changed after the land runs," writes Lynn-Sherow (p. 7). She assesses the impact of general factors such as markets and technology, but she is particularly inter-

ested in the factor of culture. She investigates whether the presence of black settlers in Logan County, and of Kiowa in Caddo County, made a difference in comparison with the Anglo-American and German-American stock in Blaine County. For Lynn-Sherow, the concept of cultural diversity is related, at least by hypothesis, to that of biological diversity: "Was the ecology of Oklahoma Territory more diverse when farmers of different cultures and backgrounds worked side by side?" (p. 7).

Yes and no. The black farmers of Logan County did make different choices and pursue different developments than their white neighbors. While better-heeled white settlers occupied the best lands for cash grains, black farmers took sandy, timbered ground and practiced a more diversified agriculture. This gradually gave way to more and more cotton production, however, under practices that were soil-destructive. The result may have been a sort of diversity, but it was a diversity of different forms of ecological impoverishment.

The Kiowas of Caddo County attempted to perpetuate tribalism through their management of land. They envisioned a future raising livestock, but their vision was disrupted by allotment, which forced them to take individual parcels of land, strategically chosen, and to give over use of the intervening lands to white operators. So in the end, "it was the needs of white settlers that shaped the agroecology of the red earth" (p. 143).

The settlers of Blaine County established "a facsimile of the well-ordered farms of its white residents' memories and aspirations" (p. 104). This was wheat country, "and in April," one memoirist wrote, "the land for miles around looks like one smooth green lawn" (p. 105). That writer was describing Arcadia, as she saw it.

Lynn-Sherow disagrees, because she is committed to the ecological assumptions that biological diversity is good and that agriculture necessarily reduces diversity. "It was white farmers' acceptance and enthusiasm for mechanized agriculture in particular that initiated and sustained the simplification of the territory," she concludes (p. 148). This is an unexamined assumption. What is a simple landscape? An asphalt parking lot qualifies, perhaps, but to characterize the open country of Oklahoma, even evidently well-ordered fields and apparent monocultures, as simple is misleading. Every pasture, every field is infinitely complex. It is time to divest distinctions between landscapes of the moral freight carried by doctrinaire ecology and to call them what they are: matters of aesthetics.

The assessment of ecological change, too, requires deep description and boots on the ground. Those peach orchards of Logan County: on what grade, soil, and exposure were they located? What remains of them? What exactly were the production routines of Kiowa farm families who occupied desirable bottomlands with their allotments? The thing is, there are hints that Lynn-Sherow has the data, that she can answer such questions, but she does not do so in this

thin book. The study begs for lingering descriptions, and maps.

It is fair to say that in a short work the author could not accomplish the things called for above. Fair indeed, and so it is time to begin the protest against the professional and industrial practices that constrain such fine authors as Lynn-Sherow. The intersection of the high tide of the New Social History with the worst days of the academic job collapse in the 1970s recast the landscape of scholarly publishing in history so that the short, serviceable monograph became the currency of the field. Both elegance of rhetoric and depth of understanding have suffered thereby. No individual author or editor is to blame for this; it is a failure of intellectual community. Given room for development and nuance, this could be not just a fine book, but a landmark work.

THOMAS D. ISERN
North Dakota State University

ALLISON DORSEY. *To Build Our Lives Together: Community Formation in Black Atlanta, 1875–1906*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 238. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

The race relations of no American city have been as thoroughly scrutinized historically as those of Atlanta, and with good reason. As progressive as any southern city, Georgia's capital touted a cluster of black colleges and served as the operational base of intellectual, political, and religious leaders from W. E. B. Du Bois to Martin Luther King, Jr. It was the first major city to elect black mayors, who, along with moderate white leadership, earned the city a reputation as one "too busy to hate" during the civil rights era and since. Such claims overshadowed far more complex racial dynamics that in 1906 included one of the most brutal of the South's race riots.

All of this has been extensively documented and analyzed in a wealth of scholarship—including three new books on the riot—over the past few years (so much so that Stephen G. N. Tuck sought to distinguish his 2001 study of modern race relations in Georgia as a whole by entitling it *Beyond Atlanta*). Much of Allison Dorsey's story therefore covers familiar ground. And yet, Dorsey's perspective on the formative era of the city's African-American community adds significant new layers to our understanding of what made Atlanta exceptional.

Unlike older cities in the South, Atlanta lacked a well-entrenched or socially cohesive slave populace, and yet Dorsey argues that survival mechanisms developed under slavery—in particular, an ideology of racial solidarity—proved vital legacies for post-emancipation efforts to shape new lives and relationships during Reconstruction and beyond. As the city's black population dramatically expanded, from 2,000 in 1860 to over 35,000 in 1900, a strong sense of community and organization served as the tangible means through which residents collectively strove for black progress

and uplift. Churches, colleges, fraternal organizations, and benevolent associations all served to strengthen this communal spirit and promote shared goals of public education, social services, and political engagement.

Yet, as an emerging African-American professional and business elite distanced itself both in terms of residential space and social and cultural values from those they served, that racial solidarity and sense of mutual uplift turned into more elitist efforts at social control of the "lower sorts of Negro." At times, most notably in the prohibition campaigns of the 1880s and 1890s, black leaders allied with conservative white Atlantans in battling the moral degeneration of working class blacks and the disorderly conduct and crime that stemmed from the city's saloons, dance halls, and poolrooms. Whites encouraged this intraracial paternalism, Dorsey suggests, because it served their own racist purposes, and the black elite's "battle to save the soul of the African American community" became for whites "an excuse to further circumscribe the political and social conduct of blacks" (p. 135).

These tensions were very much at the forefront of the 1906 race riot and its aftermath, which "encouraged African Americans to further retreat into their highly stratified social enclaves" (p. 164). At the same time, however, black leaders felt more justified in appealing for white aid and more interracial cooperation in uplifting the race through social and educational deterrents, even as they watched their own political rights further wane with passage of a state constitutional amendment in 1908 that effectively disfranchised them.

Dorsey captures the complexities of these developments well, never shying from the ironies and contradictions in the dilemmas that faced the black elite, who remain the book's primary focus throughout. The depiction of the cross-currents and intricacies of African-American community-building over the course of four decades is also among the book's strongest and most original contributions. Yet concentrating so fully on the community's internal dynamics allows us to see little of the external opposition that it faced. There is only a vague sense of how and why white Atlantans felt so threatened by African-American uplift and political activism or how those fears manifested themselves, particularly in the 1880s and 1890s. Only in Dorsey's account of the 1906 gubernatorial campaign that preceded the race riot do white concerns about the black community come fully into focus, and that is already a familiar and oft-told story.

This book was intended "to commemorate the efforts of the members of the African American community to create conditions in which they might prosper rather than to emphasize yet again the drama of the race riot" (p. 1). Dorsey accomplishes this admirably, and in so doing not only adds significantly to Atlanta's history and that of the urban South more broadly but also enriches our appreciation of southern

black aspirations and achievements prior to the full onslaught of Jim Crow.

JOHN C. INSCOE
University of Georgia

ROBIN F. BACHIN. *Building the South Side: Urban Space and Civic Culture in Chicago, 1890–1919*. (Historical Studies of Urban America.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 434. \$35.00.

Robin F. Bachin traces the development of three new public spaces in Chicago from 1890 to 1919 to understand the “relation between urban space and civic culture” and to see “urban planning as a political and cultural process whereby [various groups] sought to create an urban public sphere that emphasized their (sometimes conflicting) visions of order, respectability, and civic identity” (p. 6). The processes by which these spaces were created, she argues, expose how different individuals and groups in the Progressive era sought to use the urban landscape to “transcend boundaries of ethnicity, race relations, and class” (p. 6).

Bachin’s broad urban landscape is Chicago’s south side and three specific new urban spaces within it. The first space is the University of Chicago, opened in 1892, privately endowed by John D. Rockefeller. Its first president, William Rainey Harper, wanted the university to be a scholarly haven, but he also wanted to use the city as a social scientific laboratory for investigating the linkage of “physical space to social conditions” (p. 106). So, while the enclosed quadrangle with its “old” gothic architecture symbolically turned the university’s back on the city, Harper simultaneously pushed the university into the city. This dual mission resulted in struggles among the university’s various constituencies to shape and use a space that was intended to be both private for scholarship and publicly connected to the city rather than removed from it. For the second space, Bachin investigates the municipally funded system of small parks built by the South Park Commission. Prodded by reformers such as Jane Addams and Mary McDowell, the commission constructed neighborhood parks that both adults and children then used for new recreational activities. In doing this, Bachin argues, these reformers rejected building more grand spaces of leisure such as New York’s Central Park or Chicago’s Washington and Jackson Parks, in favor of designing more “democratic” urban spaces. Bachin juxtaposes these small parks against the grander designs of Daniel Burnham’s privately financed Chicago Plan favored by Chicago’s business leaders. Finally, Bachin investigates new sites of commercial leisure: Comiskey Park for professional baseball, the baseball fields for the Negro League teams, and the theaters and clubs of the “Stroll” in the heart of the African-American neighborhood.

By comparing private, municipal, and commercial sites, Bachin exposes the variety of public spaces for which different groups in the Progressive era sought control over design, who would be allowed to use

them, and for what purpose. She describes scholars, planners, settlement house residents, businessmen, and ordinary citizens renegotiating their relationships to each other and to the city through the struggle over public space. In all three types of spaces, Bachin also identifies three competing models proposed to reform the urban landscape: centralization and control, civic activism with cross-class alliances, and legitimization of leisure. Here Bachin is in line with other recent work by urban historians who see urban progressivism as sets of competing ideas about how and why to reform cities. Bachin’s analysis of both the competition and the results of struggles over urban space emphasizes that the contestation over public space was about reordering Chicago’s spatial geography to create a new civic culture of identification with the city. She has assembled a prodigious amount of evidence to support her scholarly arguments. In each space we see at work a culture of “progressive urbanism” that believed “in the problem-solving and reformative capacity of the urban landscape” (p. 8). We see urban residents using public spaces to identify themselves with the city.

The author’s definition of “civic culture” as “the desire to foster a shared sense of local and social engagement,” however, is a bit elastic. It is difficult to see exactly how the stadium of a professional sports team identifying with the entire city—the “Chicago” White Sox—connects to the cabarets and theaters of the “Stroll,” which were group identified and perhaps more comparable to institutions through which other migrant groups sought to maintain a personal culture rather than manifest a new civic culture. Whether private enterprises demonstrated a new civic culture of progressivism that was a “process” of reform “based on [groups] competing ideas of urban citizenship, city planning, and access to public space” (p. 12) is also debatable. The conclusion that “spaces like universities, parks, baseball fields, and cabarets” were “potential terrain for a new civic culture that linked prescriptions for shaping the built environment with the transformation of urban politics” (p. 307) would be stronger if there had been more discussion of urban politics.

This is an ambitious book filled with important insights about issues of public space and its use by urban residents that cannot be adequately explored in such a limited space as this review. It is thoughtful, very well written, and should be read and appreciated by anyone interested in Chicago or cities generally. It is also a gentle reminder to scholars of cities that people are as important as structures and spaces in trying to understand urban development.

MAUREEN A. FLANAGAN
Michigan State University

MARK TEBEAU. *Eating Smoke: Fire in Urban America, 1800–1950*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 425. \$49.95.

In this history of the transformation of firefighting and fire prevention, Mark Tebeau has juxtaposed a detailed history of the evolution of the fire insurance business with an account of the changing organization of fire departments and the work of firefighting itself. His account of how those who dealt with the business of fire insurance came to understand and manage risk is told in tandem with the story of how municipalities developed an increasingly professionalized corps of firefighters. Both narratives trace the shift from more nineteenth-century, laissez-faire customs to a new era of Progressive efficiency and rationalization. In Tebeau's parallel accounts, local volunteer firefighting brigades become urban fire departments with the centralized provision of equipment and a citywide command structure. And, at the same time, Tebeau describes how the relatively haphazard underwriting of nineteenth-century fire insurers grew into national corporations and professional organizations that collected and utilized far superior information to make decisions about risk—and actively promoted policies and practices designed to serve the end of fire prevention.

This story is key to the larger history of urbanization in America. As Tebeau notes, by the mid-nineteenth century, conflagrations frequently devastated the nation's fast-growing cities. Tebeau's central analytic concern is to explore how those most concerned with the ravages of fire in cities—insurers and firefighters—came to understand and attempt to manage the considerable dangers and problems of urban fires. The dual narratives arise largely from Tebeau's focused study of firefighting practice in St. Louis and Philadelphia. His companion examples from the world of fire insurance are drawn from a close account of the pioneering business practices of the Aetna Fire Insurance Company and the Fire Insurance Company of North America. Tebeau also examines the work of two national professional organizations devoted to fire prevention: the International Association of Fire Engineers and the National Board of Fire Underwriters.

Tebeau's ambitious approach to the problem of urban fire is an effort to interpose historiographic categories that seldom are brought together in a single study. Tebeau's work thus extends the insights of historians who have written about the emergence of modern corporations and business practices, technological and spatial change in cities, and urban politics and urban reform. In addition, Tebeau is a self-described social historian who paints a nuanced portrait of the cultural meaning of firefighting and the challenging and necessary work performed by firefighters.

Tebeau's account of the fire insurance industry is especially interesting and original. He shows convincingly how an emerging "science" of risk management led underwriters and agents to far greater knowledge of risk itself, which in turn sparked moves toward fire prevention that became the linchpin of the industry's profitability. At the beginning of the twentieth century,

insurers began to promote public safety measures—building codes, urban water and electrical systems, and products testing—that could thwart fires altogether or make losses more predictable. In addition, the industry and related professional groups worked to instruct young and older Americans in fire safety measures, thereby creating a broader culture of fire prevention. In time, as Tebeau demonstrates, the acquisition of property insurance, the protective infrastructure and the culture of prevention became unquestioned "norms" of the urban experience.

In some ways, the grand arc of Tebeau's institutional histories of insurance and firefighting practice seems to dictate the framework for his social historical concerns and conclusions. Tebeau's firefighters themselves have little voice in this narrative. As Tebeau notes, despite reformers' and commanders' preferences for instilling a newly efficient work culture and meting out discipline, "idiosyncratic firefighting work cultures" (p. 324) survived. At times Tebeau alludes to the intense racial and ethnic tensions that structured many fire companies and the fact that many a firefighter occupied his position because of political or family connections, even in a new era of professionalization, higher standards for training, and civil service systems. The reader learns little about how various firefighters held on to older traditions in the face of sweeping changes and how they themselves made sense of what Tebeau describes as the "tension" among community customs, changing definitions of manly heroism, and new pressures for occupational efficiency.

In the end, the book is a signal accomplishment. This is a rich and highly informative work that deftly uses the "problem" of urban fire to cast light on a wide array of turn-of-the-century transformations. The stories that Tebeau tells are wonderfully specific examples of the economic, cultural and political shifts that both drove and came to embody Progressive-era urban reform. His book deserves a wide audience among all U.S. historians who are interested in emergence of "modern" institutional forms.

KAREN SAWISLAK
University of California,
Berkeley

FRANK TOBIAS HIGBIE, *Indispensable Outcasts: Hobo Workers and Community in the American Midwest, 1880–1930*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 255. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$18.95.

Scholars have long been aware that marketplace dynamics connected farms and Main Streets across the Midwest, but the space of that market, and the people who worked within it, have remained peripheral to historians' concerns. Frank Tobias Higbie's book is a significant effort to examine the realm between the town and farm and the workers within it. Higbie's work surpasses previous work on tramps and hobos that relegated them to a subculture in the shadows of

settled society. Rather he explores the structure and dynamics of their in-between world, cuts through the middle-class assumptions employed to represent their experiences, and, through an examination of political "battles" between workers and townsmen, examines their central role in midwestern life.

The author demonstrates that rather than following predictable patterns of transhumance, transient workers moved across regional and even national markets as the demand for work in different lines of activity rose and fell during the year and intersected with their need and desire to work. Towns and cities with their shipping depots, grain elevators, railroad yards, urban labor exchanges, boarding houses, and urban entertainment districts were hubs of the systemic spaces that extended along railroads and roads to farms and work camps. The nature of work and play within this realm was continually being transformed by industrialization, technology, shifting resources, and changing market dynamics. Hobo workers thus eschewed any predictable patterns of movement and lived outside of usual ideological assumptions and expectations about work, working conditions, wages, and settled life. Caught between farms and community, and rejecting some of the values of both, workers fended for themselves. Wages were low, conditions threadbare, and labor abuses rife. Progressive reformers sought to ameliorate these conditions. Inevitably, however, workers' problems were couched in class issues that got enmeshed in a range of meanings or representations and thus rarely broke through to understanding a hobo's "life as it was lived" (p. 67).

In his effort to separate social description from social history, Higbie critiques these efforts in a fine chapter that examines the middle-class construction of transient workers through the writings of participant observers and social scientists. Most of these efforts to examine workers were more about a middle-class need to confront social conflict by situating, defining, and firming up its own values about family, gender, and life than really understanding workers. Workers were portrayed as criminalized and lacking a proper work ethic, reflected in slow work, laziness, a lack of commitment to wage labor, and a refusal to submit to industrial discipline. They were dirty, dangerous, irrational, living abnormal lives outside of an "appropriate masculine life course" (p. 83) that undermined the republican American Dream and threatened mainstream society.

Beneath all this rhetoric, as Higbie demonstrates in an analysis of the "social geography" of workers, those in "floating labor" (p. 208) were laborers rather than "floaters" (p. 208) for whom transient work was more a stage of their life course of work and an extension of their contacts with community and settled life than a real threat to either. This mostly white, male community in motion had its own internal hierarchy and structure, defined its boundaries by establishing distinctions based on sexual preference and gender, and was delineated by ethnic and racial lines that paral-

leled those of society in general. Although continually undermined by the fluidity of the labor market and the geographic mobility it created, social interactions among transient workers sustained communities and surrogate or "constructed" families (p. 17) that maintained connections to settled society. Higbie also shows that pitched battles in towns and cities across the north plains between Industrial Workers of the World members and townsmen were more about the position of transient workers in a regional community of people operating within the regional rural-urban labor market and economy than their being "outsiders" and were thus connected to the more general struggle about the nature of community and the relations between managers and labor in an industrial economy.

In the book's final chapter, Higbie examines in more detail how individual workers navigated this complex world by constructing a transient community. For many the cultivation of "transient mutuality" encouraged them to help each other; to participate in resistance against harsh treatment, low wages, or poor conditions; to cultivate distinctive notions about manhood, solidarity, and community; and to articulate a distinctive kind of workingman's radical "philosophy" (p. 199). Higbie convincingly argues his core thesis that hobos were industrial workers integrated into the system—in ways similar to today's "contingent workers" (p. 214)—whose movements were structured by the "geography of job opportunity, by seasonal change, and by their connections to families and communities" (p. 208). Rather than marginal, they were and are central to the transformations of the labor market in an industrial economy and society.

TIMOTHY R. MAHONEY
University of Nebraska,
Lincoln

IILEEN A. DeVULT. *United Apart: Gender and the Rise of Craft Unionism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 244. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

As Ileen A. DeVault describes in her introduction, in recent decades "labor history" has trended away from its early focus on organized labor to become the history of the working classes, blending at various times in various ways with broader social history, women's history, and other genres. In this fascinating work, DeVault brings the lessons of working-class and women's history back to the traditional concerns of labor historians, and labor history is richer for it. This book is a description of labor activism that illuminates the complexity and patterns of the past without attempting to impose any restrictive historical explanation.

DeVault began her research by compiling, primarily from contemporary local newspaper accounts, the stories of forty strikes across the United States between 1886 and 1903, the years from the formation of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) until the

creation of the Women's Trade Union League. These years also saw the final dissolution of the Knights of Labor, and the differences between the old and new organizations forms one of DeVault's many points of analysis. The strikes were selected in part for their cross-gender nature: that is, both men and women participated in them. Through her analysis of these strikes, DeVault attempts to decipher the social context of labor organization at the turn of the twentieth century. Under what circumstances, for example, did male workers support a walk out by "girls" in a separate department of the same factory, and when did they condemn their actions?

DeVault found, however, that there was far more than gender at work in patterning labor activism. She describes the workers' lives as having "overlapping layers," and uses Jean-Paul Sartre's idea of "series" to describe the many layers of workers' identities. In this theoretical view, a worker was (and is) simultaneously a member of a gender, class, ethnicity, and occupational group, among many other possible identities. "Which of these identities will enter the consciousness of this individual, and therefore inform his or her actions, at any particular point in time depends on each person's role in the ongoing historical narrative" (p. 7).

The book then sets out to describe, if not explain, how these multitudes of identities interacted with events to shape the unique progress of any given labor action. The book begins with compelling narratives of individual strikes in four major industries: clothing, shoes, tobacco and textiles. These narratives are included to introduce the reader "to factors that are relevant to the mobilization of workers in each of the four industries" (p. 8), but in fact they do far more. They serve to make this book from the outset a story of individuals struggling for personal and particular causes rather than a description of alphabet-soup organizations and anonymous strikers. Throughout the remaining chapters, DeVault continues to bring in case studies of individual strikes and strikers, illustrating the differing strategies and successes of the Knights of Labor and the AFL, the importance of ethnicity and race, the geographic location of strikes, and the influence of family connections in fostering and supporting strikes and organized labor more generally. The question of gender runs through each chapter, not only in an analysis of how women participated in unions and strikes, but also in recognition of the links between labor, trade unionism and "manliness." There is also an interesting thread of how women and images of women (or "girls") were used by labor organizers, often in dramatic contrast to their actual participation in the workforce and the strikes themselves. The reader is guided through examples in these chapters with analytical hints that expose the variety and interaction of influences on workers' actions, without ever attempting to impose predictive laws or even rules of thumb. The overall result is a multifaceted picture of labor activism in the period

and an understanding of why no strike could be exactly like the previous one.

In a way, this book is frustrating history, precisely because it does not offer an easy explanation for the events of the past. Rather, it provides "a starting point for understanding many things" (p. 219). That, too, is the result of bringing social historical approaches to bear on labor history; looking at the past as the collective experience of many individuals necessarily produces an intricate and infinitely variable image. It is to DeVault's credit that the starting point she has provided, while complex, is so lucid and so engaging.

WENDY M. GORDON

State University of New York,
Plattsburgh

VINCENT J. CIRILLO. *Bullets and Bacilli: The Spanish-American War and Military Medicine*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 241. \$55.00.

Although the Spanish-American War of 1898 was a quick military victory for the United States, it was a disaster for the Army Medical Department. Typhoid epidemics in the stateside training camps killed hundreds of recruits, and sickness rates in Cuba were so high that the War Department had to evacuate the victorious Fifth Army Corps to Long Island to recuperate. American deaths by disease outnumbered deaths from combat more than seven to one. Poor sanitation, filthy water, typhoid-bearing flies, and mosquitoes carrying yellow fever and malaria turned out to be more deadly than opposing soldiers and weapons. This created a public outcry, which, along with an indignant Congress, a presidential commission, and a break-through scientific study, provide the ingredients for a good story.

Vincent J. Cirillo brings these events alive and demonstrates why the Spanish American War was "a little war with big consequences" (p. 1). He puts military medicine center stage, arguing that the typhoid epidemics and the recall of the Fifth Corps were the defining events of the war. The scandals spurred President William McKinley and Surgeon General George Sternberg to appoint separate commissions to investigate what went wrong in the army during a time of exciting new medical advances. These commissions' findings and recommendations prompted much-needed reforms in military medicine and the War Department.

A strength of this book is that Cirillo examines the full range of the army medical personnel's responsibilities, from medical transport and supply, to sanitation and the prevention of disease outbreaks in the camps, to treating combat casualties on the battlefield. First providing overviews of the war and the Army Medical Department, Cirillo then turns to the battlefield and the impact of new, high-velocity bullets on human tissue. Despite the destructive power of these missiles, soldiers fared better than their Civil War predecessors, with ninety-five percent recovering from their wounds.

This Cirillo attributes to the germ theory and antiseptic first aid and surgical methods, and the new X-ray technology, which enabled surgeons to pinpoint foreign bodies and operate more safely.

The story becomes more grim when it turns to infectious disease. From April to December 1898, almost 21,000 soldiers got typhoid in the training camps, and 1,590 died. Cirillo vividly describes how "an unsanitary camp was more dangerous than the most determined enemy" (p. 149). In 1898, medical officers had several tools to prevent typhoid epidemics: they could identify the offending bacillus, knew that poor sanitation could cause outbreaks, and had a diagnostic test to distinguish typhoid from other fevers. They received little support, however, from the rest of the army. "The problem," Cirillo writes, "lay in convincing the line [officers] of the need for strict sanitary policing of the military camps" (p. 29). Medical officers ran into the same problem in Cuba when, against the surgeon general's advice, the army invaded during the pestilent rainy season. By August, more than seventy-five percent of the soldiers had become unfit for service due to yellow fever, malaria, and typhoid. The sick and dead in the camps and the precipitous removal of troops from Cuba created a public relations disaster for the War Department and the Army Medical Department.

The Spanish-American War, however, proved that rare case when people learned from their mistakes. The surgeon general's Typhoid Commission, for example, identified the common fly was a vector of typhoid, and "exposed the culpability of line officers in the typhoid epidemic" (p. 2). These findings spurred the War Department to require sanitation training for line officers and improve and enforce sanitation in army posts. The Dodge Commission, appointed by the president, likewise blamed War Department administration and lack of funding for many of the problems. Its recommendations, soon approved by Congress, included establishing an Army Nurse Corps and a Medical Reserve of physicians, and creating better supply, transport, and funding procedures for the Medical Department. Whereas these reforms would help modernize and professionalize military medicine, Cirillo surprisingly does not put them in the context of Progressive-era military reforms implemented by Secretary of War Elihu Root and Chief of Staff Leonard Wood.

The book is unfortunately marred by poor editing and typographical errors, and the chapters on the military action during the war and on British Army typhoid epidemics during the Boer War (1899–1902) add little to Cirillo's analysis. But the study is a welcome contribution to the history of military medicine and reminds us that when a nation goes to war it must be vigilant not only for enemy soldiers but for lurking, opportunistic pathogens as well. The story also suggests a tragic irony: while medical officers would become vigilant for water-borne and insect-borne diseases due to the events Cirillo describes, they would

fail to foresee the devastating air-borne epidemics of World War I—first measles, and then the influenza pandemic of 1918–1919.

CAROL R. BYERLY
Boulder, Colorado

CHARLES H. HARRIS III and LOUIS R. SADLER. *The Texas Rangers and the Mexican Revolution: The Bloodiest Decade, 1910–1920*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 673. \$37.50.

In this book you will find everything you ever wanted to know about the Texas Rangers, and more. Charles H. Harris III and Louis R. Sadler have been scavenging Ranger-related material for the last quarter century, and the meticulousness of their primary research shines through in this weighty volume of nearly seven hundred pages. The prodigious detail, however, is also the book's achilles heel, as non-Texas Ranger aficionados may find themselves wading through so many stories of gunfights that they lose the larger point.

Harris and Sadler state the purpose of their book is "neither to justify nor condemn but rather to paint as accurately as possible a portrait of the Rangers, warts and all" (p. 8). Their focus on the "bloodiest decade" (1910–1920) fills in a hole in the recent historiography, and it is the first book-length treatment that attempts to understand the Rangers in the context of the Mexican Revolution as well as Texas's political climate. By making use of the Adjutant General's Correspondence, Texas governors' papers, and the Texas Rangers Service Records for 1,785 people who held commissions during this decade, they are able to track and identify individual Rangers and their familial relationships; their use of Mexican sources is less thorough. The exhaustive detail, including frequent references to where each company was stationed, lengthy quotes that go on for pages at a time, and a nearly seventy-page appendix listing the dates of every ranger's service, may be more useful for a highly specialized readership.

Like the Alamo, the Rangers inspire strong feelings among Texans. For some, they are heroic defenders of law and order on a rough and tumble frontier, and for others they are a paramilitary organization that terrorized the Mexican population at the bidding of wealthy Anglo landowners. My own view is that the Texas Rangers are more the latter than the former, but as Harris and Sadler point out, both extreme characterizations are caricatures. Given the desire of the authors to create a balanced and complex portrait, I wish they had spent more time trying to understand and explain the motivations of the more than twenty-three Hispanic Rangers, or of the Texas Mexican legislator J. T. Canales, who helped the Rangers put down an anti-Anglo rebellion in 1915 and led the attack in the Texas legislature against the Texas Rangers in 1919.

Harris and Sadler see themselves as presenting a moderate and balanced perspective in contrast to the pro-Ranger work of Walter Prescott Webb and the

anti-Ranger Rodolfo Acuña. However, their criticism of Chicano writers for not undertaking the "kind of massive research that Webb engaged in" and for "reducing everything to race" ignores a whole host of Chicano scholarship since the late 1980s that is not only empirically sound but that explicitly tries to understand the complex relationship between race and class. While the authors are correct in arguing that early Chicano scholarship tended toward heroic nationalist portrayals, that moment was fading around the time that Harris and Sadler began their study a quarter of a century ago, and it has since been the subject of thorough Chicano/a criticism.

The book suffers from a paucity of analysis or reference to secondary literature to help explain the significance of the dizzying number of stories and characters to which we are introduced. The short bibliography of secondary sources (only five pages) reflects the absence of a larger dialogue, not only with Chicano, Mexican, and U.S. history but also with studies of criminality and policing.

The end of this book, inexplicably, comes with both an epilogue and a conclusion, but neither of these give the reader an analytical framework through which to make sense of the preceding five hundred pages of text. The authors successfully undermine the "one riot, one Ranger" myth and show how during this decade the force was "understrength, underpaid, and living on its reputation" (p. 502). But after such a massive research effort, to conclude with the obvious points that the "organization was shot through with politics" and that the Rangers changed with each new governor seems anticlimactic. The final line of the book is a quote from Barbara Tuchman: "It is wiser, I believe, to arrive at theory by way of evidence rather than the other way around" (p. 506). After so many pages, I got the feeling that they may have not arrived.

ELLIOTT YOUNG
Lewis and Clark College

MARTIN SUMMERS. *Manliness and its Discontents: The Black Middle Class and the Transformation of Masculinity, 1900–1930*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 380. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$21.95.

Historical literature on transforming gender expectations and conventions of manhood continues to be written, largely, through a Euro-American prism. Martin Summers's book counters this approach. Summers's volume is valuable reading for a host of disciplines, including African-American history, gender and sexuality studies, and American literature: his cross-disciplinary study of black masculinity is groundbreaking on several fronts. Summers places black manhood in the context of nineteenth and early twentieth-century notions of American masculinity but demonstrates the unique conditions that influenced the socialization of black men. He uses a wide variety of primary sources, from Masonic lodge records to

African-American literature of the period and personal letters, which lends substantial weight to his argument.

The central thesis is that the African-American middle class experienced a fundamental transformation in its conceptualization of manhood in the period 1900–1930. The period began with a late Victorian concept of the self-made man, where the cultivation of one's character and a commitment to producer values such as industry, thrift, and sobriety dominated gender conventions. Summers focuses on two social milieus: the fraternal network of Prince Hall Freemasonry and the nationalist environment of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association. He examines the "rhetoric, organizational activities, literature and the daily public rituals of performance" among the African American men in these groups (p. 4). In the second half of the book, Summers charts how conventions of black masculinity changed fundamentally in the 1920s. Younger, middle-class African-American and African-Caribbean men adopted a consumerist approach to black manhood that freed up notions of career choice, leisure pursuits, and intimate relationships, often placing this younger generation in direct confrontation with its late Victorian elders. Summers uses the artistic and literary production of the Harlem Renaissance and the dynamics of post-World War I campuses of historically black colleges to reflect these changes.

The entire volume is a meticulous piece of historical research that places seemingly disparate aspects of African-American culture within the larger framework of changing contours of black manhood. The first half of the text is well written and edited, but the volume truly comes alive when Summers begins his discussion of Harlem Renaissance authors. Perhaps this is because the notion of conflict regarding bourgeois notions of manhood is established. But Summers demonstrates one of his central theses by examining the lives of Claude McKay, Jean Toomer, Langston Hughes, Bruce Nugent, Countee Cullen, and other African-American male artists of the Renaissance.

Rather than focus exclusively on their literature, Summers demonstrates how their lives contested Victorian notions of sexuality "in their refusal to accept the conventionality and inevitability of marriage and in the open acceptance (and for some, participation in) a growing gay subculture" (p. 157). Summers argues that one of the central themes of the Harlem Renaissance was rebellion against bourgeois manliness. Jazz culture, the choice of a literary career, homosexuality, and modernism were all assaults on Victorian constructs of character, sobriety, and industriousness.

Summer dramatically describes these two generational conceptualizations of manhood coming to a head in the student strikes at Fisk and Howard Universities in 1925. The author illustrates how students rebelled against the imposition of late Victorian standards of morality and a paternalistic model of education. Indicative of Summers's nuanced scholarship is

his demonstration that conditions at Fisk were more stifling than those at Howard, and that notions of protest at the two schools resembled each other yet had their own unique features.

One of the hallmarks of the book is this concept of the nuanced argument. The author argues that one dominant conceptualization of black masculinity never entirely replaced another, and he shows how individual black men in the 1920s experienced contested elements of masculinity within their own psyches. This is a highly recommended study that contributes to our understanding of how African-American men actively developed their own conventions of manhood rather than simply reacting to Euro-American paradigms.

GERALD R. BUTTERS, JR.
Aurora University

PETER BOAG. *Same-Sex Affairs: Constructing and Controlling Homosexuality in the Pacific Northwest*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 321. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

Peter Boag has written a stellar book on the politics of same-sex relationships in the early twentieth-century Pacific Northwest. Boag masterfully digs out obscure sources; he makes critical interpretive advances; he effortlessly blends economic, political, cultural, and geographic perspectives; and he never loses sight of real human beings. The result is a tour-de-force that offers major contributions to the historical literatures on the Progressive era, the Pacific Northwest, and gay history.

Boag concentrates on Portland, although he casts his net widely to capture significant issues in the history of male homosexuality in Eugene, Walla Walla, Vancouver (British Columbia), and the region's rural hinterland. Throughout the book Boag most insistently emphasizes class. He argues that working-class males developed a same-sex culture that thrived in the logging camps and boarding houses of the region's itinerant labor force. (Indeed, Boag rehabilitates rural areas as, historically, potentially attractive locations for those with homoerotic interests.) Gay middle-class corporate employees, in contrast, lived in separate neighborhoods and frequented downtown parks and the Young Men's Christian Association. Perhaps most strikingly, these cultures developed significantly different sexual practices. Working-class adults often engaged youth in anal and interfemoral intercourse, while middle-class men more frequently partnered with those their own age and preferred oral sex (which, according to court rulings, consistently became "sodomy" only after World War I).

Boag suggests an intriguing explanation, based fully in local political concerns, about how it was those in the middle class who first became "homosexuals," both in their eyes and in the eyes of others. Transatlantic intellectual and cultural influences, such as the writings of Richard von Krafft-Ebing and the trial of Oscar Wilde, certainly mattered, as did the economic and

personal freedom that white-collar work offered. The crucial catalyst for the Pacific Northwest, however, was a notorious 1912 Portland sex scandal. Soon after that year's momentous November election, Portland police arrested dozens of white-collar men, charging them with various sex crimes. The scandal quickly became caught up in the city's vigorous class struggles, as local Scripps editor Dana Sleeth whipped up a populist frenzy against perverted and parasitic sons of luxury. Just as swiftly the scandal transformed understandings of same-sex relationships. Prior to the dramas of 1912, northwesterners had treated male-male sex as "degenerate" acts of depraved members of the working class. The scandal forced into the open the fact of middle-class homoeroticism. And because upstanding members of the middle class could not, by definition, commit degenerate acts, the general public for the first time began to conceptualize same-sex acts as flowing from a full-fledged homosexual identity.

A substantial part of this story of the origins of modern homosexuality is familiar from the work of other historians. Boag, however, has many different takes on what has threatened to become a standard narrative, and most of his analytical suggestions are convincing. Perhaps his most important amendment involves rethinking "the middle class." While this large category of people serves as a kind of monolithic and oppressive beast in the work of scholars such as George Chauncey, Boag has a considerably more complex tale to tell. His non-gay middle class is both repressive and liberating. Perhaps a bit too coherently, "it" persecutes Greek and Indian immigrants and devises punishing "reforms" for gays at the same time that it plays the lead role in formulating a modern culture of sexual pleasure that allowed for both the loosening of strictures on heterosexual desire and the articulation of the new homosexual—even "gay"—identity.

The power of Boag's book stems in large part from his close attention to the lives of individuals. Boag has worked extremely hard to release previously anonymous prisoners from their bonds of obscurity, giving voice even to those castrated under draconian sterilization programs. His recovery of the life and persecution of E. S. J. McAllister, the radical lawyer who was the most visible victim of the 1912 scandal, is simply stunning.

In the end, Boag has written a book that should please both hard-nosed empiricists and those who are more theoretically inclined; his careful quantitative analysis of often fragmentary legal records is quite impressive, as is his gentle use of Michel Foucault. Boag also proposes significant chronological revisions. Politicized panics over the power of gays preceded the McCarthy era by decades, and hysterical concerns about homosexual pedophilia are as old as—at least—1912. If scholars overlook this book because of its focus on an easily neglected hinterland, they will ignore at their peril a remarkable model for local and regional history, as well as a study that should signifi-

cantly influence our conceptions of all gay American history.

ROBERT D. JOHNSTON
University of Illinois,
Chicago

LIETTE GIDLOW. *The Big Vote: Gender, Consumer Culture, and the Politics of Exclusion, 1890s-1920s*. (Reconfiguring American Political History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 260. \$45.00.

This book's title should not be read without its qualifying subtitle. Amidst mass campaigns to increase voter turnout in the 1920s, the Get-Out-the-Vote (GOTV) movement practiced a politics of exclusion that ignored the majority of non-voters whose participation was necessary to achieve "the big vote." Liette Gidlow's topic is a timely one. Her account of the largely forgotten GOTV campaigns of the 1920s may carry lessons for the present era.

As recounted here, the significance of the GOTV campaigns had less to do with their impact on voter turnout, which was negligible, than on the way in which they helped to redefine what Gidlow calls "civic hierarchies." The civic hierarchy of the nineteenth-century party period, according to Gidlow, embraced working-class and immigrant men in a democratic polity celebrated for its inclusiveness. During the 1920s, GOTV campaigns helped to reorder this civic hierarchy, placing white middle-class and elite men and women at the top. Ethnic and working-class men and women joined African Americans as unqualified civic players whose participation was neither solicited nor considered an essential element of the democratic polity.

Gidlow tells this story by examining GOTV campaigns conducted during the presidential election years of 1920, 1924, and 1928. The largest GOTV efforts occurred in 1920 and 1924. Early failures led most groups to abandon the effort or to undertake smaller campaigns in the latter half of the decade. Five national organizations—the League of Women Voters, the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Civic Federation, the American Legion, and *Collier's* magazine—led the GOTV movement. These were joined by over 1,000 smaller groups in forty-seven of the forty-eight states. Gidlow emphasizes the commonalities in the GOTV efforts of the major players. Among the most significant commonalities was the fact that each group misrepresented the turnout problem. While evidence abounded that turnout was lowest among ethnic, working-class, female, and African-American voters, GOTV campaigns consistently targeted businessmen and middle-class and elite women as both the source of and solution to the turnout problem. They used one of two tactics to encourage voting among these populations, adopting a "hurrah style" of commercial advertising or engaging in more sedate educational work. The book presents a wealth of detail on the size, strategies, and variety of these campaigns, including the distribution of millions of

fliers, tags, posters, and booklets and the organization of car tours, radio talks, contests, and citizenship classes. Despite these commonalities, there were differences within the GOTV movement. Gidlow devotes one chapter to the particularities of the five national sponsoring organizations. Another chapter explores variations by examining three local campaigns in New York City, Birmingham, Alabama, and Grand Rapids, Michigan.

By the end of the decade, according to Gidlow, GOTV campaigns had carved out a new definition of citizenship, one that privileged white middle-class men and women as informed and educated "expert citizens." Expert citizenship eschewed blind party loyalty and rejected "radicalism, class consciousness, race consciousness, and ethnic identity" (p. 159). Although she does not draw the connection, Gidlow's account of expert citizenship is clearly an extension of Progressive-era reformers' dedication to expertise and belief in the possibility of a classless society.

Along with the expert citizen, GOTV campaigns contributed to the "commodification of political culture" (p. 162). Gidlow's account of the permeability of citizenship and consumption forms one of the most engaging aspects of this story. GOTV campaigns employed both the advertising language and the leading ad men of the era. They located their literature, tables and events in department stores, uptown movie theaters, and other sites of consumption where their audiences were disproportionately white middle-class and elite men and women. At the same time, commercial advertising informed consumers that they were "voting" for products with every purchase. The good citizen was strikingly similar to the good consumer. It should be noted that Gidlow's consumer citizen differs significantly from Lizabeth Cohen's construction of citizen-consumers in a later period. Whereas Cohen's *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (2003) explores contested relationships between consumers, policy, power, and the state, Gidlow's consumer citizen inhabits a world without conflict. The commodification of political culture, she argues, moved politics into exclusive arenas that "helped to make politics the province of people who were white and middle class or elite" (p. 192).

This more limited focus on who or which groups were characterized as legitimate citizens at the top of the civic hierarchy is both the strength and weakness of the book. Gidlow successfully demonstrates that GOTV campaigns attached legitimacy and nonpartisanship to an exclusionary notion of civic participation. Yet this begs a range of questions about who actually participated, how they participated, and what agendas they pursued. It is not at all clear how low turnout rates were related to the exclusionary GOTV campaigns. Why didn't targeted white middle-class and elite men and women respond more positively to GOTV campaigns?

If voters' motives are left unexplored, so are the motives of the GOTV groups themselves. Although

Gidlow acknowledges the larger partisan agendas of these groups, she fails to consider whether their GOTV campaigns might have been partisan as well. Did sponsoring organizations use nominally nonpartisan GOTV coalitions for partisan purposes? How did GOTV efforts fit into the major political contests of the era? How did they relate to the new style of interest group politics, which did not depend on high voter turnout? As these unanswered questions suggest, *Gidlow's* book leaves ample opportunity for further study.

NIKKI MANDELL
University of Wisconsin,
Whitewater

MARI YOSHIHARA. *Embracing the East: White Women and American Orientalism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 242. \$19.95.

This is a provocative study of the ways in which white American women utilized orientalism to achieve their own success. Studies of orientalism flourished in the wake of Edward W. Said's *Orientalism* (1978), which analyzed European relations with Middle Eastern countries and provided insights on the cultural imaginaries that supported nation-state formations. It was not difficult, then, for scholars of the United States to perceive how the United States also enacted its own ideology of orientalism in relation to China and Japan in order to justify nativist reactions and restrictive immigration legislation aimed at people of Asian descent. Nonetheless, while several scholars have explored different articulations of American orientalism at key moments in United States history, none have analyzed how different forms of American orientalism allowed white women to negotiate the limits of their own identities in American society to the extent that Mari Yoshihara does in this study.

Yoshihara analyzes white women's interactions with popular American orientalism from the nineteenth century through the 1940s, in relation to white women's changing roles in an ever more consuming and conspicuous middle-class society. The first part of her study focuses on the ways in which material culture appropriated orientalism for popular consumption. United States industrialization contributed to the emergence of a middle-class sensibility that defined femininity through domesticity, while also feeding into American expansion abroad into Asia. Increased trade with China and Japan introduced Asian products into American parlors, where women could display exotic curios and chinaware in cabinets as signs of affluence. Wives of men who gilded their pockets with the profits of industry and empire participated in aesthetic acts of possession, a more feminine endeavor. Yoshihara cites prominent examples, including Isabella Stewart Gardner, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, and Lucy Aldrich. Innovative entrepreneurs capitalized on the association of an Asian aesthetic with upper-class status, importing and manufacturing oriental furnishings and

making them accessible to middle-class matrons. White women also produced American orientalism for consumption through the arts as well. Yoshihara demonstrates how Mary Cassatt utilized Asian forms to fashion alternative images of femininity in her paintings; she also explores how other white female artists actually contributed to artistic orientalism, an outgrowth of their fascination with "othered" cultures.

This widespread fascination with Japanese and Chinese culture as exotic, different, and feminized also encouraged white women to embody the orient through performance on stage, particularly through the foundational staging of Asian femininity, *Madame Butterfly*, in 1900. Blanche Bates's and Geraldine Farrar's performances of Cio-Cio-San in the play and Giacomo Puccini's operatic version, Yoshihara notes, were not simply triumphs of racial (and colonial) mimicry but examples of the New Woman empowering herself by enacting the opposite of modernity in the person of a docile female suppressed by the backwardness of Asian culture. The second part of this book thus focuses on theater, poetry, and writing as sites of self-expression and empowerment for white women who claimed authentic knowledge of Asian femininity and cultures by virtue of their gender.

The detailed and provocative discussion of the intersections of gender and race as articulated in white women's artistic and commercial productions of Japan and China during the Gilded Age, however, wavers as the analysis focuses on texts from the 1930s and 1940s. While Yoshihara's treatments of Agnes Smedley, Pearl S. Buck, and Ruth Benedict reveal changing articulations of femininity and orientalism during this time, more attention to the shifting relationships among the United States, Japan, and China, in addition to the changes within the United States itself during World War II, would better contextualize and nuance her analysis. Throughout the period of this study, Americans did not engage with China and Japan as a monolithic whole; different forms of American orientalism were not only articulated in relation to patterns of consumption and production but also were gendered to different extents depending on whether the orientalism—constructed admittedly in reference to an abstract notion of Asia—was specifically applied to China or Japan. This lack of analysis is not conspicuous when the majority of examples focus on Japanese culture, but it is problematic with the abrupt switch to white women's portrayal of China in the case of Smedley and Buck in the final chapters of the book.

Overall, however, this fine interdisciplinary study incorporates the history of the middle class, art, and literature as it historicizes the ways in which white females participated in, produced, and benefited from Americans' ambivalent fascination with Japan and China and contributed to the feminization of American orientalism during the Gilded Age. Yoshihara's careful research and nuanced readings of multiple texts, particularly in the first two parts of the book, is engaging and provocative, and her analysis of the

intersections of gender and race is particularly insightful. This book is a valuable contribution to the history of U.S. women and American orientalism.

KAREN J. LEONG
Arizona State University

MARGARET A. LOWE. *Looking Good: College Women and Body Image, 1875–1930*. (Gender Relations in the American Experience.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 212. \$40.00.

In February 1882, student Charlotte Wilkinson wrote a letter home from all-female Smith College, reassuring her mother of her academic and personal successes. Filled with campus news, Charlotte's letter also announced "it is my ambition to weigh 150 pounds" (p. 31). In February, she reported weighing one hundred thirty-five and a half pounds, but by year's end she had progressed to one hundred and thirty-seven pounds. Although such attention to a young woman's weight might seem familiar to today's parents, the direction of Charlotte's goal is striking. Modern educators work to palliate collegians' eating disorders and poor body image; the idea that an earlier generation took pleasure in food and highlighted weight gain seems extraordinary.

As Margaret A. Lowe explains, our view of women's health comes from previous studies that emphasize "the troubled state of young women's appetites" during the middle and late nineteenth century, as "codes of femininity" restricted both their behavior and their enjoyment of food (p. 44). But by examining colleges for notions of body image, Lowe finds a marked shift between the 1870s (women's arrival onto American campuses) and the end of the Progressive era. Whereas women students before World War I shared Charlotte's aim of enjoying food and viewed hearty appetites as signs of good health, those of the 1920s emulated the "flapper" ideal of slim bodies, exposed skin, and slinky dresses—none being especially welcoming to female bodies of 150 pounds or more.

Using students' diaries and letters as well as college publications and popular sources, Lowe traces the shift in women collegians' perceptions of their own bodies as well as societal expectations for female attractiveness. She argues that campuses offer a particularly potent site for investigating these notions because they represent physical and intellectual space denied to women before the mid-nineteenth century. When the contested terrain of the college campus combined with shifting ideas about sexuality, people increased their attention to how women enacted their lives as students. Parents, college officials, outside observers, and students themselves all focused on how "the college girl" would fare in her new setting. As Lowe asserts, "fiercely debated views of American womanhood were mapped on various representations of 'student bodies'" (p. 4).

Across six chapters, Lowe moves from the 1870s, as women established themselves on unfamiliar cam-

puses, to 1930, when college attendance had expanded and students generally resembled average adolescents. The first female students needed to prove that neither health nor virtue was diminished by vigorous intellectual work and life in dormitories. Educators carefully monitored students' physical fitness, relying on constant anthropometry to reveal signs of either health or deterioration. Abundant food and frequent exercise countered physicians' concern that women suffered from these new environments. By the 1920s, however, new notions of idealized bodies affected college women as dieting, nutritional rules, and self-regulation became campus watchwords. In fact, Lowe argues that college students led the way in establishing such trends.

Even though gender expectations changed over time, Lowe demonstrates that they also varied by setting, and her particularly strong contribution is examining three distinct campus environments. Smith College represents a women's institution focused on providing an equivalent to men's colleges in a gendered space. Coeducational Cornell University reveals women pushing for accommodation in a predominantly male and often unwelcoming setting. Female-only Spelman College shows African-American students adjusting not only to opportunities for higher education but also to racialized behavioral expectations. Whereas Smith and Cornell women were encouraged to eat heartily and revel in physical activity, Lowe finds that Spelman students' eating habits, dress, and decorum were precisely governed to counter the threat such educated black women might pose to a society uncomfortable with their achievements. Similarly, women at Spelman and Smith enjoyed more flexible choices of curriculum than Cornell's "coeds" struggling to assert their place on the mixed campus. By 1930, the three campuses had become quite similar, but their initial differences bespeak varied views of women's behavior.

As much as the three settings provide Lowe a useful argument, they occasionally lead both her and the reader to exaggerate and generalize the differences. Does Spelman's parsimony with food and dress represent a "black approach" to higher education? Does Cornell's development of a premier home economics program demonstrate a curricular concession to women's ostracism? With three cases, the temptation to essentialize must be guarded against.

Although strongly argued, the book would benefit from deeper contextual discussions of women's higher education, African-American culture, medical developments, and the meaning of fashion. Lowe addresses these issues, and her bibliographic essay—an excellent contribution—demonstrates her familiarity with these historiographic areas. But I often found myself wanting a longer explanation for how Smith, Spelman, and Cornell women fit into wider concerns, as well as into historians' conceptualizations of particular issues. Nonetheless, Lowe has produced a creatively researched analysis that provocatively extends the mean-

ing of the female collegiate experience into larger social arenas.

LINDA EISENMANN
John Carroll University

DAVID TYACK. *Seeking Common Ground: Public Schools in a Diverse Society*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004. Pp. 237. \$22.95.

This is a little book with enormous importance for policy makers, educators, parents, and anyone who is interested in American public education. Drawing on historical insight of the changes in public education, David Tyack cautions that we should balance "the claims of innovation and conservation" in school reforms, for we may lose "what works in schools" (p. 184) in the rush to make drastic changes in order to meet new demands.

Americans have always "attempted to create civic cohesion through education in a socially diverse and contentious democracy" (p. 3). Tyack investigates these attempts historically around three major themes: unity, diversity, and democracy, taking into account broad social forces, educational ideologies, and the daily lives of individuals that shaped the motives and objectives of public education. The search for unity and consensus, which was best demonstrated in the expectation of schools to produce homogenous and patriotic citizens, however, was filled with challenges and dissent. Take history textbooks, for example. Writers of American history tried to instill patriotism in students "by teaching a master narrative," avoiding or neglecting controversial issues. But citizens have argued about who should be included in history and what values should be taught from the beginning of the republic. The egalitarian rationale to create homogenous Americans out of a socially, culturally, religiously, economically, and politically diverse population has not historically met much challenge, but racism, ethnocentrism, religious bias, and self-interest have worked to undermine the realization of an equal education.

Emphasis on unity inevitably led to the imposition of conformity to a diverse social reality. Different social segments, however, have asserted their places and contended for pluralism. From Catholics' efforts to create their own schools in the nineteenth century to the intercultural and multicultural education movements in the twentieth century, different groups and educational ideologies have formed strong forces to challenge the mainstream education policies and programs. In pre-civil rights movement America, education policies were made to accommodate human differences in capabilities that were understood along the lines of race, gender, and ethnicity. Concepts such as "Europeans," "Asians," and "blacks" informed policy makers and educators with such deeply racist views that assimilation and "compulsory Americanization" was decided for the white immigrants, exclusion and segregation for the "Mongols," and segregation for the

"blacks." Tyack points out that the social construction of these categories of human differences is both arbitrary and faulty, as the experiences of the immigrants from the Cape Verde Islands showed (pp. 67–68). Since the 1970s, demands for pluralism went beyond the addition of different groups and their contributions in an assimilated America. The "subordinated groups" such as African Americans, Hispanics, and women stressed the importance of "preserving the distinctive cultures of groups" rather than "cultural assimilation" through education. Their emphasis on "equality of groups as opposed to equality of individuals" presented both "a useful counterweight to the competitive individualism and cultural homogeneity" and explicit challenges to "traditional academic canon" and "entrenched interests" (pp. 82, 96).

With demands for pluralism and search for unity, how did Americans conduct democracy in education? Tyack tackles the topic from two fronts: academic and administrative. Democratic education carries with it an assumption of academic success for everyone. But failure in schools is too familiar a story throughout American history. Pupils and schools were often mismatched, even though there was no lack of innovative ideas and programs to address the problem. In the early twentieth century, progressive educators launched "a campaign to reduce, or even eliminate, failure in schooling" with all kinds of creative programs and services. Still, the problem exists today. The issue is not that reform efforts did not work but that reforms often created new problems. Put in historical perspective, the No Child Left Behind policy is only new rhetoric for an ancient problem and "as utopian as any previous attack on school failure" (p. 125).

The control of schools also shifted from local to central and from laymen to elite professionals often in the name of reform. In the Progressive era, nine out of ten rural school districts were consolidated, and the number of locally elected board members dropped drastically. Democratic governance of schools was increasingly centralized when government used laws to regulate and restrict the power of local controls. But the tension between citizens' preference for local control and policy elites' decision on standards continued to be expressed in different forms, one of which was the recent advocacy for school voucher programs.

School reforms have often neglected the issue of class, which cuts across the lines of race, gender, and ethnicity. Although Tyack discusses economic inequality, a fuller critique of this subject would further help explain the failures of school reforms. Nonetheless, Tyack's critical examination of school reforms offers timely advice for caution in reform and commends realistic policies with committed funding for education.

LIPING BU
Alma College

CHARLES A. ISRAEL. *Before Scopes: Evangelicalism, Education, and Evolution in Tennessee, 1870–1925*.

Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2004. Pp. x, 252. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Catchy title notwithstanding, this book is not primarily about evolution or science. Rather, it focuses broadly on religious responses to educational reform in Tennessee during the half-century or so from the founding of a state-funded public school system in 1873 to the passage of the notorious Butler bill in 1925. Charles A. Israel carefully explores how the religious culture of Tennessee influenced the educational institutions of the state, from common schools to colleges. In doing so, he challenges the popular thesis associated with Samuel S. Hill, who years ago argued that the "central theme" of southern religion was the conversion of individual sinners, not the reformation of society.

The book justifiably concentrates on the dominant denominations of white Baptists and Methodists, glancing only occasionally at black evangelicals and other religious minorities. Judiciously incorporating the insights of recent scholarship with fresh material from religious weeklies and archival records, Israel shows how the compromise of "home rule," which allowed local communities to determine the amount of religion permitted in the schools, initially promoted peace between church and state—often blurring the lines between the two. (Tennessee's experience was not unique; Benjamin Justice's book *The War that Wasn't: Religious Conflict and Compromise in the Common Schools of New York State, 1865–1900* [2005] illustrates how the same compromise prevented conflict in New York.) Any religious decline in the elementary schools could, in principle at least, be offset by the spiritual guidance of Christian parents and Sunday School teachers. Evangelicals also comforted themselves with the knowledge that more public school teachers were being trained in "safe" denominational colleges than at the "godless" state university in Knoxville, allegedly controlled by uppity, spiritually challenged Episcopalians.

Israel interrupts his narrative of educational developments—but reinforces his argument about evangelical commitment to social reform—with a chapter on the efforts of Tennessee's evangelicals to legislate morality by banning (or at least restricting) the consumption of alcohol. Despite the opposition of those who manufactured and imbibed the state's most famous agricultural product, corn whiskey, the advocates of prohibition secured passage of the so-called Four Mile Law, which outlawed saloons within a four-mile radius of schoolhouses, thus providing Israel with a tenuous link between temperance and teaching.

Until the early twentieth century, Tennessee's Baptists and Methodists seemed relatively happy with their public schools. As Israel observes, "Most teachers were religious, most schools began with Bible reading, and nearly all schools were morally safe" (p. 117). The tipping point came early in the new century, after the U.S. Commissioner of Education in 1903 called for the secularization of the country's public schools. Ten

years later, legislators in Nashville passed a controversial compulsory-attendance law. In the early 1920s, when Darwinism first grabbed the attention of many conservative Christians, they decided to strike back by outlawing the teaching of human evolution in public schools. Israel convincingly argues that Tennesseans rose up against evolution in an effort to regain control of their public schools, not because of a generalized hostility to science, a commitment to Princeton theology, or fear that evolution would destabilize race relations. They were simply asserting their "parental and taxpayer rights to determine what was to be taught in the schools" (p. 130).

This book provides us with a timely introduction to issues that continue to roil our society. As Americans once again debate the teaching of evolution, creation, and "intelligent design" in the nation's public schools—and leading politicians such as President George W. Bush and Senator John Kerry defer to the judgment of local communities—we can only thank Israel for his thoughtful and timely monograph.

RONALD L. NUMBERS
University of Wisconsin,
Madison

SUSAN M. STERETT. *Public Pensions: Gender and Civic Service in the States, 1850–1937*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 222. \$39.95.

Why did social insurance develop more slowly in the United States than in Western Europe? Rather than focusing on problems of patronage in the national Civil War pension program or the relatively late development of a national cadre of professional civil servants, political scientist Susan M. Sterett turns to the states to explain American welfare policy. Treating state governance as a critical "site of contest" rather than simply a static "structure," she shows how constitutional interpretations shaped social welfare categories in the states well before the New Deal. Beginning with nineteenth-century pensions for soldiers and firemen, Sterett traces the way litigation by taxpayers, county commissioners, and potential pensioners gradually paved the way for the Social Security Act of 1935.

Public purpose clauses of state constitutions limited government payments to recognition of public service and poor relief. Initially, meritorious service encompassed only dangerous labor on behalf of the public, such as fighting fires. Over time, the category of service broadened to include police, teachers, and other civil servants. As wage labor became the measure of masculine citizenship, states came close to equating service with work itself, most notably in workman's compensation programs. However, states stopped short of rewarding work with government payments when they rejected old age pensions. Contests over the boundaries that distinguished work, service, and charity stretched administrative law while maintaining differences between categories.

Sterett shows how public purpose categories of

service and charity were gendered, even as both men and women could fall under either rubric. Payments for service were intended to maintain the independence of recipients already defined as independent citizens. Although the independent citizen was imagined to be a man supporting a dependent wife and children, in fact many women gained access to pensions through their public service, particularly as teachers. Poor relief, in contrast, was for the dependent. Despite the desire of some social reformers to redefine mothering as a public service, mothers' pensions were deemed to be charity. Mothers' pensions thus confirmed the a priori definition of recipients as characterized by feminine dependence. Yet many elderly men also received poor relief, since state courts refused to consider their work as service unless they had been soldiers, firemen, police, or other civil servants.

Sterett relies on several general arguments about how law and policy developed to guide the reader through the maze of state court cases. "Courts think through analogies" (p. 74) is a guiding principle of the book, which maps the likenesses imagined by the law. In the category of service, firemen, like soldiers, did dangerous work on behalf of the public; teachers, like firemen, served the public; and so on. Poor mothers and the elderly, state courts reasoned, were analogous to other dependent and disabled groups such as the blind. Sterett argues that legal reasoning by analogy allowed constitutional interpretation to appear wedded to the past even as it expanded the welfare functions of the states. She contends that constitutional assessments of policy that took place in judicial forums were relatively immune to public opinion, although court decisions influenced public debate and social reform strategies. Social reformers kept track of the legal arguments and decisions made in other states, shaping and defending programs with constitutional categories in mind. The result was a national pattern, generated by hundreds of contests between litigants adjudicated in state courts.

Rather than simply seeing state courts and constitutions as barriers to the development of an American welfare state, Sterett views them instead as a kind of traction: slowing social insurance's progress down while still enabling it to move ahead. Despite the failure of old age pensions in the states, she argues that contests over the meaning of legal categories in state courts ultimately shaped the Social Security Act as a gendered national program. In the conclusion to the book, Sterett briefly suggests ways the states influenced the formation of the national program and its ability to pass constitutional muster in the U.S. Supreme Court. These include Works Progress Administration studies of state constitutions undertaken to anticipate legal challenges to the Social Security Act, although those constitutions were quickly revised to accommodate its provisions. In the future, perhaps other scholars will find the precise mechanisms whereby state courts shaped Social Security and the

process through which they so rapidly overcame what had seemed a barrier to old age pensions. Historians as well as political scientists are indebted to Sterett for doing the difficult work of illuminating the myriad jurisdictions that governed welfare in the American federal system.

ANNA R. IGRA
Carleton College

ANN-MARIE E. SZYMANSKI. *Pathways to Prohibition: Radicals, Moderates, and Social Movement Outcomes*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 325. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$24.95.

Ann-Marie E. Szymanski presents a sophisticated and meticulous analysis of how the Anti-Saloon League (ASL) successfully campaigned for national prohibition using a strategy she identifies as "local gradualism." She explains that such an approach "focuses on local issues before targeting the state and national levels" and "emphasizes achieving moderate goals before pursuing more radical goals" (p. 5). By coaxing the citizens of local communities to adopt incremental changes in alcohol policy, the ASL managed to win "partial but positive victories" in towns and counties everywhere. In this way, the organization achieved governmental reforms first horizontally and then vertically in "an ever-widening battle that lasted twenty years (from about 1900 to 1920)" (p. 4).

Szymanski critiques many conventional explanations of the ASL's success. Some scholars have argued, for example, that the group triumphed because of its single-issue focus, or its exploitation of the disenfranchisement of poor blacks and whites after 1895, or its manipulation of wartime hysteria after 1914. While these factors may have played a role, she argues that it was the ASL's strategy of local gradualism that ultimately won the day.

The author highlights differences between the ASL and its predecessors, most notably the Prohibition Party and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). The latter organizations had called for the immediate and total prohibition of all alcohol by constitutional amendment. This radical agenda was off-putting to many Americans who were as yet unready to legislate morality on such a massive scale. In contrast, the ASL pushed for smaller changes in smaller venues. By shutting down a saloon here and passing a Sunday closing law there, the group hoped to advance its cause community by community, without looking like radical "cranks."

Szymanski closely analyzes the political context of the ASL crusade. The group's strategy of change by inches might not have worked, for example, had it not been for the unresponsiveness of state lawmakers who cared more for the liquor industry than the public interest. Such behavior convinced many citizens and judges alike that the longstanding principle of "legislative supremacy" should be replaced with that of "local option" in the matter of alcohol policy.

Two other political preconditions were necessary for the ASL to elevate its successes beyond the local level. First was the federal structure of American government that accommodated activism at many levels simultaneously. Second, the instability of political alignments within the major parties made competing politicians more apt to woo temperance advocates. These political factors eventually made it possible for the ASL to parlay its local, gradual successes into a nationwide prohibitionist triumph.

Szymanski's training in political science provides a fresh, interdisciplinary perspective on the prohibition movement. For those unfamiliar with current political theory and methodology, however, some sections of the book may prove tough going. For those interested in the social history of alcohol, the most serious problem is one that plagues nearly all works on prohibition: drink culture and the saloon itself are virtually lost in the shuffle. The index contains only three references to the saloon itself, and two of these are crushingly negative. It is true that bar life was often problematic, but why did millions of people frequent these places for over fifty years if they were really so universally horrific?

If the drinker's perspective is missing, however, the anti-drink activist's experience is vividly portrayed. Particularly interesting is the author's account of how ordinary citizens' clashes with local drinksellers had a profoundly radicalizing effect, transforming many a moderate dry into raging radical after just a few such encounters. Szymanski goes on to point out a parallel experience among Freedom Summer activists of the 1960s civil rights struggle. Other intriguing parallels include the use of local gradualism in both the civil rights movement and the Christian Right crusade, as well as the failure of the environmental movement to make effective use of this strategy.

In sum, Szymanski's work is an innovative and well-researched exploration of the political dimension of the Anti-Saloon League campaign, brimming with information on anti-saloon tactics if thin on saloons themselves.

MADELON POWERS
University of New Orleans

KEN I. KERSCH. *Constructing Civil Liberties: Discontinuities in the Development of American Constitutional Law*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 392. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$29.99.

This is a relentlessly interesting book, one that cannot help but change the way the reader understands twentieth-century American constitutional development. As Ken I. Kersch persuasively argues, for much of the late twentieth century American constitutional history was dominated by a whiggish narrative in which progressive forces consistently supportive of civil rights and civil liberties triumphed over the dark forces of reaction. This whiggish narrative, however, is full of holes.

For example, progressives of the early twentieth century fought mightily *against* privacy rights protected by the Fourth and Fifth Amendments, in the name of the right of publicity. More specifically, the state-building project supported by progressives required that American businesses be subjected to intrusive and unprecedented inspection by regulatory and other legal authorities. Even future Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis's famous 1890 article supporting a constitutional "right to privacy"—later cited as the progenitor of modern "right to privacy" cases such as *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965)—actually did not advocate a right to privacy that modern civil libertarians would even begin to recognize. Quite to the contrary, the article advocated recognition of a tort for invasion of privacy as a means of censoring even rather tepid tabloid journalism. Only after progressives had soundly defeated the "old" right to privacy in the economic sphere and established the modern bureaucratic state did they reimagine the right to privacy in terms congenial to modern liberalism, as an island of personal autonomy in a sea of statism. This victory also allowed them to revive the Fourth and Fifth Amendments in the service of protecting street criminals.

The whiggish narrative also asserts that a defining characteristic of American progressivism has been solicitude for the rights of oppressed minorities, especially African Americans. In fact, however, before the New Deal era most progressives were at best indifferent to African Americans' plight. Indeed, some were openly hostile to African Americans and launched such progressive schemes as the wave of residential segregation laws that swept through the United States in the 1910s. These laws were invalidated by a unanimous decision of the "conservative" Supreme Court in *Buchanan v. Warley* (1917), to a chorus of criticism from progressive legal scholars.

Organized labor, not civil rights, was the favored cause of progressives in the early twentieth century, and labor unions, especially American Federation of Labor and railroad unions, were themselves hostile to African Americans. African Americans, in turn, for the most part fiercely opposed labor unionism. In alliance with the businesses that often provided them with work over white workers' objections, African Americans supported such "reactionary" policies as labor injunctions, strikebreaking, and the legality of yellow dog contracts. Kersch argues that progressives only embraced the cause of civil rights when African Americans dropped their prior attachment to pre-New Deal individualistic conceptions of rights and, modeling themselves on the successful model of organized labor, organized as a constitutional class entitled to group rights in a statist legal and economic superstructure.

Finally, progressive conceptions of appropriate education policy were for the most part driven far more by a vision of imposing a centralized, statist school system on the American people than on any principled conception of civil liberties and separation of church and state. Progressive intellectuals strongly opposed

the *Meyer*, *Pierce*, and *Tokushige* Supreme Court opinions of the 1920s, which protected local school board prerogatives and private schooling against progressive demands for homogenization and centralization of education. Progressives, in fact, were overtly hostile to the very existence of Catholic parochial schools; the constitutionality of banning such schools was at the heart of the *Pierce* case. By the 1960s, progressives and their allies on the scholarly community reinterpreted quintessentially conservative Supreme Court cases—with their roots in the “reactionary” *Lochner v. New York* (1905) tradition—as civil libertarian cases protecting individual autonomy from conservative religious forces (see *Griswold v. Connecticut* and *Roe v. Wade* [1973]). However, progressive hostility to traditional Catholicism continued, as the history of both of these cases makes clear.

Similarly, after the New Deal, the overtly statist progressive attempt to outlaw Catholic schools morphed into an attempt to ensure that government aid to Catholic schools was beyond the constitutional pale. The “civil libertarian” doctrine promulgated to accomplish this goal was the “separation of church and state.” Courts initially used this doctrine primarily to suppress government assistance to Catholic schools and Catholic-dominated “release time” programs. However, as atheists and liberal Jews became increasingly influential in separationist organizations, the attack on Catholic education grew into a broader war against expressions of Christian religious sentiment in the public schools, culminating in the *Lemon v. Kurtzman* decision in 1971. Not surprisingly, whiggish narratives neglect the anti-Catholic sentiment that initially spurred these constitutional developments.

Kersch puts all of these examples into the broad framework of American political and constitutional development. Most historians, law professors, and political scientists who write about constitutional history likely think of themselves as independent liberal, perhaps even radical, critics of their government. Kersch, however, will have none of it. He accuses the scholars who spun and sustained the fanciful but entirely mainstream whiggish narrative of the development of “civil rights and civil liberties” of “being heavily implicated in the political project of justifying, institutionalizing and . . . defending the New Deal constitutional regime.” Rather than serving as the incisive and independent critics of their own imagination, the academic establishment has served as an implicit fourth (or fifth) branch of government, rewriting American history to retroactively justify the revolutionary changes to the American conception of rights, liberties, and the proper role of government that the New Deal precipitated and institutionalized.

Ultimately, a short review cannot do justice to the brilliance of Kersch’s insights or the breadth of his research. Suffice to say that Kersch is fully up to the challenge of explaining and defending a revisionist thesis of tremendous magnitude. This is simply the

most provocative and enlightening book on constitutional history that I have ever read.

DAVID E. BERNSTEIN
George Mason University

KEVIN J. MCMAHON, *Reconsidering Roosevelt on Race: How the Presidency Paved the Road to Brown*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2004. Pp. x, 298.

Franklin D. Roosevelt’s record on racial issues has not received a very favorable press. Despite his advance of economic justice during the 1930s and his leadership of the “arsenal of democracy” against fascism, Roosevelt demonstrated a timidity and a personal detachment toward racial injustice at home—or so we have long assumed—in marked contrast to the sentiments of his wife Eleanor. Kevin J. McMahon, however, seeks to elevate the Roosevelt reputation on matters racial, insisting that the New Deal president deliberately pursued a judicial and constitutional strategy intended to dismantle discriminatory southern democracy and create a rights-driven liberal judiciary, and that his success in doing so was the most important factor in paving the road to the *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954) school integration decision.

McMahon asserts that presidents, especially those in the category of “reconstructive” chief executives, are in fact the prime movers of constitutional change in U.S. history through their judicial appointment powers. The federal courts, in particular the Supreme Court, are predisposed to follow the lead of the executive branch when the latter is determined to pursue an agenda of constitutional revision. In the case of Roosevelt, McMahon argues that by his second term he had not merely decided to change the composition of the Supreme Court in order to protect New Deal legislation but had concluded that the broader goal of reshaping the Democratic Party as the long-term vehicle of progressive change mandated the destruction of traditional southern democracy and the creation of a rights-driven federal judiciary receptive to social science evidence and flexible in interpretation of constitutional principles for a modern industrial society. By 1937, in other words, court-packing was about more than just conserving short-run policy gains; it was intended to extend liberalism as defined by modern presidents into broader realms, including civil rights.

Once Roosevelt decided to reshape the judiciary to remove ideological and intraparty obstacles to modern liberalism, McMahon asserts, he sought to buttress his court appointments with supportive efforts by the Civil Rights Section of his Justice Department. Not only is the Roosevelt administration, especially Attorney General (and later Supreme Court Justice) Frank Murphy, credited with creating the Civil Rights Section, the internal debates it generated and the alliances its personnel forged with civil rights and civil liberties organizations led directly to the legal logic of *Brown*. In this and other specific examples, the author can be faulted for assuming a commonality of thought and

depth of commitment between FDR and particular individuals in his administration. Just as Roosevelt proved on other issues not always to be as liberal or as consistent as the most ardent of his New Dealers, the same could be said on civil rights.

McMahon is on firmest ground when he argues for the important contributory role of Roosevelt's Supreme Court appointments in reversing decades of opinions that had blocked a more interventionist federal role in economic relations by the executive and legislative branches. This greater judicial tolerance for government action to address economic injustice potentially led the way to a similar sympathy by the Court in later years for the victims of racial injustice. But the author strains when claiming such intentions and clairvoyance on the part of Roosevelt himself. As McMahon notes, "there is no clear evidence that Roosevelt nominated jurists with a specific desire to advance African-American rights" (p. 142). Instead, Roosevelt's actions seem more in keeping with his aims of protecting the New Deal and filling the judiciary with politically savvy loyalists who would support the administration's economic justice agenda—an agenda dependent upon maintaining the party's majority coalition. In fact, his appointments to the federal courts demonstrated his ability by and large to harmonize his demands for personal and programmatic loyalty with a continuing sensitivity to the South's importance to the Democratic majority.

Ultimately, the author's claim for the centrality of Roosevelt's judicial philosophy and appointments to the *Brown* decision is monocausal, deterministic, and ahistorical. In giving FDR his due for judicial changes that ultimately contributed to the judicial revolution of the 1950s and 1960s, he gives short shrift to the other individual, institutional, and historical factors not only of the New Deal era but also of World War II and the Truman and Eisenhower presidencies. All of these periods featured events and actions—sometimes intentional, at other times accidental—that steered the nation on a path to *Brown*. As we are learning in a time in which calls for judicial deference to the majoritarian branches of government serve a conservative ideological agenda, the Roosevelt-era push for similar deference to presidential or legislative direction did not by itself guarantee liberal outcomes. That required an historical environment shaped by far more than the judicial philosophy and appointments of a single president—even an FDR.

ROBERT F. BURK
Muskingum College

CHRISTINA S. JARVIS. *The Male Body at War: American Masculinity During World War II*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 270, \$43.00.

Powerfully built, vigorous, and valiant, the chiseled American GI stands as an evocative image of national fortitude. Christina S. Jarvis's study of the development of this ideal during World War II repre-

sents a meticulously researched, incisive, and at times very poignant analysis of "the creation and maintenance of a hegemonic militarized masculinity that emerged in and across U.S. institutions . . . as America engaged in a global war" (p. 8). Drawing on a wealth of primary source material (encompassing popular texts such as posters, novels, films, and magazines as well as private letters, interviews, and a battery of military reports, circulars, and brochures), Jarvis shows how wartime models of manhood were constructed and marshaled as symbols of American potency.

Offering a sophisticated analysis, this book is informed by theoretical perspectives developed in the fields of gender, cultural, and literary studies. Like many recent accounts of the historical development of American masculinity, Jarvis's book is grounded in poststructuralist paradigms that view gender categories as multiform and historically variable rather than monolithic and timelessly fixed. Arguing that the male body should be seen not as a "universal biological entity" but as a socially constructed phenomenon "that has been culturally encoded as 'male' through a complex process of social, personal, and medical gender construction" (p. 7), Jarvis demonstrates "the ways in which wartime gender ideals and particular embodied national self-representations were produced" so that "we can begin to see these World War II ideals as the historically located constructs that they are" (p. 191).

Jarvis begins with a chronicle of the profound shift in representations of the male body that occurred as America emerged from the Great Depression and mobilized for war. Arguing that "embodied symbols of the nation both reflect and influence prevailing gender, racial, and other cultural norms" (p. 14), Jarvis demonstrates how idealized images of the serviceman's muscular, youthful (and invariably white) male body were deployed as a metaphor for national strength. Charting the rise of this "rhetoric of muscles" (p. 44) across the cultural landscape, from posters and advertisements to novels and films, she shows how even Uncle Sam got a face lift; the symbolic personification of the U.S. appeared in a stronger, more intimidating guise as the nation began to imagine itself in more thoroughly masculine terms.

Jarvis also assesses the material impact of these shifts in masculine ideals. In a detailed account of the military classification of male bodies during the war, Jarvis suggests that, as selection and training programs made male physique an object of intense scrutiny, the male body became "a privileged site around which debates about the health of the nation unfolded" (p. 58). Wounds from combat, accidents, and disease, however, threatened to undermine masculine ideals, and, through a close reading of war novels and soldiers' memoirs, Jarvis identifies tropes that allowed servicemen and the general public to address the challenge by seeing "the wounds as alien, 'not self'" (p. 90). Paradoxically, the war-wounded male body also became a vehicle through which the U.S. was able to demonstrate its power. Jarvis highlights the way

popular texts depicted the bodies of wounded men as “literally and symbolically restored wholeness” (p. 118) through either the gritty resolve of the individual servicemen or the intercession of proficient American technology.

In one of the book’s most fascinating chapters, Jarvis focuses on the complex, contradictory intersection of wartime discourses of race and masculinity, and the way these were played out on the male body. Arguing that government and media representations of the American people were more ethnically diverse than ever before, Jarvis shows how previously “feminized” Asian Americans such as the Chinese and Filipinos were granted new respect as men and U.S. citizens (p. 155). At the same time, however, Jarvis also shows how racist depictions of the Japanese enemy and Jim Crow’s high profile in the American military reveal that American masculinity was still primarily constructed as white manhood.

In her final chapter, Jarvis considers the ways in which the American dead became “‘texts’ on which the meanings of war and nation could be inscribed” (p. 157). Even in death the U.S. serviceman was subject to complex processes of military classification, and Jarvis provides an intriguing account of the American Graves Registration Service and the different ways death was represented at various stages in the conflict to spur morale. Some readers, however, might be uneasy about the way Jarvis uses novels such as James Jones’s *The Thin Red Line* (1962) as historical evidence.

Overall, Jarvis presents a lucid, compelling account of the ways in which wartime ideals of masculinity were elaborated and embodied. Making a valuable contribution both to the social historiography of World War II and to scholarship related to the social construction of the body, her book will appeal to a diverse readership. As America continues to flex its military muscles throughout the world, Jarvis’s analysis of the “hyper-masculine” symbolism that took shape during World War II represents a timely and pertinent intervention.

BILL OSGERBY

London Metropolitan University

MEGAN TAYLOR SHOCKLEY. *“We, Too, Are Americans”: African American Women in Detroit and Richmond, 1940–54.* (Women in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 256. \$39.95.

Megan Taylor Shockley’s book examines African-American women in Detroit, Michigan, and Richmond, Virginia, from 1940 to 1954. By looking at a northern and a southern city, Shockley moves beyond more generalized studies of blacks and/or women during World War II and arrives at an enriched understanding of their experiences and achievements. She further enhances her analysis by carefully taking into consideration the ways in which class differences affected black women. While Shockley uncovers a number of specific ways in which region and class

shaped the experience of African-American women during World War II, she concludes that black women, in general, came out of the war armed with a new resolve and new methods for leading the fight for civil rights. Indeed, Shockley provocatively argues that her study “reveals the gendered roots of the modern civil rights movement” (p. 2).

Although black women could not bear arms, they “en-gendered the Double V effort,” articulated by A. Phillip Randolph, to attain social equality (p. 11). They pushed for equal employment opportunities and the right to participate in the Red Cross, United Service Organizations, and other efforts that aided the war. Painting themselves as responsible patriots, they protested against police brutality, and segregated housing, transportation, and accommodations. Shockley repeatedly contends that black women “used war discourse—the goal of the war was to save democracy, and all citizens had to be involved” if America was to triumph, to bolster their demands (p. 29). For example, Richmond’s chapter of the National Council of Negro Women sponsored a parade in which black women, dressed in their Red Cross and civilian defense uniforms, protested against discrimination. Similarly, Alpha Kappa Alpha, a black sorority, organized a “Listen America Week” that included criticisms of white supremacist content in national radio broadcasts.

In part because they did not face state-sponsored segregation, and because Detroit was one of the centers of defense production, black working-class women there enjoyed more success than their counterparts in Richmond. Black women in Detroit benefited from a relatively supportive labor movement, especially the United Auto Workers, which sided with them in battles to desegregate the workplace. Detroit’s National Organization of the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) chapter, the largest in the nation, had more female than male members, and it bolstered the efforts of black working-class women. Still, Shockley is careful not to exaggerate the gains made by working-class women in Detroit. While approximately 14,000 black women gained employment in wartime plants, the labor force remained gender segregated, and white women tended to enjoy better jobs than black women. Day care facilities were inadequate, and those with the fewest resources at their disposal felt the housing shortage, exacerbated by the rapid growth of the city and persistence of racial discrimination, most dearly.

Empirically, Shockley’s chapter five, which traces the struggles for equality in public spaces, is her richest. She shows that black women actively engaged in numerous fights against discrimination, ranging from voter registration drives organized by chapters of the NAACP, black sororities, and club women, to street fights initiated by working-class and middle-class women outraged by the abuses they faced on a regular basis. Even if they did not win many of their battles, by casting themselves as citizens, mothers, and workers who were denied their rights and proper respect,

Shockley contends that black women advanced the cause of civil rights.

The most problematic sections of this book deal with the postwar years. Although Shockley acknowledges a number of the ways in which the Cold War stultified the drive for racial and gender equality, she tends to downplay the ultimate costs of this conservative backlash. For instance, she writes: "Through maternalist peace discourse, clubwomen claimed power as mothers and reformers working for social justice" (p. 112). Likewise, Shockley states that black women sought to avoid being labeled subversives by using the state, specifically the electoral process and the courts, to gain equality. Yet, Shockley does not adequately delineate the degree to which maternalism and depending on the state played into the hands of those who used the red scare to maintain the racial and gender status quo. This criticism notwithstanding, her book deserves the attention of students of the civil rights movement and women's and African-American history.

PETER B. LEVY
York College

GLENN C. ALTSCHULER. *All Shook Up: How Rock 'n' Roll Changed America*. (Pivotal Moments in American History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 226. \$26.00.

The roots of early rock and roll are intertwined with some of the most important historical developments in post-World War II America. The music was an integral part of America's Cold War culture; it was the product of the era's new technologies and prosperity; it was linked to the movement of African Americans out of the South; and it signaled the coming of age of the "baby boom" generation. The music reflected—and sometimes shaped—everyday life of the 1950s and early 1960s, including attitudes toward youth, race, ethnicity, gender, and class. Not surprisingly, the Oxford University Press has chosen to include a volume on rock music in its "Pivotal Moments in American History" series. Glenn C. Altschuler surveys the birth and growth of rock and roll, concentrating on the years from 1955 to 1965.

Those familiar with the history of rock or the work of Jim Miller, David Szatmary, John A. Jackson, or others who have studied its relationship to American culture will not find anything new in Altschuler's book. Echoing the common wisdom that rock was rebellious and a music of liberation, Altschuler provides a brief overview that places rock and roll in an historical context. His chapter on music and race, for example, explains how rock became a "highly visible and contested arena for struggles over racial identity and cultural and economic empowerment in the United States" (p. 35). Subsequent chapters suggest that rock and roll also became contested terrain for cultural battles involving sexuality, generational conflict, and other social issues.

Some of Altschuler's interpretations are problem-

atic. For instance, he subscribes to the myth that rock and roll went into a "lull" following the payola hearings of 1959 and did not reemerge until the arrival of the Beatles in 1964. Although he admits that there were some exceptions, he does not seem to comprehend that these exceptions (along with other performers whom he ignores) constitute some of the greatest artists in the history of the music, including Roy Orbison, Dion, the Four Seasons, Ray Charles, Brenda Lee, the Beach Boys, the Shirelles, Del Shannon, Gene Pitney, and Jackie Wilson, to name just a few. Altschuler never even considers the rising popularity on the rock charts in the early 1960s of folk singers like the Kingston Trio and Peter, Paul, and Mary.

Curiously, Altschuler argues that Motown records were not very sexy, insisting that their lyrics were about "as romantic and noncoital as those of the 'girl groups'" (p. 179). This suggests a lack of familiarity not only with suggestive Motown hits like Martha and the Vandellas' "Heat Wave" and Mary Wells's "Two Lovers" but also with the sexual nature of girl-group songs such as the Ronettes' "Be My Baby" or the Shirelles' "Will You Still Love Me Tomorrow?"

Sometimes, Altschuler simply gets his facts wrong. For example, he states that legendary disc jockey Dewey Phillips began his *Red, Hot, and Blue* radio program on WDIA, Memphis's all-black radio station (p. 19). Actually, Phillips started on WDIA's cross-town rival, the all-white radio station WHBQ. Altschuler also errs when he says that the Five Satins' "In the Still of the Night" was a cover version of the Cole Porter classic originally sung by Nelson Eddy (p. 52). In reality, the Five Satins' record was written by the group's lead singer, Freddie Parrish, and was a totally different song. Altschuler even gets wrong the title of one of the most famous songs in rock and roll history. He identifies Danny and the Juniors' number-one hit as "Let's Go To the Hop" (p. 55). The actual title was "At the Hop." These kinds of factual errors undermine the author's credibility.

Despite the book's shortcomings, it demonstrates that rock music is a valuable source of social and cultural history. "As it entered popular discourse," writes Altschuler, "rock 'n' roll was a social construction and not a musical conception" (p. 23). As such, rock and roll played an important role in the story of America after World War II. Without rock and roll, insists Altschuler, "it is impossible to imagine the '60s in the United States" (p. xii).

RICHARD AQUILA
Pennsylvania State University,
Erie

ROBERT M. LICHTMAN and RONALD D. COHEN. *Deadly Farce: Harvey Matusow and the Informer System in the McCarthy Era*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 227. \$27.00.

"I am such a double crosser that I double cross myself twice a day to keep in practice." That is what Harvey

Matusow reportedly told the noted anticommunist information gatherer, J. B. Matthews, about himself (p. 201, n. 56). Matusow's onetime girlfriend, Kay Kerby, advised the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) that he "would do anything to direct publicity to himself." Until the publication of this book, such comments by those who knew him offered the best insights available into the complex character of the man who attained momentous but fleeting notoriety as the author of the McCarthy-era exposé, *False Witness* (1955).

Lawyer Robert M. Lichtman and historian Ronald D. Cohen have written a fascinating and long-needed biography of this inherently unimportant figure, who managed to lie his way into a bit more than fifteen minutes of fame, and also into considerable, if short-lived, national significance. Matusow joined the Communist Party in 1947 because he had become bored with hanging out on a New York street corner and was seeking an identity. He did nothing very remarkable during his brief stint as a loyal party member but attained notoriety after calling the FBI and offering to inform on his radical associates. Matusow became a paid government witness, who fashioned a profitable career out of testifying against his former Communist Party associates in court and before congressional committees and other investigative bodies. Witnessing brought him fame as well as fortune, catapulting Matusow into a prominent place in conservative political circles, where he campaigned for Joe McCarthy and hobnobbed with people like Matthews. It also led to a marriage with Arvilla Bentley, the wealthy ex-wife of a Republican congressman.

After that marriage (the first of many) fell apart, Matusow plunged from prominence. He also fell into poverty. Partly motivated by a desire to revive his fortunes, but inspired even more by a felt need to create a sensation and call attention to himself, he repudiated the testimony he had given, publishing his recantations in *False Witness*. Following some highly publicized testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and a prison sentence for perjury, Matusow fell back into the obscurity from whence he had come. The moment in the limelight he had craved so much, although brief, had considerable significance, not just for him but for others as well. His recantation triggered a national debate over the use of professional ex-Communists as witnesses in internal security trials and congressional investigations. "In response to Matusow's case, the Justice Department dismantled its stable of informers," Lichtman and Cohen report (p. 15).

Although the story they tell is (with the exception of a wrap-up chapter on the rest of Matusow's life) a comparatively brief one, it is extremely complex. The job of telling it was rendered unusually difficult by Matusow's penchant for lying continuously about practically everything (especially himself), and for repeatedly changing his version of events. Lichtman and Cohen have handled a tough task quite skillfully. Their

book is extremely well researched in a wide range of sources, including judicial opinions, transcripts of legal proceedings, FBI material, government documents, and manuscript collections, among them Matusow's papers, which he deposited in England. Forty-six pages of footnotes support a mere 160 pages of text. The only real fault with Lichtman and Cohen's otherwise impressive documentation is the lack of a bibliography. Having one, along with the copious footnotes would make it a little easier to assess the quality of their scholarship. But their book seems to be quite exhaustively researched. Certainly it is very well written. To be sure, readers will not gain from it a complete understanding of Matusow. No book could provide that. This enigmatic and self-contradictory figure probably did not fully understand himself. Lichtman and Cohen have done as much as mere scholars could, however, to make the twists and turns of Matusow's convoluted life comprehensible. This is a valuable book that makes a small but extremely important contribution to our understanding of the national nightmare painfully remembered as McCarthyism.

MICHAEL R. BELKNAP

California Western School of Law,
University of California, San Diego

GEOFFREY KABASERVICE. *The Guardians: Kingman Brewster, His Circle, and the Rise of the Liberal Establishment*. New York: Henry Holt. 2004. Pp. 573. \$30.00.

Here is an engaging chronicle of the post-World War II through Vietnam "liberal establishment," focusing on Yale University president Kingman Brewster and his circle. Those associates included McGeorge Bundy, advisor to Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson and president of the Ford Foundation; Cyrus Vance, Wall Street lawyer, consummate diplomat, and presidential troubleshooter; John V. Lindsay, the liberal Republican congressman and mayor of New York; Paul Moore, the Episcopal bishop of New York and Washington, D.C.; and Elliot Richardson, attorney general of his native Massachusetts and serial cabinet officer in the Nixon administration. These persons were, Geoffrey Kabaservice insists, key stalwarts of the American liberal establishment from the 1940s to the 1970s. Their actions and interactions form the basis of this chatty, almost gossipy, book.

Based on hundreds of oral history interviews, together with some of the more relevant archival materials, mostly at Yale, and other printed sources, Kabaservice has written a useful book. He notes Brewster's Mayflower Pilgrim heritage and his early years and then situates him as the scion of New England gentry, coming to maturity in the World War II era. Kabaservice describes how Brewster's circle came together during that era, how its members came to be professors or lawyers firmly dedicated to public service through independent judgment, a patriotism of the white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant elite—in the author's terminology, "shepherds" who guarded Ameri-

can society from harm, rather than today's "wolves," who seem bent on manipulating and exploiting their fellow Americans. Hence Kabaservice's account, probably not hagiography, definitely tilts in favor of his *dramatis personae*. A saving grace of the book is that Kabaservice is pretty clear-eyed about motives and ambitions.

Hence the detailed narrative runs from the mid-1940s to the early 1970s. Naturally, much attention is focused on Brewster and his presidency of Yale University, which Kabaservice considers a modernizing success, patiently and skillfully moving that venerable institution into the new society that was taking shape in the 1960s and 1970s—a society more egalitarian and less impressed with elite institutions than the world in which Brewster and his friends grew up. The story is one I found quite absorbing; Yale was one of the few major universities not rocked by the 1960s tumults. Bundy and Vance probably get the lion's share of the rest of the book's space. We have a rather full portrait of Bundy, for example, moving from the Harvard Society of Fellows to military aide to Harvard dean to national security adviser and the Vietnam War, and, finally, to the presidency of the Ford Foundation, and just as fulsome an account of Vance as the defense bureaucrat and diplomat over a fifty-year period. The portraits that Kabaservice draws of these men are quite vivid; all of them—Moore, Richardson, Lindsay, Vance, Bundy, and Brewster—were variations of personality types from within the white, male, Anglo-Saxon Protestant establishment. And all of them in their own ways worked very hard in their public lives to bring America from the hierarchical society that had evolved from the Civil War to the Depression to the freer and more rambunctious one in which we live today. While Brewster opened up Yale through a more inclusive admissions policy, national standards of excellence for all Yale departments, and the building of science at Yale (among many other reforms), Bundy tried first as White House adviser and later as foundation president to modernize those elements of American life over which he had responsibility, Vance became the ultimate patient and usually effective bureaucrat for the military and diplomat for six administrations, Richardson was the only American to ever hold four cabinet posts, and Lindsay and Moore tried to resolve the urban crisis in New York, and, by extension, throughout the land.

Whether Kabaservice's larger claims about the liberal establishment and these men's ultimate historical importance convince may reduce itself to matters of faith rather than logic or even evidence. Nevertheless the book is entertaining and deeply researched, has balanced judgments, is well written, and surely belongs on scholars' shelves.

HAMILTON CRAVENS
Iowa State University

DOMINIC SANDBROOK. *Eugene McCarthy: The Rise and Fall of Postwar American Liberalism*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2004. Pp. xiii, 395. \$25.95.

In this biography, Dominic Sandbrook attempts to link Eugene McCarthy's story to the rise and fall of postwar liberalism. He is only partly successful in this endeavor, mainly because he is so persuasive in his argument that McCarthy was motivated less by the tenets of liberalism than by his own quirky personal resentments and a fundamentally conservative outlook. This is not an official biography, although Sandbrook reports that McCarthy was forthcoming with interviews and other materials. Many reviewers have found the book hostile to McCarthy; ultimately, it is. But this is a hostility born of disappointment and frustration. For Sandbrook, McCarthy was a man with great ability and promise, a man whose career "could have yielded so many benefits for the Democratic party, the liberal cause, and the American electorate," had he not thrown it away "through a combination of misplaced pride and unrelenting jealousy" (p. 299). The author judges his subject harshly but not unfairly.

The great service Sandbrook performs in this biography is to explain how a neo-Platonist Catholic like McCarthy came to play a central role in the secular tragedy of postwar liberalism. One always felt somehow that McCarthy did not fit in, but now one can understand why. Postwar liberals were a disparate and factious group, but the one thing they shared was a common belief that modern, secular pluralism was the proper basis of democratic government. McCarthy did not share this belief. According to Sandbrook, McCarthy's heroes were Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, not Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. McCarthy favored Edmund Burke's faith in institutions and tradition over the progressive rationalism of a Thomas Jefferson or a John Dewey. The most useful chapters occur early in the book where the author explains the intersection between McCarthy's Catholicism and postwar liberals' pessimism, embodied in the writings of Protestant theologian Reinhold Niebuhr. Niebuhr's liberal Protestant version of anticommunism easily blended into traditional Catholic anticommunism, thereby allowing Catholics like McCarthy to enter the liberal fold. McCarthy's concerns were moral, Sandbrook writes, "based on issues of conscience rather than class" (p. xii). He aptly compares the early McCarthy to the mugwump Progressives, who, while Protestant and indeed anti-Catholic, approached politics from a highly moralistic, explicitly religious perspective. Richard Hofstadter famously pilloried mugwump moralism, contrasting it with the pragmatic New Deal philosophy taken up by postwar liberals, who framed their quest for economic justice and effective government within a theory of political pluralism. While Hofstadter declared mugwumpism dead in 1956, Sandbrook rediscovers it in McCarthy and positions it as an ongoing tension in the liberal tradition.

Sandbrook reminds us that before the historic 1968 election, McCarthy was a lawmaker and politician with a strong liberal voting record and high ratings from the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA). He traces the help McCarthy received from postwar liberals like Hubert Humphrey and Orville Freeman, and how McCarthy later betrayed these onetime allies. Sandbrook suggests that McCarthy's eventual break with the Democratic Party was fueled in part by the resentment he felt after the 1964 vice presidential debacle. In Sandbrook's eyes, McCarthy was no maverick. His opposition to the Vietnam War copied William J. Fulbright's. His decision to run in 1968 came out of boredom. After the 1968 election, McCarthy began his slow decline into narcissism and a series of irresponsible and inexplicable presidential campaigns.

The book exhibits the sort of exhaustive archival research and bibliography that one would expect of a project that began life as a dissertation. While the author does a great job of tying the early McCarthy to his historical moment, he is less successful in doing the same with the later McCarthy. This might have less to do with the author's skill and more to do with McCarthy's erratic behavior. Sandbrook attempts to situate the post-1968 McCarthy as a conservative liberal in the Adlai Stevenson vein. But this comparison cannot accommodate McCarthy's involvement with the National Welfare Rights Organization, nor his support for Ronald Reagan in 1980. Sandbrook explains these anomalies, and much else, through McCarthy's personal antipathies. But personal antipathies do not illuminate the historical circumstances of postwar liberalism's decline. Thus, while the book presents much new and illuminating material about McCarthy and the rise of postwar liberalism, it is less successful in offering new insight into liberalism's decline.

JENNIFER DELTON
Skidmore College

JEREMY VARON. *Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 394. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$21.95.

Book-length comparative studies of the student lefts of the 1960s are few and far between. The similarities are striking; so are the differences. No matter the parallels between the "armed struggle" undergrounds that New Left groups spawned in several countries, principally the United States and West Germany, these aftermaths of the mass student movement would seem particularly hard to compare rigorously—partly because they were so secretive, partly because their underground periods were (at least until recently) drastically underreported, and partly because passions about them ran, and sometimes still run, so high.

Jeremy Varon has overcome these obstacles and written an admirably cogent and sophisticated treatment of the American and West German under-

grounds of the 1970s. The American Weathermen (later the Weather Underground) crystalized out of the ruins of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)—ruins that a few hundred revolutionaries themselves produced in June 1969. Less than a year later, the West German Red Army Faction (RAF) formed out of shards of the main New Left group there, oddly enough also initialed SDS (for Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund). The coincidence in time was also a coincidence of dynamics, the culmination of an upward spiral of confrontational violence years in the making, although in the American case the unending Vietnam War was the chief precipitating factor while there were others at work in West Germany.

In the 1970s, the undergrounds diverged. The Weather Underground turned to making bombs to kill people (thus "bringing the war home"); but when its bomb factory in New York City blew up, killing three members, the survivors decided to avoid civilian casualties from then on. For several years, they fought a symbolic war, bombing government installations. Most returned aboveground after America was expelled from Vietnam. The Germans, on the contrary, set out on a long-running spree of kidnapping, hijacking, and murder. The imprisonment and deaths of Andreas Baader, Ulrike Meinhof, and other RAF figures had the effect of putting the West German state under continuing pressure, resulting in a violent confrontation lasting for decades. Varon argues convincingly that the RAF mirrored the fascist tendencies they thought West Germany already embodied. So, in hippier and less lethal fashion, did the Weather Underground.

Varon, not stuck on single-factor explanations, unillusioned but not dismissive of anyone's motives, is well read in the student movement literature. He makes good use of oral histories and a dozen or so interviews with former Weather Underground members, including several not among the usual suspects. He explores, although not perhaps as fully as he might have, theoretical forebears from Herbert Marcuse to Jean Baudrillard. He has a sharp eye for underground passions, cultural styles, and logical knots, yet he keeps a necessary distance so as not to take factional arguments strictly at face value. He reads attentively the pastiche of Marxism, Maoism, and countercultural sentimentality that poured into the founding document ("You Don't Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows") from which the Weathermen took their name in 1969. He probes the groups' absurd self-contradictions but does not neglect the difficulties in the positions of their opponents (including this reviewer). He takes seriously the political reasons why the Weathermen broke from the "movement creeps" (their term), with their nonviolent demonstrations, who were, after all, failing to put an end to the Vietnam War. In the case of the Germans, Varon lacks his own interviews, but (as best this reviewer can

judge) he reconstructs the logic—and illogic—of sectarian violence and the RAF's loss of reality.

Varon's undogmatic discernment serves him well for analyzing the temptations and lunacies. He knows how the armed groups were rooted in deeper histories and theoretical fancies; he also knows that, by carrying theory one step too far, they were distinctive. He might have made more use of psychological theory to account for the undergrounds' dynamics of commitment. (The key text here would be Leon Festinger *et al.*, *When Prophecy Fails* [1956], with its concept of "cognitive dissonance.") He might also have inquired more thoroughly into the undergrounds' impact on the larger left and its prospects. In any event, he has made an excellent contribution to the literature of the radical left.

TODD GITLIN
Columbia University

STEPHEN BOGENER. *Ditches Across the Desert: Irrigation in the Lower Pecos Valley*. Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 340. \$34.95.

During the 1980s and 1990s, several historians produced major works that offered sweeping interpretations of western American water history. Donald Worster put forward a theoretically grounded explanation of the power elite that had come to dominate the region's "hydraulic civilization." Marc Reisner covered much the same material and stressed much the same theme as did Worster, but in a journalistic style. In short order there followed a reply to Worster and Reisner, with Donald J. Pisani and Norris Hundley, Jr. arguing that legal and political fragmentation and the struggles of competing interests groups, not the concentration of political and economic power, typified western water history. All of these historians have commanded extraordinary scholarly and popular attention, have placed water at the forefront of western American studies, and have suggested to nonspecialists the extent to which water and related environmental issues have been at the heart of western, and perhaps national, history. They have not been the only historians with something to say about western water, however. Over the past twenty years there has appeared a large and growing body of lesser-known but collectively important work that approaches western water through the case-study method, with specialized treatments of cities, rivers, irrigation projects, landscapes, water law and policy, fish, national parks, dam technology, water lawyers, hydraulic engineers, and other topics.

Stephen Bogener's assessment of irrigation along the Pecos River in New Mexico and Texas adds another piece to the collective picture of the West's hydraulic past. His interpretation of the Pecos Valley is more consistent with the theses of Pisani and Hundley than with the arguments of Worster and Reisner. Democracy in water control, he says, was less an issue in the Pecos Valley than the shifting patterns

of irrigation finance. Indeed, Bogener's emphasis on the many people who invested in the area's irrigation development is the most distinctive feature of his book and its greatest contribution to western water historiography. A combination of events in the 1890s and early 1900s, including economic depression and two disastrous floods, ended irrigation development largely based on private investment. Following the passage of the 1902 Reclamation Act, the United States Reclamation Service became the most important agent of irrigation development in the valley. According to Bogener, however, the Reclamation Service inherited a complicated landscape of remnant investors, water users' associations, and small farmers with whom it carried on an uneasy relationship. Ultimately, the author contends, the Pecos Valley and the federal Carlsbad irrigation project never developed the hydraulic elite composed of government bureaucrats, powerful politicians, wealthy farmers, and corporations that appeared elsewhere in the West. A major reason was the poor soil and erratic, salty, and over-exploited Pecos River itself, which could never sustain the grand dreams of its developers. This latter point perhaps suggests the second most important feature of Bogener's work: this is a history of an irrigated area whose economic and environmental marginality contrasts with the better-known and more thoroughly studied California and Arizona experiences.

Bogener supports his thesis and narrates the story of Pecos Valley irrigation in a series of detailed chronological chapters based on meticulous primary source research in government documents and in materials from various archives in Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado. Bogener adroitly locates the Pecos Valley story in the context of major regional and national events. He follows the late nineteenth-century irrigation developers and their efforts to attract outside investors. Many of those investors came from around the United States and abroad, but Bogener's most interesting find is the connection between affluent residents of Colorado Springs, Colorado, and the Pecos Valley projects. Capital from ranching and steel, among other sources, flowed through the wealthy inhabitants of Colorado Springs and into the ditches and dams of the Pecos Valley. Another of the more revealing chapters details the construction of the valley's irrigation systems and the hard, sometimes violent lives of the Mexican and Mexican-American laborers who dug the ditches and built the dams. Finally, Bogener shows that the Reclamation Service considered the Pecos River a poor choice for further irrigation development, but under political pressure from developers and a friend of President Theodore Roosevelt, the agency embarked on the Carlsbad project along the lower Pecos in New Mexico.

Bogener has produced one of the most thoroughly researched, detailed histories of any irrigated region in the American West. This book adds to a burgeoning western water historiography, the sheer size of which

suggests the importance of western water development to regional and national history.

MARK FIEGE
Colorado State University

THOMAS S. BREMER. *Blessed with Tourists: The Borderlands of Religion and Tourism in San Antonio*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 207. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

In his introduction, Thomas S. Bremer does two things. First, he takes note of the similarities between the practices of tourists and the practices of religious adherents. In both cases, he argues, we find a deep attachment to particular places; a desire for authenticity and aesthetically pleasing experiences; the articulation of some particular identity; and an emphasis on the “commodification of objects, experiences, and even people.” Second, he states his overall analytic goal, which is to explore the ways in which religion and tourism intersect in one particular context: the missions of San Antonio, Texas. The main problem with this book, unfortunately, is that the bulk of the material presented bears only a tenuous tie to this goal.

Chapter one provides an overview of the settlement of San Antonio, with a focus on the missions established there, from the early colonial period through the late nineteenth century, and the ways in which San Antonio was—and was not—made accessible to tourists. Chapter two looks specifically at the emergence of the Alamo (Mission San Antonio) as a tourist site. There are a few brief remarks about the anti-Catholic sentiments implicit in the accounts of the Alamo developed for tourists, and about attempts by Texans of Mexican descent to provide alternate versions of the Alamo narrative, but for the most part religion is not central to the discussion. Rather Bremer focuses on the rapid deterioration of the original buildings (occasioned in part by the fact that early tourists took away small bits and pieces of stone as souvenirs), and on the various disputes over commercialization of the site and how best to commemorate the 1836 battle. Chapter three provides an overview of the process by which mission sites other than the Alamo came to be preserved as tourist sites. Bremer’s discussion here focuses heavily on the contributions made by particular individuals (notably Father Francis Bouchu, Ethel Wilson Harris, and Archbishop Robert E. Lucey). Chapter four looks mainly at the attempts to inject religious elements into the experience of the HemisFair 1968, the world fair held in San Antonio in 1968. Since most of these attempts were unsuccessful (in the end, Bremer notes, most people who attended the fair could not recall the presence of religious events, even though some such events were staged), I half expected that Bremer would use this case to identify the conditions that need to be in place for religion and tourism to merge effectively. Unfortunately, the closest that he comes to this sort of speculation is the suggestion that it would have cost too much money.

In the last few pages of chapter four, but mainly in chapter five, Bremer discusses the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park which (since 1983) has included the missions of San Antonio apart from the Alamo. This is the section of the book that seems most relevant to Bremer’s analytic goal—studying in some serious way the intersection between religion and tourism—and gives us a glimpse of what the book as a whole might have been like if he himself had taken that goal more seriously. Incorporating the missions into a National Park, Bremer notes, guaranteed them access to the financial resources needed for preservation and maintenance, and it also ensured a steady flow of tourists—more than a million a year. These tourists routinely mingle with the local residents who attend the religious services at the missions as members of a living parish community, and Bremer is at his best in identifying the problems and responses that intermingling brings about. Given historical concerns about the separation of church and state, for example, how does the Park Service “locate” the ongoing religious services held at the missions within the story it wants to tell? How do the diverse backgrounds of the Park Service rangers affect what they chose to emphasize in their conversations with tourists? In which ways do local residents attending services at the mission reinforce or subvert Park Service narratives? Bremer provides insightful answers to each of these questions. He also provides an instructive contrast between the nativist, and often racist, national identity promoted by the Alamo narrative and the more inclusive and multicultural identity promoted by the Park Service in the case of the other missions.

The American Academy of Religion recommended Bremer’s book as one of five books on “religion” that members might want to read before attending the annual meeting that was held in San Antonio in 2004. I can see why. It is clearly written, and provides a balanced historical account of the various missions, including the Alamo, in the San Antonio area. It is, in other words, very much a useful guidebook for the thinking tourist. Unfortunately, chapter five aside, it falls short of the sort of insight that Bremer could almost certainly have provided with more effort.

MICHAEL P. CARROLL
University of Western Ontario

RICHARD GRUSIN. *Culture, Technology, and the Creation of America’s National Parks*. (Cambridge Studies in American Literature and Culture, number 137.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 212. \$65.00.

Revisionist histories argue that nature preservation during the nineteenth century served to further, not to oppose, dominant cultural values. Richard Grusin furthers these arguments, suggesting that the creation of national parks “entails the reproduction of an American landscape” set within the context of a rising consumer culture (p. 5). Yet, he cautions, revisionist

accounts run the risk of “transforming nature so completely into culture” that park preservation becomes indistinguishable from landscape turned to other uses, such as ranching or a private resort (p. 2). The author seeks to trace the connections between scientific, technological, and cultural “discursive formations” that enabled the creation of a park at a particular point in time, revealing how parks differed from other culturally constructed entities (p. 3).

Grusin draws on previous work in media studies, including his well-received *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (1998), co-authored with Jay David Bolter. Three case examples describe how nature was “mediated” or interpreted for an audience, particularly prior to the creation of a national park. Frederick Law Olmstead’s role in developing a plan for Yosemite National Park is examined in chapter one, while Thomas Moran’s Yellowstone paintings provide a focus for the second chapter. The story of Grand Canyon National Park’s creation presented a special challenge to those portraying the landscape for distant audiences, as the awe-inspiring immensity of the canyon in both time and space was difficult to convey. In this example, Jack Hillers’s photographs and William Henry Holmes’s drawings sought to reproduce a “feeling of cognitive inaccessibility,” while Clarence Dutton’s *Tertiary History of the Grand Canyon* mediated nature through several avenues, using photographs, literary expression, and scientific analysis (p. 153).

Grusin argues that parks are not only culturally constructed but also technologically constructed. By “technology,” he refers to painting, photography, and landscape design in their roles as “technologies of representation” (p. 10). Moran’s illustrations of Yellowstone, published in *Scribner’s Monthly*, demonstrate how an art work’s “representational fidelity” to nature was invoked both as a matter of authenticity and to convey the need for preservation (p. 63). Artists, landscape architects, and photographers sought to conceal or blur the artist’s agency, to lessen the separation between the landscape and the viewer. Fidelity to nature provides one example of a cultural logic or metaphor “worked out through the parks” that illuminates the way “American cultural origins are simultaneously constructed and destabilized through the act of reproducing nature” (p. 9). Just as important, landscapes needed to be represented through artistic media before they could be recognized (comprehended), preparing the way for park designation (p. 145). Akin to photography and painting, the parks themselves ultimately functioned as “technologies for the reproduction of nature” that was being destroyed elsewhere, incorporating Western wilderness lands “into the social, political, and economic networks of Eastern capitalism” (pp. 8, 11). Interestingly, the 1962 Leopold Report’s “vignette of primitive America” contained a “double logic of representational fidelity to nature” in which parks were described both as natural biotic associations and as theatrical reproductions of a significant historical moment (p. 59).

From the Kolb brothers’ 1911 film depicting rafting the Colorado River, through IMAX theaters, to the internet, new technologies boasted a more immediate and authentic experience of nature. Web technology simultaneously erases and shows the signs of humans mediating nature. The “limiting frames” of artistic media make it possible to recognize the Grand Canyon at the same moment that the media preserves “its cognitive inaccessibility” (p. 160). Significantly, writes Grusin, the parks are “cultural practices for remediating nature as mediated public space” (p. 172).

The author incorporates a spectrum of sources, including Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Immanuel Kant, John Ruskin, Bruno Latour, and William Cronon. He takes a liberal approach in drawing connections, integral to the book’s inspiration and provocative insights. In this book, Grusin has created a useful addition to scholarly work examining landscape preservation within cultural contexts. Readers might also turn to Ethan Carr’s *Wilderness by Design: Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service* (1999), which suggests that landscape architects sought to preserve nature through park development. A second source that historians will want to consult is Judith L. Meyer’s *The Spirit of Yellowstone: The Cultural Evolution of a National Park* (1996), wherein the author describes how layers of cultural meaning were added to the “deeply humanized landscape” of Yellowstone Park. In similar ways, Grusin presents historians with a fresh outlook on the parks that will inspire further creative efforts.

JAMES PRITCHARD
Iowa State University

ANNIE GILBERT COLEMAN. *Ski Style: Sport and Culture in the Rockies*. (CultureAmerica.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2004. Pp. xii, 299. \$29.95.

Annie Gilbert Coleman’s imaginative and lively history of skiing in the Rocky Mountains is a model of a good monograph. At the most basic level, Coleman narrates a chronological story, doing an excellent job of explaining how skiing came to Colorado, how it grew and became a major industry, and the changes it wrought in the state. The reader learns that skiing in the United States began not as recreation but as work. At one time, the only way to get into or out of some places during a Colorado winter was on skis, turning mailmen, workmen, and midwives into skiers. During the late nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century it was Scandinavian immigrants who were responsible for introducing skiing as sport to Americans. By the 1930s, expert European skiers—many of working-class origins—were bringing downhill Alpine skiing to the American West. As these ski teachers instructed wealthy tourists in the latest continental ski techniques, they themselves became much sought-after commodities, prized for their good looks, masculine demeanor, athletic prowess, and air of European cosmopolitanism. Locals also embraced the thrills of

downhill skiing, founding ski clubs and making the sport more widely available. After World War II, the promise of profits from winter tourism helped to turn the nascent ski culture into a big business. Improved ski lift technology made a critical difference in the sport and in the industry. No longer needing to trudge up the mountain, more would-be skiers decided to enjoy the pleasure and thrills of the trip down the mountain. As increasing numbers of skiers flocked to the Colorado Rockies, the nature of the sport changed; less a wilderness experience, it became instead something that occurred amid a crowd of pleasure seekers in an environment planned and built by corporate interests.

Coleman does much more, however, than simply relate how skiing became part of the Colorado economy. Indeed, the strength of this book lies in her examination of the culture of skiing throughout the twentieth century. Coleman makes clear that skiing not only is, but always was, about more than speeding (or falling) down the side of a mountain. Skiing meant engaging with nature, with danger, with glamour, and with a wide range of consumer products. But skiing and the culture that accompanied it also created contradictory and sometimes conflicting meanings. Skiers sought both the majesty of the mountains and the liveliness of the ski village. A ski vacation meant braving the elements, improving one's physical abilities, and courting danger while showing off new outfits or ski equipment, carousing in pubs, and gazing at celebrities. Coleman persuasively argues that the growth of ski resorts (and ski resort culture) was critical to the identity of the state and its residents: communities that had at one time been mining towns became ski resorts, and local residents began to work at occupations that served the skiing clientele.

What Coleman does especially well is to combine cultural with labor and economic history. She reveals how savvy entrepreneurs fashioned ski resorts to resemble Victorian towns, Alpine villages, or the mythic Wild West. These exotic images helped to lure tourists and would-be skiers even as they served to mask and hide the carefully designed infrastructure and corps of paid employees upon whom the whole enterprise depended. Ski resorts were, moreover, consciously engineered to fit a specific class and racial profile: skiing in Colorado increasingly became a sport for wealthy whites and a way to display class and racial privilege. Coleman also pays attention to gender, showing how skiing helped to bolster both traditionally masculine traits of daring and physicality and traditionally feminine ideals of sexuality and beauty.

Coleman never loses sight of the impact of ski culture on the people who lived and worked in the area and the importance of those people to the development and functioning of the resorts. She reveals what it meant to work at Steamboat Springs, Aspen, or Vail and how the profile of those workers changed over the course of the twentieth century, from Scandinavian

immigrants to native-born Coloradans to transient, middle-class "ski bums" to immigrant Hispanics.

This book connects the story of skiing in Colorado to the larger issues of the twentieth century: the expansion of the West, the development of a leisure economy, the importance of consumerism, the construction of identity (both personal and regional), the growth of a mass media, the cult of celebrity, and the role of youth culture. At the same time it is rich in detail, full of the kinds of specifics that recreate for the reader the ski towns and the people who lived there. Coleman has mined a wide range of sources—business archives, local historical societies, mass-market publications—and weaves them together in a well-written and illuminating narrative.

This is a book that students, scholars, and skiers will all find important and instructive.

CINDY S. ARON
University of Virginia

HENRY D. FETTER. *Taking on the Yankees: Winning and Losing in the Business of Baseball, 1903–2003*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2004. Pp. xi, 460. \$25.95.

My father, relating an oft-told joke, liked to ask, "What happened to the New York Yankees after they traded Babe Ruth?" They became, he laughed, "ruthless." The pun worked well. Ruth departed after the 1934 season. Beginning in 1936, the Yankees won four consecutive World Series. This was part of a broader Yankee dominance from 1921 to 1964 when the Yankees registered twenty-nine pennants and twenty World Championships, becoming, as Henry D. Fetter describes, an "enduring success without equal in the world of professional sports" (p. 1).

In his sprightly, combative book, Fetter attempts to not just explain this achievement but to offer a fresh perspective on baseball's broader history as well. Fetter looks not primarily at the Yankees but at their major challengers for supremacy: the Red Sox of the post-World War I era; John McGraw's New York Giants of the 1920s; Branch Rickey's St. Louis Cardinal clubs of the 1920s and 1930s; and the Brooklyn Dodgers in the post-World War II era. Fetter explores familiar topics like the trade of Babe Ruth, the rise of the farm system, the abandonment of New York City by the Dodgers and Giants, and the rise of free agency after 1975. But he approaches each tale from an often unexpected angle, repeatedly challenging conventional wisdom.

Fetter is, as he has revealed in his articles, a master debunker. His strategy consists of systematically stripping down baseball history as previously received. There was, he concludes "nothing inexorable about the ultimate downfall of the Red Sox in the aftermath of the sale of Ruth" (p. 53). The construction of Yankee Stadium resulted not from Ruth's ascension but as a consequence of the legalization of Sunday baseball in New York. The success of the Cardinals in the interwar period resulted not from their vaunted farm system but

from general manager Rickey's "own personal skill as a discoverer and developer of ballplayers" (p. 173). Although most recent accounts blame New York's planning czar Robert Moses for the failure of the Dodgers to secure a stadium in Brooklyn and their subsequent flight to Los Angeles, Fetter restores Dodger owner Walter O'Malley to his place as the prime villain of the tale. "The when and the how of that change were the work of one man, Walter O'Malley. The blame—as well as any credit—rightly belongs to him," concludes Fetter (p. 285). On the seemingly inevitable 1975 arbitration decision that ended baseball's reserve clause, Fetter argues that the interpretation "could have easily gone the other way" (p. 304).

While I do not fully agree with all of Fetter's interpretations (I think, for example, that he underestimates the success of Rickey's farm system and exaggerates player power in the era of free agencies), his approach is always thoughtful and thought provoking. Surprisingly, the least convincing sections deal with the Yankees, the putative subject of the book. Invoking at one point Joseph Schumpeter's theory of the "vital few" and at another Alfred Chandler's "managerial revolution," Fetter tries to explain the Yankee triumphs as a product not so much of their greater financial resources as of their managerial innovations. In the 1920s, Yankee owners Jacob Ruppert and T. L. Huston "introduced a new management style and structure into the sport" that required them to "step back and afford knowledgeable professionals the leeway to achieve the desired results . . . built on delegated authority, similar to that employed by business generally" (p. 31). This seems a stretch. The Yankees clearly benefited from capable management, but baseball remained, as Fetter notes, a relatively small-scale operation into at least the 1960s. It did not require the strategic coordination of a Dupont or General Motors described by Chandler. And, as Fetter repeatedly reminds the reader, success came more freely to wealthy owners who did not depend on baseball profits for their fortunes than to those for whom baseball operations constituted their primary livelihoods. Nor, after the initial flush of success of the 1920s, does Fetter expend much energy explaining the successes of the 1940s through the early 1960s.

Nonetheless, this is an immensely satisfying book, consistently entertaining, insightful, and challenging. As with any good baseball history, it reveals as much about our national past as it does about our national pastime.

JULES TYGIEL

San Francisco State University

JOHN A. JAKLE and KEITH A. SCULLE. *Lots of Parking: Land Use in a Car Culture*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 293. \$34.95.

Parking, as the authors of this study suggest early on, is not a subject many historians have examined or even

think worth examining. Parking is a routine part of most people's lives. Parking is a non-event; parking places are banal. Yet parking is an essential component of our culture. Free parking can be a prized amenity. Inadequate parking can seriously damage a business—and a community. The issue of parking is often most intensely played out in dense urban environments, but it has become an increasingly serious concern in outlying areas as well. The effect of parking on the landscape has been profound, influencing choices of area, site, the configuration of almost every building type, and the very scale and character of development. Moreover, these matters are hardly new. Parking has been a significant phenomenon, with a multitude of ramifications for over eighty years.

A primary objective of geographer John A. Jakle and historian Keith A. Sculle is to demonstrate the breadth as well as the importance of the parking issue over time. In this realm they succeed, for while the subject has received some scholarly attention, it has never previously been the focus of a major study. Jakle and Sculle mine a rich array of period documents and retrospective sources to present a sweeping account, filled with new information. Theirs is likely to be a valuable book for scholars and practitioners in a number of fields for some time to come.

The major challenge in presenting an authoritative history of parking in the United States is not finding enough material to justify what skeptics may regard as a marginal subject but just the opposite: controlling the vast array of pertinent information and creating a structure that does justice to the subject without overwhelming readers in its complexity and extent. The authors have made a valiant attempt, dividing the topic into three thematic areas: parking as a convenience, as a development strategy, and as a necessity. Each of the nine chapters is likewise topically organized, addressing subjects such as curbside parking, parking lots, parking garages, parking as part of redevelopment, and parking for shopping facilities. The text analyzes topics from several perspectives, including design, business, and public policy. Moreover, beyond the facilities in question, the authors often examine the broader implications they have on the community.

A comprehensive history of parking is perhaps more than can be expected in a single volume, especially one that has to break so much new ground. Jakle and Sculle were well prepared for the task, having co-authored books on the history of building types profoundly affected by the automobile: gas station, motel, and restaurant. In the final analysis, however, this is an exploratory text more than a definitive one—a useful introduction to many subjects worth examining further.

One area that is often neglected in the text is planning, not just municipal planning but also technical planning. Readers will only get some sense of how crucial parking became, often as early as the 1920s, in the siting and arrangement of an increasing number of

building types, for example, or in the redevelopment of urban centers after World War II. Parking can have a pernicious impact in this way, as it did in New Haven's Church Street Redevelopment Area (begun 1957), where the location and size of an immense garage was fixed before any program was well developed for the mixed-use business facility it was to serve. In the last section of the book, especially the ninth chapter, the authors attempt too much for the allotted space, so that the issues of parking for airports, recreational complexes, educational institutions, and other such places are given no more than brief, partial summation.

Missing, too, is an indication of parking's dramatic impact on the human outlook: the naïveté of observers in the 1910s, who predicted that motor vehicles would ease downtown congestion because each occupied less curbside space than horse-drawn conveyances; the abject panic of downtown property owners and the frustration of motorists as streets in city centers coagulated from widespread automobile use during the early 1920s; the fury of retailers when all their efforts to accommodate cars in the city center still seemed inadequate three decades later; the blasé attitude many involved in developing outlying areas had toward parking, and the price they soon paid for that neglect; the conflicts between designers who sought to make parking lots attractive and their clients, who looked only at the bottom line. The history of parking is not only an important story, it can be a compelling one that affords a wealth of insights on many dimensions of twentieth-century culture and landscape. Jakle and Sculle have performed a great service in underscoring the point and in providing a good foundation for additional investigation.

RICHARD LONGSTRETH
George Washington University

DAVID WITWER. *Corruption and Reform in the Teamsters Union*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 298. \$39.95.

In 1956, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) magazine presented its vision of the good life that union wages enabled its members to enjoy. It consisted of an IBT cabdriver and his family spending their evenings together watching television in the living room of their two-story house. The union's president, Dave Beck, bragged he was a millionaire and occupied an exquisitely furnished office in a luxurious building, complete with French chef, that resembled the headquarters of a major corporation. Clearly, it was not the IBT's celebration of materialism and mass entertainment that disturbed corporate business. Nor was it the union's endorsement of Republican presidents, including Richard M. Nixon during the Watergate scandal, which the author fails to mention. What made the IBT so threatening were its aggressive organizing and its ability to disrupt long and short-distance transporta-

tion of products and inflict major damage on employers.

David Witwer asserts that the public's tendency to associate the IBT primarily with corruption is misplaced, the result of conservatives' alarm over the union's power and part of a larger campaign to discredit organized labor. Anti-labor forces defined corruption to include not only bribery, extortion, and ties with organized crime but also aggressive union organizing and such tactics as the secondary boycott and the sympathy strike. Witwer believes the traditional emphasis on IBT corruption obscures the union's record of significant improvements in wages, benefits, and working conditions. And although the IBT discriminated, it was more receptive to African Americans than most American Federation of Labor (AFL) unions. While books like Arthur A. Sloane's *Hoffa* (1991) have made similar arguments, Witwer's is better researched and provides more context.

In explaining IBT corruption, Witwer emphasizes environmental factors. The decentralized and fiercely competitive trucking business, dominated by small contractors, made it easy for organized crime to infiltrate locals and encouraged collusion between labor and management to stabilize the market. Moreover, Witwer argues that the IBT's critics have exaggerated the extent of corruption, which he believes consisted of only "occasional acts of malfeasance by scattered union officials" (p. 1). Employers made IBT corruption a central issue as early as the 1905 Chicago teamsters' strike, staged shortly after the union was founded. Depicted as formidable and unscrupulous, the union severely inconvenienced the public in the pursuit of selfish gain. Management sought to delegitimize IBT president Cornelius Shea by comparing him to a Russian autocrat, a "Strike Dictator," whose alleged sexual indiscretions revealed his moral deficiency. Here and elsewhere, Witwer should have devoted attention to how the IBT itself influenced the shaping of its public image, which was not merely molded by employers. The IBT in 1905 also denounced its employer adversaries as corrupt and immoral. It highlighted their use of professional strikebreaking agencies to import criminals and African Americans, both considered menacing, as team drivers and guards. The IBT aggressively employed racist terminology to turn public opinion against the black strikebreakers.

Witwer credits Dan Tobin, Shea's successor, with restoring financial stability and expanding the union's jurisdiction, resulting in enormous increases in union membership and influence. He is less convincing when he praises Tobin's IBT for its "democratic qualities" (p. 68). Tobin, after all, was IBT president for forty-five years, and after 1915 IBT conventions were held only at long intervals. The IBT did not permit its members to vote directly for international officers, and conventions did not use a secret ballot. Witwer does not provide salary figures for IBT leaders or make systematic comparisons with other unions.

Witwer also considers the next presidents, Beck and

Jimmy Hoffa, innovative leaders who increased IBT bargaining power by centralizing authority, professionalizing staff, and constantly seeking new members. He argues that the IBT's ability to negotiate improvements, steady growth, and organizational stability "belied charges of rampant criminality and corruption" (p. 180). The AFL-CIO saw it differently when it expelled the IBT for corruption in 1957, although it acknowledged the union's strength by not chartering a replacement.

The book provides some useful insight into IBT growth and how corporate business and conservatives propagandized against unions. But it seriously underestimates the significance of the IBT's lack of concern for internal democracy and the corrupt activities of its leaders, which permanently damaged labor's reputation, greatly impeding its ability to organize.

STEPHEN H. NORWOOD
University of Oklahoma

ANDREW R. HEINZE. *Jews and the American Soul: Human Nature in the Twentieth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 438. \$29.95.

American culture took a decisive turn in the final two decades of the nineteenth century. Between 1880 and 1900, public ideas about human nature began to shift from a predominantly religious to a predominantly psychological vocabulary. Most historians have viewed this "psychologization" of American thought as part of the progressive secularization of the nation's Protestant theological heritage. Christopher Lasch, Donald Meyer, Dorothy Ross, John Burnham, and E. Brooks Holifield are among those who have interpreted the rise of psychological discourse as a byproduct of Protestantism's confrontation with modernity. Andrew R. Heinze has written a well-researched and thoughtfully argued corrective to these previous histories of American psychological thought. He argues that, for all their richness, they remain incomplete because they have failed to appreciate the vast extent to which American psychological thought also bears the distinct imprint of Jewish thought, faith, and culture.

Even a cursory look at the long list of persons who factor into Heinze's narrative makes it difficult to ignore his thesis. He begins his study with Americans' initial encounter with the writings of Sigmund Freud and Alfred Adler, and then chronicles the progressive contributions of such other Jewish psychologists as Isador Coriat, Abraham Brill, Joseph Jastrow, Hugo Munsterberg, Boris Sidis, Kurt Lewin, Jacques Loeb, Erik Erikson, Erich Fromm, and Abraham Maslow. Yet the full strength of Heinze's thesis comes through when he shifts attention away from academic or professional psychology and considers the diffusion of popular psychology into the stock of ideas from which nearly all Americans take their bearings on life. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine the full history of this psychologization of American ideas about the psyche and human nature without considering the vast influ-

ence of Jewish writers such as Rabbi Joshua Liebman, Martin Buber, Joyce Brothers, Viktor Frankl, Ayn Rand, Ann Landers, Abigail Van Buren, Betty Friedan, Laura Schlessinger, and Rabbi Harold Kushner. Heinze convincingly demonstrates that these Jewish writers played a powerful role in the growth of popular psychology—a "new booming cultural industry, outstripping theology and philosophy as a guide for a literate mass audience seeking advice about how to live" (p. 5).

Heinze's point is not simply that these influential writers were Jewish, but that their Jewish background made a tangible difference in their orientation to psychological theorizing. Much as previous historians have pointed to American Protestantism's cult of self-improvement as exemplified in the writings of Benjamin Franklin, Heinze draws attention to a genre of Hebrew ethical literature popular in Eastern Europe known as *musar*. Somewhat similar to Franklin's self-help advice, tinged with certain moral judgments, *musar* encouraged people to develop proper habits through moral reflection and serious discipline. This heritage, Heinze suggests, helps explain the different viewpoints characteristically adopted by Christian and Jewish writers. Protestant interpreters of Freud were, for example, prone to romanticizing the undiscovered potentials of the unconscious mind. G. Stanley Hall, James Mark Baldwin, William James, and William Alanson White infused discussions of the unconscious with an essentially transcendentalist spirituality. Yet Jewish psychologists such as Jastrow, Munsterberg, Coriat, and Brill eschewed such covert religiosity and instead adhered to more rationalist and naturalist depictions of the human psyche. Heinze argues that Jewish psychologists, like their Protestant counterparts, hoped to alleviate mental suffering and produce a social order that would best protect the delicate mechanism of the human psyche. But they also created a separate stream of ideas that entered the mainstream of American thought about human nature, a stream that expressed their profoundly rationalist moral perspective and distrust of faith in romanticized visions of psychic transformation.

Jews' status as immigrants and cultural outsiders predisposed them to a particular range of psychological issues such as the social sources of prejudice, inner sources of identity, and rational self-control. Kurt Lewin, for example, was a pioneer in social psychology and made path-breaking insights into the effect of social context on a person's perception. Not surprisingly, Lewin studied the self-perception of Jews and other stigmatized minorities en route to articulating a psychological vision that reinforced belief in people's ability to adapt to their social environment and in psychology's ability to guide them along the way. Similarly, Erikson's well-known writings on identity can be seen as a natural outgrowth of his own experience as an immigrant and cultural outsider.

Heinze proposes that yet another way to understand the interplay between Protestant and Jewish sources of

popular psychological understandings is to juxtapose the humanistic psychologies of two triumvirates: Rollo May-Carl Rogers-Paul Tillich and Erich Fromm-Abraham Maslow-Martin Buber. Although Albert Ellis would probably have been a better choice than Maslow, Heinze's assessment of these differing streams of humanistic psychology supports his contention that, in general, Jews were wary of portraying the mind as a pathway of divine influence and instead preached a more rational message of self-control.

This is a sharply argued contribution to American cultural and intellectual history that will deservedly be cited for decades to come.

ROBERT C. FULLER
Bradley University

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

GEORGE REID ANDREWS. *Afro-Latin America, 1800–2000*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 284. \$19.95.

George Reid Andrews's tour de force draws on a breath-taking range of scholarship published in and on Latin America to make a powerful argument about the contributions of blacks and mulattos to national and regional histories. This book pays as much attention to class as to race. Andrews carefully differentiates among the varied experiences and strategies of poor and middle-class Afro-Latin American women and men, and he voices some provocative opinions about their past and future political mobilization.

In addition to consulting the English-language literature, Andrews draws from many works in Spanish and Portuguese that have remained largely unknown to Anglophone readers. Importantly, the book places Brazil in constant counterpoint to its Spanish-American neighbors (rather than the common practice of comparing Brazil primarily to the United States). Attention is paid to Afro-Latin American populations in diverse countries ranging from Uruguay to Costa Rica to Cuba. Andrews's lively writing style, moreover, makes this material accessible and appealing to a wide audience. Ideally suited for college students, the book challenges their stereotypes with vivid anecdotes framed within a coherent yet complex narrative.

Andrews uses the term "Afro-Latin America" to refer to countries and regions with a significant percentage of inhabitants of acknowledged African descent. Thus he emphasizes the impact of the African diaspora on specific Latin American countries and regions. But the book primarily focuses on the participants and descendants of that diaspora themselves—including both "blacks" (*negros* or *pretos*) and "browns" (*pardos* or *mulatos*)—wherever they ended up. This approach to the interrelationship of places and peoples exemplifies the overarching theoretical framework that Andrews has employed throughout his scholarship: the interplay of structure and agency.

The first chapter traces how negotiation and resis-

tance to the institution of slavery "set in motion a chain of unintended and unforeseen consequences that by 1800 had created a world vastly different from that imagined by its founders" (p. 51). The next two chapters examine the end of slavery and the emergence and consolidation of republics. Andrews emphasizes black and mulatto participation in independence and civil wars: independence wars weakened slavery, and the nineteenth-century civil wars ended it altogether. He discusses demographic and economic structures while highlighting black and mulatto agency. Thus, the slaves largely freed themselves. Using the latest research on subalterns and state-formation, Andrews views nineteenth-century Afro-Latin Americans as influential political actors who reframed ideals of liberty, equality, and citizenship.

The fourth chapter, on "whitening," charts the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century elite pursuit of national progress, often at the expense of nonwhite citizens. The author discusses immigration, racial science, and racial violence. He emphasizes the negative effects of land privatization and foreign investment on nonwhite peasants and workers. More optimistically, he also traces the emergence of cross-racial unionizing. The fifth chapter on twentieth-century "Browning and Blackening" describes a dramatic rupture between oligarchic "whitening" and populist "racial democracy." Drawing on Robin Moore and others, Andrews pays particular attention to how elites "nationalized" the Afro-Latin American cultural expressions—music, religion, martial arts, and dance—that they had previously suppressed. Populist "browning" was followed by "blackening." The limitations of racial democracy became increasingly apparent, and new black social movements emerged.

Andrews notes that poor blacks and mulattos, however, have not flocked to race-based social movements. The poor, he points out, have been more likely to organize cross-racially around class-based, immediate survival issues. He argues that "far from being a negative development, this preference for nonracial, or cross-racial, forms of organization is perfectly congruent with Afro-Latin Americans' long-term historical experience . . . People of color have had greater impacts on regional politics, economy, and society, and achieved far more in terms of social, political, and economic reform, when they have acted collectively through cross-racial coalitions than when they have tried to construct racially exclusive movements" (p. 190). In his conclusion, he states that, given the current neoliberal context, class-based movements are likely to prove more effective than race-based movements.

This argument should provoke productive discussion among activists and intellectuals. Some may argue that the history laid out so brilliantly in this book justifies an alternative solution to the one proposed. If a legacy of class-based mobilization has not solved the ongoing problems of racism, and if racism continues to be a factor in relegating millions of Afro-Latin Americans to poverty, then activists may see a need for a move-

ment that addresses both race and class, not to mention gender, within one unitary framework. Perhaps the greatest contribution of Andrews's broad survey is precisely that he provides the historical information and inspiration that such a movement can use in its efforts to understand and combat ongoing structures of racial oppression.

NANCY P. APPELBAUM
Binghamton University,
State University of New York

DIANA PATON. *No Bond but the Law: Punishment, Race, and Gender in Jamaican State Formation, 1780–1870*. (Next Wave: New Directions in Women's Studies.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 291. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

In the 1830s, British abolitionists and planters were equally convinced that the ending of state-sanctioned enslavement in the Caribbean required an alternative system of coercion in order to deliver labor to capital. It was the law that remained firmly installed as the preferred mechanism for the achievement of this objective. The only difference was that the relationship between capital and labor was no longer grounded in the legal definition of people as chattel but now worked itself out through police, court, and prison.

It is the prison that stands at the center of the system in Diana Paton's excellent book. This enables her to reveal substantial continuities between slavery, the "apprenticeship" that followed formal abolition in 1834, and the "full freedom" that commenced in 1838. The late eighteenth century witnessed a great enthusiasm for prison-building in Jamaica, as a project of the planter class. In the period after 1834, antislavery advocates quickly came to share the planters' enthusiasm, and the number of prisons reached almost thirty during the apprenticeship. From the perspective of the overlords, the public prison was an attractive site for the discipline of enslaved people by removing punishment from the plantation. There were limits, of course, because the planter did not wish to lose for long the labor of his enslaved workers, and, in any case, the idea of "reforming" the enslaved was difficult to grapple with. Other varieties of terror were experimented with, such as the transportation of enslaved convicts. Australia was a long way away, and the thought of being sent there as a convict was intended to instill dread, but the cost was great and the opportunity closed off in 1837.

The technology central to Paton's narrative is the treadmill, which had a relatively brief life within the prison system of Jamaica and elsewhere but came to be understood as a symbol of industrial torture. Treadmills began to be set up in the West Indian slave colonies in the 1820s, a decade before abolition, and flourished during the apprenticeship period, only to be removed from all prisons in 1840. Paton demonstrates effectively that it was the image of the seminaked woman, her wrists shackled to a beam and her legs

dangling bloodied against the rotating blades, that most completely symbolized the horrors of the system of the apprenticeship, just as it was the image of the woman spread-eagled and lacerated by the driver's lash that had characterized most vividly the horrors of enslavement. A central irony here was that one of the fundamental changes in punishment at the formal abolition of slavery was the prohibition of the whipping of women, while the advance of the prison and the treadmill brought with them their own new terrors. Why the treadmill, which had been used since ancient times as a relatively benign means of raising water or milling grain, came to be thought eminently suited to the discipline of slaves and apprentices is not clear in Paton's account, and the extent to which the treadmill was used to grind corn, for example, remains murky. Today the treadmill is associated most obviously with the desire for the healthy body, and if found in a prison it would be located in its exercise facility.

As often happens, close investigation of the supposed turning-points of history reveals evidence of continuity. Paton's emphasis on parallel outcomes works very well for the prison, but might have seemed less convincing had she looked more closely at the role of the police force, which was brought into being by the Police Act of 1834 and is hard to understand as a simple continuation of the militia. Analysis of the decline of public executions might also have introduced more complexity. Again, Paton's concluding pages, which carry us in a giant leap from 1870 to 1999, are troubling because they suggest a too simple continuity in prison and politics.

Although Paton's interpretation has a Foucauldian frame, she is equally willing to take Foucault to task. Her book is based on thorough research in archives and includes some detailed plans of prison layout. There are also charts constructed by the author and some welcome quantitative initiatives. Paton's argument is carefully crafted, and she uses gender successfully as a way of moving forward her interpretation of the rule of law.

B. W. HIGMAN
Australian National University

STEEVE O. BUCKRIDGE. *The Language of Dress: Resistance and Accommodation in Jamaica, 1760–1890*. Foreword by REX NETTLEFORD. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 270. \$25.00.

There has been considerable interest in the recent past on the material culture of slavery. This research, allied with studies of the slave economy and of slave culture, has provided additional evidence that the enslaved were able to control important aspects of their lives. Steeve O. Buckridge contributes to that literature and argues persuasively that dress in Jamaica served a similar function. Since his book extends its analysis to the post-emancipation period, it also considers dress in

the context of significant changes in nineteenth-century Jamaica.

In discussing the slave period, Buckridge makes a number of telling points. He demonstrates that slave clothing and, specifically, the dispensing of that clothing helped to reinforce the patriarchal norms of the colonial society. As Buckridge makes clear, skilled male slaves received more clothing than women; this had the effect of reemphasizing women's subordination within slave society. Buckridge also describes some of the differences in slave clothing; he suggests that dress varied according to occupation and status. In addition, there is considerable detail on the production of clothing by slave women and, significantly, on the development of a creole style of dress. For Buckridge, the creole dress was "the product of a conscious effort to maintain, preserve and support the African elements in dress brought to the Caribbean" (p. 60).

Buckridge sees dress as resistance. Slave runaways often dressed differently, seeking to adopt the style of free women. More significantly, enslaved women sought to make use of African styles of dressing, such as the use of a particular style of headwrap or coral necklaces, to resist slavery. By making use of "an African aesthetic" in their clothing, slave women were denying their masters the power to rob them of their dignity and their African identity. Similarly, Buckridge points to the costumes worn during carnivals in Jamaica and the striking figure of Jonkonnu, with its roots in West Africa. In some of their carnival costumes, enslaved people appropriated British symbols. But, for Buckridge, this was another aspect of resistance; in adopting European symbols, slaves were not seeking to be like whites but resisting their status as slaves. They sang subversive songs and, during the Christmas celebrations, often dressed like their masters and partied in the Big House, inverting, albeit temporarily, the usual hierarchy of plantation life.

Buckridge argues that carnival symbolized the shared world of resistance and accommodation. After emancipation, this merging of accommodation and resistance continued. Since white fashion norms became even more important after the abolition of slavery, freed women in Jamaica sought to imitate and appropriate these dress styles. But, as during slavery, these women transformed European styles to suit their own taste and their own sense of fashion. Even when they simply copied European styles, they were using dress "to receive some validation for themselves and their race" (p. 138). Yet, as Buckridge suggests, however much Jamaican women accommodated themselves to European styles after emancipation, they were never treated as equals of the whites. The racism of nineteenth-century Jamaican society permeated the world of dress, just as it did in the realm of politics and society more generally.

This is an important argument and a terrain that has not received such detailed treatment during this period. At the same time, there are some problems with the analysis. For example, Buckridge argues that there

were two Jamaicas after emancipation: civilized and uncivilized, and that this was reflected in the dress of free people. But we know that the society was more complex than this suggests. Buckridge rules out including free colored women's clothing in this book, but dealing with their mode of dress might have expanded the stark dichotomy presented here. In addition, some of the material here goes over familiar territory without adding much that is new; for instance, African cultural continuities are discussed, but the notes point to a generally older literature. It is also surprising that Buckridge did not make use of slave runaway advertisements to document further his treatment of slave clothing. On balance, however, this is an innovative and useful study. It is handsomely illustrated and brings to light an important aspect of material culture. Buckridge's book should serve as a stimulus for other studies looking at material culture and encompassing slavery and freedom in the Americas.

GAD HEUMAN

University of Warwick

DANIEL NEWCOMER, *Reconciling Modernity: Urban State Formation in 1940s León, Mexico*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. x, 288. \$50.00

Daniel Newcomer's book is a study of conflict and reconciliation between two elite factions in León, Guanajuato, in the 1940s, the local officials of the Partido de la Revolución Mexicana (PRM, later renamed the Partido Revolucionario Institucional or PRI), and the conservative Catholics of the Unión Nacional Sinarquista (UNS). It was in León, Newcomer argues, "the symbolic capital of Mexico's corporeal Christian nation" (p. 10), that the Sinarquistas were transformed from a radical and intransigent source of opposition to the revolutionary state into a "tame opposition party" (p. 11), thus eliminating any significant ideological challenge to the ruling PRM and its project of state-led modernization.

The first two chapters of the book focus on how political competition between the PRM and the UNS in León led to a convergence in elite ideology. Both revolutionary and conservative Catholic elites, according to Newcomer, embraced state-led modernization, claimed to represent the masses and to epitomize the essence of the Mexican nation, and feared popular unruliness to the point of sanctioning coercion against the very same masses that they claimed to represent.

Throughout much of the remaining three chapters of the book, Newcomer demonstrates how the popular sectors of León resisted the roles chosen for them in the "official story" concocted and shared by revolutionary and Catholic elites to legitimate existing power relations and social inequalities in the city. Because popular sector groups consistently and emphatically refused to be rendered "legible" by accepting the official story, the revolutionary state never achieved hegemony and endured only through the use of repression.

Although Newcomer asserts that he has adopted a cultural approach to Mexican state formation, the book lacks a clearly articulated thesis and a coherent analytical argument. Many of the most basic concepts, such as the "current state" in Mexico and the "official story" told by León elites, remain quite obscure throughout. In the introductory chapter, a somewhat confusing discussion of the historiography on 1940s Mexico is followed by a quite distorted characterization of recent scholarship on state formation in post-revolutionary Mexico, very little if any of which, contrary to Newcomer's assertions, claims that popular sector groups simply accepted the revolutionary state's authority as legitimate or implies that Mexico was a democracy throughout the second half of the twentieth-century (p. 16). Furthermore, it has been quite a long while since anyone has seriously suggested that motives for political behavior could be read off of "objective social categories such as class" (p. 15).

Newcomer's empirical work is the saving grace of the book. He has a great deal to say about daily life in 1940s León, based on his research in local, state, and national archives. Of particular interest is his depiction of the UNS and its leaders, popular base, unions, women's organizations, and public celebrations. In other respects, Newcomer travels some fairly well-trodden ground. A great deal of recent and not-so-recent scholarship has focused on revolutionary efforts to modernize and secularize urban areas by renaming streets and erecting monuments, as well as on Catholic efforts to underscore the centrality of religion to Mexico's national identity. The extent to which secular and Catholic elites, since the early independence era, shared similar views of the masses and the need to thoroughly reform them prior to their inclusion in the political system has also been well documented, as has the resistance of popular sector groups to elite notions of how they ought to live, worship, and otherwise behave themselves.

While there is much to be learned about the Sinarquistas of 1940s León from this book, it does not, given its analytical weakness, make a significant contribution to any emerging cultural approach to state formation.

JENNIE PURNELL
Boston College

MARGARET M. OLSEN. *Slavery and Salvation in Colonial Cartagena de Indias*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2004. Pp. xii, 189. \$59.95.

Margaret M. Olsen's book provides a study of a single early modern text, the Jesuit Alonso de Sandoval's *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, a treatise on religious conversion published in Seville in 1627. In the introduction, Olsen argues for the importance of Sandoval's book, stating that it "stands alone as the earliest Spanish American document that seeks to make historical, philosophical, and cultural sense of the African/European encounter in a New World context." Sandoval's interesting work clearly merits the scholarly

attention that Olsen provides in this thought-provoking literary analysis.

Olsen argues that the Jesuit's book "presents readers . . . with a missionary figure who was as vigorous an advocate of African humanity and dignity in the seventeenth century as the well-known Dominican Bartolomé de Las Casas (1484–1566) was for Amerindian moral integrity" (p. 2). The reference to Las Casas immediately situates Sandoval's text within the spectrum of disputatious opinion regarding the nature of European engagement with the peoples of the world who were categorized as targets of religious conversion. Las Casas advocated what might be termed a more humane attitude toward the indigenous people of the Americas, and Sandoval shares that emphasis in the guide he provided for missionaries engaged in the conversion and pastoral care of enslaved Africans. While recognizing the variety of contemporary European intellectual opinion on this question, Olsen also notes the limits of Las Casas's approach: the missionary's interest was in the proper way to transform the indigenous Americans from pagans into hispanicized Christians.

The Jesuit order was a major player in the slave trade, and "[b]y the time of their expulsion in 1767 . . . were the largest . . . slaveholders in the Americas" (p. 14). Jesuit haciendas were also some of the most successful, and in Sandoval's time the order's college of Cartagena managed several, including one called La Ceiba, where 111 slaves were working at the time of the expulsion. When he wrote the book, Cartagena was the main port of entry for African slaves into the Americas. It is estimated that, in the last half of the sixteenth century, 15,445 slaves passed through Cartagena, and the resident population was close to one thousand. Cartagena contained two thousand inhabitants of European descent.

Sandoval's *De instauranda* provides readers with a historical and geographic compendium of the known world and Africa, a description of the suffering of the slaves with an admonishment of cruel owners, a practical guide for Jesuit missionaries, and a call for Jesuit service among Africans in the Americas. Two works by the Jesuit José de Acosta were major influences on Sandoval: *De procurandam Indorum salute* (1588) and the *Historia Natural y moral de las Indias* (1590). In these texts, Acosta delineated the Americas as a region of heterogeneity and flux, with a missionary's success dependent upon his ability to be flexible, pragmatic, and adaptable in his interactions with targeted converts. Sandoval followed Acosta's example in his own manual for missionary activity.

Olsen makes three major claims for Sandoval's work. First, she argues that the "intellectual autonomy of the Jesuit order provides . . . an alternative to the monolithic, colonial project of Spain in the New World." Second, "the missionary enterprise in the Americas provides a textual aperture for those religious workers willing to approach the Other in a radically new way that is more intimate and culturally

accommodating." Third, Olsen argues that "the very specific objective of African valorization that Sandoval devises . . . generates the possibility for African perspectives to arise therein" (p. 26). The first two propositions are not controversial, and Olsen makes an effective case for them. The third is the boldest claim, and the nature of Sandoval's text makes it difficult to establish.

Sandoval arrived in Cartagena from Lima in 1605, one year after the Jesuit college had been established. His text was aimed at other Jesuits, and through its dissemination Sandoval hoped to stimulate conversion efforts among Cartagena's least valued human inhabitants and sojourners. One powerful way of doing this was by linking missionary activity among the slaves with the overseas conversions carried out by the order's founding generation. In an interesting feat of categorization, *De instauranda* places natives of India and Pacific islands under the rubric of "Aethiopians," a move that places the peoples missionized by Francis Xavier in the same category as the enslaved Africans of Cartagena de Indias.

Olsen nearly matches Sandoval's innovativeness in categorization when she describes the Africans who appear in works such as Sandoval's as "textual maroons." Like the escaped slaves who were called *cimarrones* and maroons by colonial officials, Olsen argues that Africans appear, vanish, and reappear under several guises in colonial texts. They could be depicted as slaves, militia soldiers, or as rebels. Manumission might change their status, or they might force change on their own, becoming maroons. Through this changeability, Olsen argues, "the African subaltern avoids a complete colonial inscription" (p. 128).

Colonial slaves could indeed avoid interpretive fixity because of their limited ability to change their status. However, a different emphasis may be placed upon the point that Olsen makes. Researchers of early modern colonies can only describe the experiences of subject peoples, recognizing them as slaves, rebels, maroons, or loyal subjects of color, insofar as those individuals and groups were embedded within, subjected to, or in rebellion against colonial administrative systems. Rather than exploring subject peoples' existence outside of the colonial system, ethnohistorical research in colonial archives allows for the presentation of a more complete picture of the imperial reality by including Africans and Indians as central, integral actors on the colonial stage.

The Africans who appear in Sandoval's book are mediated through the Jesuit's perceptions and are subject to considerable distortion due to the missionary's transformative aims. When the Jesuit elaborates on how the Africans construe their baptisms, for example, his descriptions are crafted to provide an image of them as malleable, child-like, and unable to resist a European's skilled presentation of his (superior) faith. Even after taking into account the applicable notion of Bakhtinian polyphony, it must be admitted that the agency that the Africans exercise in

Sandoval's text is that which has been allowed to them by the author. Sandoval's act of writing provides the Africans with a textual existence, and in interpreting the descriptions of Africans in the *De instauranda*, readers are primarily left to explore Sandoval's motivations, interpretations, and modes of representation rather than those of the Africans about whom he wrote. While Olsen's study is least convincing in its attempt to establish how enslaved Africans might have written themselves into the Jesuit's text, the work does provide an interesting guide through Sandoval's important early modern book.

IGNACIO GALLUP-DIAZ
Bryn Mawr College

ROBERT H. HOLDEN. *Armies without Nations: Public Violence and State Formation in Central America, 1821–1960*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 336. \$55.00.

The crises and civil wars of the 1980s brought unprecedented scholarly attention to Central America. Books published at the time were useful in suggesting the historical roots of contemporary problems, especially as they concerned the role of U.S. policy, but they were frequently repetitious and superficial. Time was needed to produce more reflective work, based on more extensive archival research. In the first of two projected volumes, Robert H. Holden provides the necessary background to such a study. Covered here is the story of violence in Central American public life to 1960. The volume yet to appear will extend the account to the time of the regional peace accords of the 1990s.

Holden distinguishes usefully between "public violence"—that is, violence employed in public arenas for public purposes, regardless of the actors who perpetrate it—and "private violence," which, for simplicity's sake, may be described as common criminal activity. The author also makes a distinction between, on the one hand, the generally accepted notions in any given society of where the permissible limits to public violence lie, and, on the other, the question of how much material capacity exists to deploy public violence and who in society controls that capacity.

In the specific case of Central America, Holden argues that the failure since independence from Spain in 1821 to develop a coherent sense of nationhood, and, with it, effective nation states, has resulted in the persistence of "improvisational" states characterized by an extraordinarily ample latitude for recourse to public violence. The permissible scope for such violence has, to be sure, been broad throughout Latin America, but in this study Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua are seen as places where it has been especially so. A possible exception has been Costa Rica, but Holden offers a convincing corrective to the many accounts that emphasize that country's distinctiveness. True, in Costa Rica the limits to public violence have historically been more restrictive than elsewhere on the isthmus, but the popular image of

Costa Rica as a "country without an army" has never been accurate.

Contrary to much of the scholarly literature of the 1980s, which sought causes for Central American violence in U.S. policy, and contrary also to the official U.S. government view at the time, which blamed Soviet or Cuban meddling, Holden argues that the prevalence of public violence in the region is a product of its own history and not of intervention by external actors. However, Holden also emphasizes that the growing capacity of isthmian states to control the means of violence has been due chiefly to policy decisions by the United States, as has the increasing destructiveness of the means at their disposal. Although the pattern dates back at least to the 1920s in Nicaragua, where Washington took it upon itself to reform the local armed forces in an ultimately counterproductive effort to ensure political stability, the real turning point came during World War II and especially with the Lend-Lease Act of 1942.

Whether to ensure isthmian solidarity against fascism in the 1940s or against communism in the 1950s, Washington sought consistently to maintain close ties with Central American military elites, who, in most countries, were seen as the ultimate arbiters of the political process. This meant providing regional armed forces with training and hardware, even when U.S. military authorities themselves doubted the necessity or benefit of such assistance. As more than one U.S. officer acknowledged, the official justification of U.S. military aid on grounds of support for the isthmian states' collaboration in hemispheric defense was a weak pretext, but the Pentagon's doubts yielded to White House and State Department insistence on the political value of such assistance, while notions of mission shifted from defense against external enemies to maintenance of internal control.

Theoretically informed and heavily documented with archival sources from both the United States and Central America, Holden's work is a major contribution to our understanding of the military and political history of twentieth-century Central America. The effort to integrate historical material and sociological theory is a worthwhile attempt to give greater system and clarity to our thinking about important issues, but not every reader is likely to find it satisfying. Questions may occur, for example, regarding the idea of permissible limits to public violence, which the study appears to accept as given, without specifying precisely how such limits come to be established or how they are maintained or modified.

Such minor questions, however, need not detract from the significance of Holden's achievement. In any case, the author's arguments cannot be assessed in full until the second and final volume appears, which will deal directly with the decades of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, a time fresh in historical memory when the phenomena under discussion found their most extreme expression. Scholars interested in militarism and violence in public life in Latin America, and especially in

Central America, will want to read and discuss this book. Meanwhile, we will all look forward to the next installment.

STEPHEN WEBRE
Louisiana Tech University

ZEPHYR L. FRANK. *Dutra's World: Wealth and Family in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro*. (Diálogos.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004. Pp. xv, 230. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$22.95.

In this book Zephyr L. Frank imaginatively explores a great many questions about the nature and consequences of economic change in Rio de Janeiro over the span of the nineteenth century. Beyond the fascinating focus on Antonio José Dutra, who arrived in Rio de Janeiro by 1820 as a slave from Angola and proceeded to build an impressive personal fortune in the 1830s and 1840s, this book answers many old questions in new ways. Above all, it provides the reader with an innovative and extremely valuable picture of how, prior to the 1850s, individuals of modest means gradually accumulated wealth in slaves and translated those assets into avenues of upward mobility. Frank's far-ranging conceptualizations rest on a meticulously constructed quantitative analysis of wealth in Rio de Janeiro, which he extracted from 1,109 estate inventories and divisions. The result is dazzling. By applying a sound sampling methodology to no less than seven decades, he has produced a longitudinal inventory of wealthholding in Brazil's largest city. He thereby clarifies familiar historiographic concerns and introduces new arguments that fine tune our understanding of Rio's status-ordered society.

The book is obligatory reading for historians of Brazil on a number of counts, only a few of which can be noted here. First, this study's fundamental subject is no less than the economic transformation of Rio de Janeiro as it moved from a largely "colonial economy" dedicated to bureaucratic-commercial interests, in the 1820s through the 1840s, to the "modern forms of economy and social structure" signaled by the export of coffee and the arrival of the railroad, in the 1850s. Second, this book engagingly dissects the upward trajectory of a principal group of "middling wealth-holders" personified by the illiterate ex-slave Dutra, who, at his death in 1849, had accumulated a net estate of over 13 *contos*. Prior to the 1850 closing of the Atlantic slave trade, entrepreneurial investors parried their accumulating capital in slaves into comfortable living standards that provided their children with wet-nurses, primary education, and music lessons. Lower slave prices fostered this pattern of accumulation at a time when relatively higher real estate prices otherwise blocked social mobility. Third, Frank reveals the previously unexplored central importance of informal instruments of credit (the *dividas ativas* enumerated in estate inventories about which historians have always wondered) for accumulating wealth before

1850, when Brazil lacked both a commercial code and a central bank.

Social historians will find Frank's argument that the "best of times" for attaining social mobility lay in the three decades before 1850—an argument he supports by a careful analysis of slave and real estate prices—dovetailing with other issues overdue for scholarly attention. For instance, after 1850, rising slave prices meant that the cost of freedom via self purchase was ratcheted upward, and slaves' earning power faced increasing competition from European immigrants, toward whom the "parameters of social mobility" now shifted. The most important finding about slavery, however, turns on what historians have long surmised but never documented. Frank establishes that the middling wealthholders (sixty percent of the 1,109 inventories) eventually accounted for forty-five percent of Rio's wealth held in slaves, a pattern leading him to revise the historiography of abolition. Rather than resting slavery's long hold in Brazil on the ideological support generated for that institution, or even on the economic interest of the powerful slave-owning planters in Brazil's parliament, Frank convincingly shows that the distribution of slave ownership thoroughly penetrated urban society. Dutra's world, where middling wealthholders' proportion of wealth in slaves peaked in the 1850s, at twenty-seven percent of their assets, thus encapsulated a context that stymied the spread of abolitionism over the long run. Conversely, the generation that followed Dutra and embraced abolition in the 1880s lived in a different world, one where the door of social mobility had swung shut due to rising slave prices and an aging slave population.

Frank's concluding discussion appropriately considers "the socioeconomic consequences of inheritance law" over generations, offering valuable findings while raising a few quibbles. Some will have difficulty with how he gauges "inequality" of wealth by comparing "decedents who were married" to those who died as either surviving spouses or unmarried. One assumption may be troublesome, that "relative inequality increased among all heirs" due to the fact, in the case of decedents who were married, that their "widows and widowers generally retained one-half of the family estate" (p. 152). Frank's methodological preference for treating the matrimonial community as synonymous with the decedent's "total estate" ("family estate") thus leads him to define widows as "heirs" on a par with the decedent's legitimate children. Others will be disappointed by the lack of explicit reference to rules of heirship, when the subject is transmitting wealth "unequally" between generations. That is, distinguishing the automatic operation of partitive inheritance from a testator's volitional dispositions might have isolated precise mechanisms by which the inheritance system produced greater inequality over time. An obligatory focus on testamentary dispositions creates an impression of agency on the part of testators that sometimes seems exaggerated.

Nevertheless, these are the minor objections of a reader fascinated by how rules of heirship can be evaded or manipulated. They do not detract from what is essentially this study's very fine marriage of a superb quantitative analysis of wealthholders to an unforgettable evocation of the remarkable family established by the former slave and barber Antonio José Dutra.

LINDA LEWIN
University of California,
Berkeley

ERICKA KIM VERBA. *Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile, 1910–1917: The Liga de Damas Chilenas*. (Roman Catholic Studies, number 19.) Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen. 2003. Pp. 334. \$119.95.

This study, an intellectual history, surveys the periodical literature of upper-class Chilean women at the start of the century to evaluate what they thought of themselves, the working poor, and the role of religion in social life. The book reproduces Ericka Kim Verba's dissertation literally, including using the same typeface, and comes with sticker shock. Like many solidly-written dissertations, it covers a topic that is too thin and specialized for a book, but it raises issues that are significant and understudied.

The Liga de Damas Chilenas was an organization established in 1912 to draw together women with upper-class views. Verba's work is one of the few studies of a social pillar of the Chilean right well into the coup of 1973: the well-to-do woman who was urban, commercially sophisticated, and socially engaged. This book contains elements that could serve as a prelude to Margaret Power's *Right-Wing Women in Chile: Feminine Power and the Struggle against Allende, 1964–1973* (2002). But it stays at a fairly superficial level of analyzing the writings in the Liga's periodical, *Eco*, and such lecturers as Juan Enrique Concha Subercaseaux, who is quoted extensively as representing views that women accepted. Not surprisingly, the Liga and the men who spoke to it worried that Chile was going to hell, they worried about the laboring women who seemed to court sexual disaster, and about the shortage of servants. According to Verba, they blamed the moral collapse of the nation on working-class men who drank too much and abandoned their families and upper-class women who were spending too much money on dresses and frivolities. Her general presentation of Chile in this era owes a great deal to James Morris, whose book on the "social question," written some forty years ago, continues to provide a guide to the elite views of working people in the early twentieth century.

None of this is enough. If we are going to revisit how Catholic women confronted basic issues of modernization, including gender roles and class conflict, then we need to know more about who these women were, how they lived, and how representative or large the Liga was. Verba never examines the social references of the various comments that she quotes to see what the

lecturer or writer and the listener and reader had in common as a cultural experience: what were they going through? This omission is odd, given the centrality of cultural issues to contemporary historiography. Women of the Chilean upper class were almost exclusively schooled in private, Catholic institutions, schools notorious for their restrictive practices and failure to teach women anything about sex. It was thus very hard for upper-class women to think in terms not steeped in Catholic symbolism. It is also important to remember that in this period, new fortunes were being made. The Chilean rich grew much richer and their numbers increased. One of Verba's themes is about the dangers of *lujo*, what in the United States was called conspicuous consumption. This concern is not unique to Chile or to women. How to contain the new rich within the existing social framework and how to orient the women of the *nouveau riche* so that they did not disturb established social practices must have been pressing topics indeed for the good *damas* of the Liga. They are concerns analyzed in the era by everyone from Thorsten Veblen to Nicolás Palacios, the nationalistic Chilean essayist of the period. Verba seems to have read neither.

Verba's work also raises an issue central to feminist studies: domesticity. But we are not provided with any portrait of an elite household. She talks about the elite worry that women were abandoning domestic service for the factories. The appearance of women in factories set off widespread concern that laboring women were flirting with moral danger, an attitude articulated in the press as well as by the elite, as demonstrated by Elizabeth Quay Hutchison in *Labors Appropriate to their Sex: Gender, Labor, and Politics in Urban Chile, 1900–1930* (2003). Some attempt to integrate elite rhetoric with Hutchison's study would have been welcome but is not attempted. It is likely that the defining characteristic of Chilean domestic service was not the appearance of factories but the failure of the economy to grow faster and to provide other sources of women's employment. The relations of the elite with a servant class remain understudied, but when right-wing women marched against Salvador Allende in 1973, they demanded and got their servants to march with them.

MICHAEL MONTEÓN
University of California,
San Diego

STEFAN RINKE. *Begegnungen mit dem Yankee: Nord-amerikanisierung und soziokultureller Wandel in Chile (1898–1990)*. (Lateinamerikanische Forschungen, number 32.) Cologne: Böhlau. 2004. Pp. xvii, 633. €68.90.

Stefan Rinke examines one century of Chilean reactions to contacts with the U.S. He uses an exhausting and broad sample of Chilean and U.S. sources, many evaluated for the first time.

Rinke divides Chilean-U.S. encounters into two

phases: a transnational one lasting from 1918 until 1932, and a new globalization phase covering the period between 1932 and 1990. In over six hundred pages, Rinke surveys the ever changing perceptions of the political left, right, upper-class and popular sectors as they dealt with, or simply referred to the United States.

His point of departure is the emergence of closer U.S.-Chilean relations during World War I. Whereas before Great Britain and Europe had been the central referential geographical space, emerging contacts managing trade, investment, and mining business with U.S. partners laid foundations for a new referent: "the Yankee." Diplomatic exchanges added complexities as the U.S. mediated inter-American hostilities after World War I. A particular strength of Rinke's examination is his inclusion of impressions from Chilean travelers touring the United States.

Chilean reactions to their experiences covered the entire span, from the United States being a model for Chile to its being a mortal threat. Chileans seeking their own understanding of, and developing new options for what it meant to be a society and a nation appreciated the United States as a pivotal projection screen. Long before the Unidad Popular government put the U.S.-Chilean relationship on the map of popular political culture in the 1970s, the Chilean left and right had learned to use references to it for the advancement of domestic identity struggles.

The second part of the book examines encounters built around consumption and mass popular culture. After World War II, as Chileans increasingly bought products manufactured in the United States, individual consumers joined the political and social discursive battles. The process of urbanization also contributed new words and fear scenarios. As Chile moved from being a nation of agriculture, and raw material extraction to one of import substitution, the U.S. industrial model was debated. Finally, media images from film, TV, and music joined the field. The coup of 1972 only supercharged basic concepts and projections that had been tossed back and forth for decades. References to the United States were well-established and their performance in domestic political spectacles well rehearsed, regardless of where an individual stood politically.

Interpretations of encounters with the United States were never homogenous and rarely were part of an exploratory debate. Most often they served as an occasion for highly ideological and politicized reactions. "Northamericanization," whatever this conceptual edifice meant for a particular Chilean group, was highly appreciated as a weapon. The book gives a special place to the cultivation of anti-American references that both the extreme right and the extreme left used as fighting terms. It concludes with an investigation of how these processes developed in reaction to neoliberal economic modernization debates after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

This book is not only an outstanding survey of

Chilean-U.S. encounters but also an example of German academic nationalism. Written at a time when the German humanistic academic tradition confronts its most radical modernization in fifty years, Rinke drifts from neutral analysis and uses implicitly anticapitalist philosophical concepts to investigate U.S.-Chilean relations. His book comes close to a regrettable, very intellectualized expression of century-old stereotypes about the United States. Rinke shows that encounters do not equal explanations.

FRIEDRICH E. SCHULER
Portland State University

PETER WINN, editor. *Victims of the Chilean Miracle: Workers and Neoliberalism in the Pinochet Era, 1973–2002*. Foreword by PAUL DRAKE. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 423. cloth \$89.95, paper \$24.95.

Soon after leading a brutal military coup in 1973, General Augusto Pinochet initiated a series of free-market reforms that abruptly opened Chile's economy to foreign trade and investment and dramatically reduced the role of the state. After a harsh recession in the early 1980s, the economy began a period of robust growth, often referred to as the "Chilean Miracle," that continued through much of the 1990s under civilian government. As Paul Drake notes in his preface to this book, the contributors "have the audacity to challenge the most successful economic experiment in Latin America since the 1970s" (p. ix). In doing so, they collectively ask: Have workers been the "victims" of the "miracle"?

The title's affirmative answer will hardly surprise those familiar with Pinochet's military government, but this book is a remarkable achievement for a variety of reasons. One is its impressive cohesion. Editor Peter Winn provides a useful overview of the Pinochet era and introduces the contributions, four written by historians and three by sociologists, all based on original research and oral testimony. An early essay by Volker Frank reviews national labor politics since the return to democracy, but the core of the book consists of six case studies of the experiences of working people in specific sectors: Winn (textiles) and Joel Stillerman (metallurgy) illuminate the fate of the once protected and now battered domestic manufacturing sector; Thomas Miller Klubock looks at the source of Chile's most important traditional export, copper, still partially owned by the state; Heidi Tinsman (agriculture), Rachel Schurman (fisheries), and Klubock (forestry) explore the fate of workers in the nontraditional, natural resource-based exports central to the model.

Another achievement is the volume's historical treatment of a recent period and a set of issues crucial to the region today. The radical character of Chile's neoliberal transformations is notable for its contrast with the previous period of state-led development and generous rights and provisions for organized workers, which culminated in Salvador Allende's democratically

elected socialist government (1970–1973). Virtually all essays begin with the pre-1973 experience of workers, and organized labor's rise to and fall from the political and social heights of Allende's Popular Unity government is an essential point of reference. Indeed, Winn's essay on textile workers is a welcome follow-up to his acclaimed *Weavers of Revolution: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism* (1986), on the workers' seizure of a textile plant during Allende's government. Similarly, essays by Klubock (on copper workers) and Tinsman draw from and extend the topics of their fine recent books on the pre-Pinochet period.

Across a variety of work experiences, these essays describe strikingly common patterns: the repression that decimated organized labor in the years directly after the coup and made fear pervasive in the workplace; the effects after 1978 of a new labor code that guaranteed employers labor market flexibility while severely restricting the ability of workers to form unions, bargain collectively, or strike; and, perhaps most traumatic of all, the unmitigated market forces that tightly tied Chile to the global economy, wiping out or continually restructuring entire industries, throwing people out of work, or sending them scrambling for seasonal and subcontracted work with long hours, constant speed ups, and low wages. The outcome has been impressive economic growth, high social costs, and the second highest level of income inequality in the Americas.

As one might expect of good labor history, these workers are more than victims. Each essay traces the collective resistance of workers to bearing the costs of economic adjustment and growth, as well as their crucial opposition to the dictatorship in the 1980s. As part of this common narrative of exploitation and resistance, several authors address the related transformations of workplace and community identities, the shift toward individualism and consumerism, changing gender relations, and the environmental problems wrought by natural resource exports. The picture they paint is not uniformly bleak; for example, Tinsman confirms the devastating consequences of the boom in agriculture but also shows how women's expansion into the seasonal jobs and poverty wages of the fruit-export sector ultimately helped them challenge the patriarchal structures of the state, the workplace, the employers, and the family.

The most ambitious achievement of this volume is its extension of the Pinochet era to include recent civilian governments. Winn argues that the *Concertación*, the coalition of the Christian Democratic and Socialist parties that has ruled Chile since 1990, has "consolidated the neoliberal 'revolution' that Pinochet began" by conferring legitimacy on the neoliberal model (p. 11). Each essay shows how, in spite of the end of repression, a reduction in poverty and unemployment, and a gradual and modest rise in wages, workers have not fared well by many standards. Volker traces the dynamic by which most of the *Concertación's* proposed reforms to Pinochet's labor code were un-

determined by the intransigence of employers, the governments' fear of alienating business, and a labor movement that proved too loyal to the politicians it helped bring to power. In the context of limited political will and the continued preponderance of employers' power, union affiliation grew modestly in the first two years of democratic rule before eventually dropping to levels below those of the last two years of the dictatorship. Similarly, the numbers of strikes and of workers covered by collective contracts have dropped by more than half from their peaks in the early 1990s. As each case study shows, employers continued to demand ever-greater flexibility from workers, while productivity gains far outpaced wage gains. Thus workers remained as vulnerable to domestic and global market forces under democratic rule as they had under Pinochet. In this sense, Chile's neoliberal democracy resembled that of most of Latin America in the 1990s. Winn dates the end of the era with Pinochet's 1998 arrest and the subsequent economic downturns in the wake of Asian and Argentine economic crises. But as the case studies in this very significant book make clear, the Pinochet era may continue for a while.

JOHN LEAR

University of Puget Sound

STEVE J. STERN. *Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London 1998*. Book One of the Trilogy: *The Memory Box of Pinochet's Chile* (Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2004. Pp. xxxi, 247. \$29.95.

Steve J. Stern's book is the first volume of a trilogy on state terror, trauma, and memory in Chile collectively titled *The Memory Box of Pinochet's Chile*. This pioneering account of collective memory in Chile during the 1990s makes a major contribution to the burgeoning literature on military dictatorships and memory in Latin America.

While many historians of Europe have examined the relationships among trauma, memory, and history, especially with reference to the Holocaust, scholars of Latin America have tended to focus either on the socioeconomic structural and institutional processes that defined South American dictatorships or on the social movements that arose to challenge authoritarian rule. Stern focuses instead on the centrality of memory to Chilean culture and politics during the Pinochet dictatorship and transition to democracy. He argues convincingly that struggles over memory are essential to understanding the hegemony of the military regime's project of remaking Chilean economy, society, and politics.

Stern introduces the theoretical categories he will use throughout the trilogy to examine the problem of memory in 1990s Chile. He argues that collective memory has been organized around four types of "emblematic memories," largely hegemonic transcripts that provide "frameworks of meaning" for experience

and less formal and more personal, but still collective, forms of what he calls "memory lore," "loose" memories that never make it into the broader socially constructed emblematic memory narratives but speak important, if marginalized, social truths. Stern thus provides a more complex and useful analytical framework than the simple dichotomy of memory versus forgetting that often structures the historical literature on the Holocaust. He argues that contemporary Chile is defined by a number of different contentious collective memories that have arrived at an impasse or stalemate, rather than by a state of amnesia or oblivion.

Stern anchors the theoretical discussions of emblematic and loose memories in a number of oral histories of both victims and perpetrators of human rights abuses, as well as supporters and opponents of General Augusto Pinochet. In addition, he interviews people who cannot be placed neatly into these camps and whose loose memories have no socially sanctioned emblematic transcript, as in the tragic case of a conscript soldier who witnessed atrocities and is tortured by remorse. He builds a work of ethnography in which oral history is used not just as documentation, a way to test the truth claims of memory, but as a means of understanding social truths, the social transcripts that represent and interpret experience, and as a way to confront the problem of how to represent or make intelligible "limit experiences" or "radical evil" (p. xxviii). Here Stern also avoids the stark dichotomy between memory and history that informs many studies of the Holocaust. Indeed, the comparison with the Holocaust is important to Stern's book because he is the child of Holocaust survivors. In a few deeply affecting passages, Stern discusses his family's memories and the ways in which his own experiences informed his relationships with the people he interviewed in Chile, in some cases establishing profound forms of identification and empathy. Not just a silent observer, Stern is an active presence, a participant in the dialogical production of the ethnography. His own voice remains fairly muted and his personal interventions are selective, never eclipsing the oral histories. Stern thus makes a significant contribution to the recent critical literature on oral history and ethnography by historians like Alessandro Portelli, Daniel James, and Temma Kaplan and anthropologists like James Clifford.

The book is meticulously researched in largely unexplored collections of private papers and public archives, including the archives of the Vicariate of Solidarity and Chile's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The footnotes are exhaustive and reflect an encyclopedic grasp of modern Chilean history, theoretical literature on memory and oral history, and comparative historical literature. They express the author's infectious pleasure in research and reading, as well as his passionate political and ethical engagement with the question of memory and state terror, and are an indispensable tool to reading the main text. A final

essay that appears as an appendix discusses the different kinds of sources Stern employs in the trilogy, with thoughtful meditations on oral history and life history.

A work this empirically rich and conceptually sophisticated is bound to stimulate further thoughts and debate. Stern's interviews with a conservative woman who celebrated the military dictatorship as salvation and with left-wing women who suffered the arrest, torture, and disappearance of family members contain a wealth of information that helps to explain the mobilizations of conservative women in support of a military coup in 1973, as well as the pro-democracy mobilizations of female and feminist activists during the 1980s. The book thus raises essential questions about the gendered form memory can take and the gendered nature of personal and collective responses to trauma. Stern's emphasis on the construction of subjectivity around memory during the 1990s introduces the issue of the cultural impact of the neoliberal economic reforms introduced by the Pinochet dictatorship and maintained by the transition governments. How did the hegemony of free-market ideology, privatization of culture, commercialization of public space, and expansion of urban consumerism shape generational and gendered changes in collective memory during the 1990s?

This outstanding work of scholarship sets a benchmark in the history of state terror, trauma, and memory in Latin America. The next two volumes of the trilogy promise to take even further the moving exploration of Chile's "memory question" and the task of working through the trauma of the Pinochet dictatorship toward a collective memory rooted in history and built on justice.

THOMAS MILLER KLUBOCK
State University of New York,
Stony Brook

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

NATHAN ROSENSTEIN. *Rome at War: Farms, Families, and Death in the Middle Republic*. (Studies in the History of Greece and Rome.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. x, 339. \$45.00.

The problems of Italy that Tiberius Gracchus sought to address in 133 B.C.E through the foundation of colonies were not imaginary, but they were quite other than either contemporaries or modern historians have believed: this is the main thesis of Nathan Rosenstein's carefully argued work. The people's complaints about impoverishment and landlessness, and the state's concerns about a shortage of manpower, have conventionally been interpreted as the result of Rome's military activities over the previous centuries; the defeat of Carthage and subsequent wars of conquest set in a motion a vicious cycle of decline, high mortality among the peasant class, the intrusion of slave labor into the countryside to replace them, and further degradation of the rural population as a result. More recent

research, drawing more on archaeological evidence than literary sources, has dated mass agricultural slavery to the first century rather than the second and has insisted on the survival of peasant farms alongside villas. This appears to leave the Romans' unlimited propensity for war as the chief cause of the problems of the later republic; but, as Rosenstein demonstrates, neither the relationship between war and agriculture in earlier centuries, nor the idea that this relationship suddenly changed in the second century, has ever been properly examined.

Drawing on demographic models and comparative evidence, Rosenstein develops a plausible image of a system in which the rhythms of war and agriculture complemented one another: not through the unsustainable idea that campaigns were confined to seasonal slack periods, but because the military effort benefited from the tendency for men to delay marriage until around the age of thirty, so that any household at particular stages of its life cycle had a surplus of labor power available for military service. There was no effective police system to coerce conscripts; military recruitment cannot in most cases have seriously threatened the well-being of peasant households. It certainly offered material benefits, and there was also a psychological factor: in contrast to the experiences of Confederate families in the U.S. Civil War, a period that offers Rosenstein some telling comparisons, Roman recruits tended to share in victories. Until the late second century, then, the aristocratic pursuit of military glory was in tune with the interests of the small-holder class; the whole society was geared to war.

This model assumes that the custom of deferred marriage, observed in the early centuries C.E., was a long-term demographic factor; a different figure for this period would affect the plausibility of the Roman military-agricultural complex. If it is accepted, then soldiers were typically unmarried, and their deaths would not be devastating for an entire household in the short term. Even if bereaved households fell into difficulties later, as parents aged, this would not necessarily deplete the peasant class as a whole; the survivors of war would be able to marry earlier and more advantageously, more land would become available, and the birth rate might well rise rather than fall. The question of whether the free population of Italy declined during the late republic must, because of the state of the evidence, remain open, but to blame it on the undoubtedly high level of mortality in Rome's almost constant wars is to ignore the crucial point that young men, not husbands and fathers, did most of the fighting.

What then of the Gracchan crisis? Rosenstein's reconstruction suggests that Gracchus's view of the problem was utterly in error; he believed that the free population was declining through poverty and expropriation and so proposed a distribution of "surplus" land, whereas the reality was overpopulation, at least in some areas, and there was little spare land to be reassigned. The true roots of the problem must have

been various: military service became less attractive in the later second century, so that the census roll fell and created an impression of manpower shortage; households with a son abroad on service lacked the ability to respond to economic opportunities, and the system of partible inheritance undermined their fortunes in the next generation; those who could afford it purchased slaves to replace their sons' labor, creating a growing class divide within rural society. The system reached its limits, failing to adjust to changed circumstances. It adapted in the succeeding century, but only after the aristocracy had torn itself apart over Gracchus's proposals and their aftermath.

As Rosenstein notes, the nature of the evidence means that such a reconstruction is not susceptible of proof, but even those who prefer different models of Italy's demographic history and rural development will have to adapt their own versions to take account of his devastating critique of traditional assumptions about the relationship of Roman military and agricultural activity. This careful, thoughtful, and lucid analysis is a major contribution to the debate on the nature of the crises of late republican Italy.

NEVILLE MORLEY
University of Bristol

THOMAS A. J. MCGINN. *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World: A Study of Social History and the Brothel*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 359. \$65.00.

Wandering through Italy as a student, I knew what I wanted to see when I got to Pompeii: the notorious *lupanar*, the brothel. This building stars in Thomas A. J. McGinn's new book, which focuses on female prostitutes and the built environment from 200 B.C. to A.D. 250. This second installment of McGinn's prostitution trilogy is a must for all historians of sexuality. McGinn argues here against Andrew Wallace-Hadrill's assertion of the existence of "moral zoning" in Roman cities (chapters three to five and seven to nine). McGinn demonstrates that, like erotic art, brothels and prostitutes were displayed, not segregated, his main example being Pompeii and the *lupanar*, here dubbed the "Purpose-Built Brothel" (chapter eight). He concludes that it was important to the Roman elite for prostitutes to be both easily accessible and openly humiliated, for motives of gain and ideology. In his next book, McGinn proposes to focus, finally, on ideology; here, gain predominates.

This is above all an economic history, growing out of McGinn's magisterial work on law and taxes, *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome* (1998). The massive second chapter looks at how much money changed hands, how many tricks a prostitute might turn per day, who benefited, how many brothels there were, and how many prostitutes. McGinn ties brothels to other lower-class lodging (inns, bars), to baths, and to temples. Most usefully, he compares the rates charged by prostitutes with the pay scale for working

men and the circumstances that limited male slaves' and workers' access to sex; chapter six deals with the demography of Pompeii itself, the surplus of agricultural workers in its "hinterlands" (pp. 171–72), its immigrant populations, travelers, and sex tourists.

Amid buildings and numbers, McGinn makes important observations on people. He sides with radical feminists on the degradation entailed by prostitution (pp. 76, 262), outlining the relation among prostitution, poverty, and women's work and life experience. Roman prostitutes, he remarks, cannot be called "sex workers," since in their economy they were goods, not workers (p. 74). As for the customers, he shows how brothels marketed fantasy sex to workers (p. 115). Without moral zoning or a repressive policy, the "vice squad" was more of a shakedown crew (p. 154). Chapter eight includes an overview of brothels throughout the empire: a building in Dura-Europus that housed a troupe of performers; the much-disputed "gay hotel" in Ostia; a bleak site in Lower Nubia, at the southern border of Egypt, near an army base.

Among the book's many strengths, McGinn's respect for the women who lived and worked in these buildings stands out, along with his passion for subelite culture. The tone throughout makes for a highly readable book: plainspoken, illustrated from popular culture, lit by flashes of sardonic humor, but taking its serious subject seriously. As always, McGinn's thorough citations of primary sources combine with a wide-ranging use of secondary material; he deploys an enormous amount of comparative reading in the history of prostitution, extrapolating from the comparanda when faced by silence. Well versed in feminist discussions of the issue, he thinks scrupulously about the implications of his work.

I most appreciated the three appendixes, which provide catalogs of possible brothels and cribs in Pompeii and of the names of men and women who appear in graffiti as taking money for sex; the illuminating illustrations and maps; and the discussion of Victorian guidebooks of Pompeii (pp. 182–96). Here McGinn's painstaking research and knowledge of the terrain bear fruit in a thought-provoking discussion of Victorian tourism and the part played in it by gender and convention. I also found educational the section (pp. 135–40) on what "public policy" is and how a historian can tell when there is one, which well represents both the care McGinn takes to weigh his own methods and his sometimes maddening tendency to be elliptical when addressing an ongoing scholarly discussion.

This is the book's only real fault. The argument with Wallace-Hadrill takes over, while the utility of architectural remains becomes increasingly unclear. Not much would be left of the telling decor of the Nevada brothel McGinn analyzes (pp. 227–28) after Vesuvius. The lists of primary sources cry out for more illustration; as it is, some sections will be a lot more vivid for readers who already know the footnoted sources well. (Reading these sources together would be terrific, and

McGinn is just the one to produce the sourcebook.) Finally, I do not understand the decision to exclude much discussion of male prostitution, since, at least to me, it is clear from the literary sources that male and female prostitutes commonly worked in the same brothels. But McGinn's main argument about moral zoning is unquestionably right; after all, a prostitute *prostat*—she stands out. And so does this book; I await the next one eagerly.

AMY RICHLIN
University of California,
Los Angeles

MICHELE MURRAY. *Playing a Jewish Game: Gentile Christian Judaizing in the First and Second Centuries CE*. (Studies in Christianity and Judaism, number 13.) Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 221. \$44.95.

The goal of this book by Michele Murray, a revision of the author's dissertation, is "to draw all possible references to Gentile Christian judaizers together and to consider the evidence in its geographical context" (p. 2). The book covers about a century, from the letters of Paul to the middle of the second century C.E. The first chapter introduces the theme. Chapter two treats "Gentile Attraction to Judaism in the Roman Empire" and concludes that various gentiles in various contexts and for various reasons associated in some way with Judaism. Chapters three through six are the body of the work, and are devoted in turn to Christian judaizing in three regions: Galatia, as evidenced by Paul's letter to the Galatians; Syria, as evidenced by Barnabas, the Didache, and the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions; and Asia Minor, as evidenced by the New Testament book of Revelation, Ignatius of Antioch, Justin Martyr, Marcion, and Melito of Sardis. Chapter seven summarizes and concludes, and an appendix surveys some modern scholarship on gentile judaizing and on Jewish-Christian relations in antiquity.

The thesis of the book is that some (many?) gentile Christians (ethnic non-Jews who believe in Jesus) during the first century of Christianity's existence associated with Jews and/or engaged in behavior that was considered by its critics to be more appropriate for Jews than for Christians. This thesis is not entirely new, of course, since many scholars cited by Murray have advanced it previously. What Murray contributes to the discussion is thoroughness and consistency. She treats all the Christian evidence that has been thought to bear on the subject, and she argues that all this evidence for Christian judaizing refers to gentile Christians, not Jewish Christians (ethnic Jews who believe in Jesus). Furthermore, she assumes that judaizing by gentiles is evidence for the fluidity of the boundaries between "Judaism" and "Christianity," and for the continued attractiveness of Judaism to many Christians. These arguments and assumptions are pre-

sented thoroughly and consistently. The book is clearly written and can be assigned to undergraduates.

The main problem with the book is its lack of conceptual rigor. "Judaizing" is a negative category born of inner-Christian polemic; one Christian attempts to delegitimize the theology or practice of another by labeling it "judaizing," a synonym for "un-Christian." The charge does not necessarily have anything to do with real Jews or real Judaism. The classic illustration of this point is the polemic against the "heretic" Arius in the fourth century C.E., whose theology was frequently characterized by opponents as "judaizing," even "Jewish." Arius of course was not influenced by Jews, and Arianism was not influenced by Judaism. This polemical use of "judaizing" is much older than the fourth century; in the early second century C.E. Ignatius of Antioch uses "Judaism" and "judaizing" as abstract polemical categories which have little to do with what we would call "Judaism." Murray is aware of this possibility from the work of Miriam Taylor (pp. 5, 151) but does not appreciate its cogency. So the charge of "judaizing" tells us something about the person making the charge; whether it tells us anything about the behavior or beliefs of the person or group being attacked is an open question. (Murray concedes this point only at the very end of her exposition, pp. 122–24.) For a modern scholar to use "judaizing" as an analytical category while at the same time arguing that the boundaries between Judaism and Christianity were fluid and unstable, is to contradict oneself; for "judaizing" to be a stable category the boundary lines between Judaism and Christianity must be stable too. Murray has not carefully thought through the foundations of her analysis.

Murray also fails to distinguish "Old-Testamentizing" (if I may be permitted an ugly coinage) from "judaizing." In the early church, many Christians believed that the ritual requirements of the Old Testament (e.g. Sabbath, circumcision, food laws) were part and parcel of Christianity, for was not the Old Testament Christian scripture? Observance of the laws of the Old Testament might simply be the result of the fact that Christians read the Torah and took it seriously. This "Old-Testamentizing" must be distinguished from "real" judaizing, in which Christians imitate nonbiblical Jewish custom (e.g. fasting; see Murray p. 55). "Old Testamentizing" does not necessarily imply any connection with, or influence from, living Jews; "real" judaizing, however, does. To label both kinds of behavior "judaizing," is to lump together disparate phenomena.

The title is bothersome; why "Playing a Jewish Game"? Murray uses the phrase at least twice in the body of the book (p. 2, 117) but does not give its source. Indeed, it would seem to be inappropriate.

SHAYE J. D. COHEN
Harvard University

MICHAEL KULIKOWSKI. *Late Roman Spain and Its Cities*. (Ancient Society and History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 489. \$55.00.

Michael Kulikowski's book is one of extraordinary sweep, vision, and scholarship. It is essentially a revisionist history, dispelling the notion of a fundamental rupture in Spain during the third century A.D. between the urban world of the classical Mediterranean and the rurally based, proto-feudal order of late antiquity and the early medieval period. Although their material environment and social behavior altered from the Principate to the post-Roman period of the later fifth century and thereafter, the history, institutions, and attitudes of Hispano-Romans, Goths, and others in the Iberian peninsula continued to center on the city. One point of continuity is the willingness of local and foreign elites to exert patronage in the communities where they resided—or wished to exert influence—through the practice of benefactions, chiefly in the form of monumental construction. But the author also underscores the transformation of an early imperial urban landscape dominated by *coloniae* and *municipia* to a reduced number of cities in the early sixth century—approximately eighty, a number comparable to the number of cities in late and post-Roman Gaul. Nevertheless, the centrality of the city in late antique Spain is demonstrated by the persistent efforts of Gothic and other kings like Leovigild to control the cities as a means of cementing their control over particular regions of the peninsula.

Its twelve chapters alternating, generally speaking, between narrative and thematic history, the book is more broadly divided into an examination of Spain and its urban institutions before the early 460s and Spanish history and its vicissitudes after the third quarter of the fifth century A.D. The chronological divide of the early 460s is critical because it was in 460 that Roman Spain can be said to have come to an end with the abortive expedition of the Emperor Majorian against the Vandals and the last serious attempt of the imperial Roman power to exert, if not maintain, its influence in Spain. The main evidential base of the first half of the book is, first, the inscriptional sources—including the bronze municipal charter of Irni—and, second, scattered literary sources for Hispania of the later republican period and the Principate. Kulikowski tips his hat to the energetic efforts, in the last generation, mostly, of scholars in creating regional, provincial, and local corpora of freshly reedited Greek and Latin inscriptions of the peninsula—represented, above all, by the new fascicles of the Corpus of Latin Inscriptions. For the second half of the book the chronicles and other works of early Christian writers are crucial, in particular, Burgess's re-edition of Hydatius's chronicle. The results of recent archaeological work in city and countryside and site plans (e.g. of Tarragona, Mérida, Zaragoza, the villa of El Ruedo) buttress its argument throughout.

In various ways, the book offers more even than is

promised by its title: it is, in many senses, a comprehensive history of Roman and post-Roman Spain from the later third century B.C. to the secure establishment of the Visigothic kingdom in the peninsula by the latter part of the sixth century A.D. By Roman Spain, on the author's own insistence, we must understand not only the Iberian peninsula but also extensive portions of Mauretania Tingitana, corresponding to much of modern Morocco and western Algeria. Spain, especially the southern portions and its cities, constituted a hinterland for this part of Roman Africa. The administrative expression of the close connections of the north and south shores of the Strait of Gibraltar was the diocese of Hispania created by Diocletian and maintained by his successors.

Inevitably, in a work of this compass, there are omissions and lapses. Kulikowski categorically denies that wealthy Roman elites were buried in or near their villas (p. 148), but for a vivid example of such a burial, namely that of the prominent landowner Acilia Ple-cusa in a semisubterranean mausoleum at her villa outside Singili Barba (El Castellón, Málaga prov.), see M. Romero Pérez in *Mainake* 15–16 (1993–1994): 195–222. The author insists rightly that we cannot identify so-called Visigothic material artifacts, such as aquiliform brooches, as evidence in burials of the ethnic identity of those interred (pp. 268–271), but the same point has been forcefully and exhaustively stated by B. Sasse, "*Westgotische*" *Gräberfelder auf der Iberischen Halbinsel* (2000), in her analysis, not cited by the author, of the necropolis El Carpio de Tajo in Toledo province. Minor quibbles aside, this book provides a comprehensive picture of Roman urban institutions and society in Spain, as well as a detailed examination of their transformation into the Christian world of the early Middle Ages in a fashion that is at once accessible, informed, and illuminating.

EVAN W. HALEY
McMaster University

JEREMY COHEN. *Sanctifying the Name of God: Jewish Martyrs and Jewish Memories of the First Crusade*. (Jewish Culture and Contexts.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 208. \$37.50.

For some years now, there has been a debate going on that is revolutionizing medieval Jewish studies. It involves traditionalists, modernists, and postmodernists from America, Europe, and Israel, medieval historians, and scholars of literature, folklore, art history, even psychology. The debate concerns how to read Jewish reactions to the first significant attacks on the Jewish communities, on the eve of the First Crusade, which posed the stark alternatives of baptism or death. Outstanding among the range of reactions was a (quantitatively) unprecedented willingness of Jews not only to commit suicide but also to take the lives of their children and families in gruesome ritual ways fraught with religious meaning. There was also substantial albeit temporary conversion to Christianity.

The current debate is about the roots of such willingness, about the mindset of Jews before upheaval and catastrophe. It asks how one ought to evaluate the impact of such reactions on the subsequent shaping of Jewish consciousness and memory, as well as that of Christians. Finally, it is an ongoing methodological debate on the nature of and proper approaches to outstanding Hebrew sources of Jewish history.

Jeremy Cohen has been involved in these discussions almost from the beginning, and in this book he adds a further dimension. Cohen sets out to demonstrate that “the ideology—and graphic tales—of sanctifying God’s name that the chronicles relate about the martyrs of 1096 tell us more about the twelfth-century Jewish communities which survived the persecutions than about the martyrs who did not. As historical sources, these chronicles pertain most directly to the context of their composition” (p. 9).

In part one of the book, Cohen provides a coherent rereading of the main conceptual issues: the idea of ritual suicide, *Kiddush ha-Shem*, “Sanctifying the Name of God”; the approaches of modern historians, an issue fraught with relevance because of contemporary implications of Jewish martyrdom; and methodological “points of departure.” Along with other historians, Cohen argues that “the new style and stories of Ashkenazic martyrdom reveal . . . Jews expressing themselves in the idiom of Christian culture” (p. 41). Following modern investigations of textual criticism, he then proposes that “we reread with greater openness to multiple, alternative interpretations of a text that need not be mutually exclusive” (p. 53). Such multiple layers of meaning, including irony and parody, can indeed function—according to Cohen, the first to pay mind to it—“as therapy for traumatized communities plagued by guilt over the very fact and the means [baptism] of their survival” (p. 69).

In part two of the book, the author’s methodological agenda is applied with great skill to five central episodes narrated in the sources, each illustrating through Cohen’s “thick reading” different patterns of understanding and telling employed by the descendants of the martyrs. The first episode, “Last Supper at Xanten,” is read by Cohen as, among other things, a Jewish reworking of the sanctification of God’s name in the garb of a Christian Mass, thus “appropriating from Christianity and its idea of holy war themes and symbols that served the purposes of the Jewish storyteller” (p. 87). The story of “Master Isaac the Warden” serves to lay bare another literary device: parody and the sense of the ridiculous. “Mistress Rachel of Mainz,” who killed her four children, is at once biblical Rachel and the Virgin Mary and Holy Mother Church, “claiming the blood of genuine martyrdom and the salvation that the blood shed by her will yield” (p. 128). “Kalonimos in Limbo” is an exercise in doubt, showing Jews participating in what has lately been established as an important twelfth-century culture of doubt, dissent, and disbelief along with contemporary Christian thinkers. Finally, “The Rape of Sarit” is a tour de

force of sustained interpretation, projecting into the martyrs’ tale a Jewish antihero, a perverted image of the heroes of Biblical past. Thus, “the narrative also served to express the utter horror with which survivors of 1096 remembered what they had experienced, from the violent assault of the crusaders to the violence that Jews inflicted upon themselves” (p. 158).

This is an important book, beautifully written and cogently argued. Some of Cohen’s readings are daring indeed and will surely arouse dissent. Long live debate!

MICHAEL TOCH

Hebrew University of Jerusalem

KINGDOM OF HEAVEN. Directed and produced by Ridley Scott; written by William Monahan. United States. 2005; color; 145 minutes. Distributed by Twentieth-Century Fox (Scott Free Productions).

The opening title card of *Kingdom of Heaven*, Ridley Scott’s film about the events immediately preceding the Third Crusade (1187–1192), informs us that medieval crusaders, lord and peasant alike, sought both material gain and spiritual redemption in the Holy Land. While the old saw of crusading fortune hunters has for some time been thoroughly out of fashion in crusade scholarship (the journey required enormous financial sacrifices and most returned home after fulfilling their vow), Jerusalem in medieval Christian ideology was, as one character in the film puts it, “the very center of the world for asking forgiveness.” But an even more insistent theme of the film is that Christian crusaders (or at least the more tolerant among them) held Jerusalem as “a place of prayer for all faiths” in a cosmopolitan atmosphere of peace, justice, and harmony. No doubt this would have come as a great shock to the actual medieval crusaders who contended with their religious rivals (mainly Muslims) for control over Christianity’s holiest city. Certainly, Jerusalem was also sacred to Judaism and Islam, but for quite different historical and ideological reasons. This is by no means the first crusade film to push this particular agenda, in part because it plays so safely into the modern politics of the Middle East. In the context of recent events, such as the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the Iraq war, and the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Jerusalem as a neutral meeting ground of the world’s religions—the “kingdom of heaven” imagined by the film—allows Scott to make a movie about a potentially incendiary topic, holy war between Christianity and Islam, that is utterly devoid of religious meaning. It is probably no accident that films about the Middle Ages often reference modern events no less than medieval ones, since the fact that this era of history may seem remote and unfamiliar to most audiences makes it a particularly challenging subject for filmmakers.

Perhaps no film could do justice to the maddeningly complex politics of the kingdom of Jerusalem on the eve of the Third Crusade, but *Kingdom of Heaven*

wants it far too simple to accommodate its unnecessarily convoluted plot innovations. For example, the good guys of the film are supposed to be the native Latins, led by Balian of Ibelin, Count Raymond III of Tripoli (called in the film "Tiberias," which was his wife's title), and the leper King Baldwin IV, who supposedly hold Jerusalem in trust so that all religions can be practiced freely. The main character of the film is Balian (played by Orlando Bloom), who was indeed one of the most important barons of Outremer and played a central role in the defense of Jerusalem before Saladin's forces in late September 1187. But the film gives him an entirely fictional backstory as a poor blacksmith from France, which makes nonsense of why he should be such a prominent figure in Jerusalem's politics or wish to defend the city to the death. The bad guys of the film are the "fanatics newly arrived from Europe" who, allied with the equally fanatical Knights Templar, shout "God wills it!" at every opportunity and strike with blind and futile fury at their Muslim foes. They are led by Guy of Lusignan (played by Marton Csokas) and Reynald of Châtillon, who is undoubtedly the most bizarre character of the film, played by Brendan Gleeson as a half-mad, prancing warmonger for the power-hungry Guy. In reality, Reynald was a seasoned campaigner of thirty-four years in Palestine (fifteen of them spent in a Muslim prison in Aleppo) who plundered Muslim caravans for profit, not out of religious fervor, and who, as prince of Oultrejordain, was very much his own man. It was Reynald's attack of 1186–1187 that led to the breaking of the truce with Saladin and eventually to the disastrous defeat for the Latins at Hattin in July. But far from encouraging this raid, Guy, acting at the request of Saladin, ordered Reynald to return his prisoners and booty; instead, Reynald, not for the first time, openly defied him, famously replying that he was master of his own lands just as the king was master of his.

By contrast, *Kingdom of Heaven* treads warily around the character of Saladin (played by Ghassan Massoud), and for good reason. His legacy is a contested one, with some scholars claiming that Saladin was merely out for his own personal aggrandizement, shown by his willingness, until at least 1183, to make truces with his Christian opponents in Palestine in order to make war upon fellow Muslims and so consolidate his power base. Others, following the lead of Saladin's medieval biographers, Baha al-Din, his army judge, and Imad al-Din, his private secretary, argue that his entire career culminated in his triumphant conquest and entry into Jerusalem, Islam's third most holy city, on October 2, 1187, thereby setting the seal upon his reputation as a supreme *mujahid*, or jihad fighter. *Kingdom of Heaven* prefers to portray Saladin as a cunning but gracious warrior whose religious motivations are almost entirely absent. This same line was taken by the last film to depict the events of the Third Crusade, an Egyptian production directed by Youssef Chahine called *Saladin*, which came out in

1963. Although some may wonder why an Arabic film should peddle an essentially non-Islamic hero, this was not surprising in the context of Egypt's rule under President Gamal Abdel Nasser, who during the 1950s and 1960s was trying to forge a secular state unified by pan-Arab nationalism rather than religious ideology. (Saladin's conquest and defense of Jerusalem was intended as a parallel to Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal during the crisis of 1956.) Since then, however, the political dynamics in the Arab world have shifted toward Islamic fundamentalism, and it is Saladin as a wager of implacable jihad, not as a figure of chivalry, that resonates most strongly with terrorist groups such as Hezbollah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Osama bin Laden's al-Qaida network. Both *Saladin* and *Kingdom of Heaven* are woefully out of step with how many modern Muslims view and value Saladin—and they are, after all, only following the propaganda image that Saladin himself and his biographers wished to project during his lifetime.

In one scene Scott seems very much in tune, if not with the historicity of the Middle Ages, then with the prevailing historical winds of his own time. Guy instructs Reynald to "give me a war," which reminded me of nothing so much as George W. Bush asking Donald Rumsfeld to find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. *Kingdom of Heaven* seems to be warning here that a fragile peace can be all too easily torn asunder by crusaders blinded by ideology and zealotry. Given the ongoing and unmitigated string of catastrophes coming out of the United States' current intervention in the Middle East, this may be the most prescient and coherent message of this film.

JOHN ABERTH

Castleton State College

KEVIN L. SHIRLEY. *The Secular Jurisdiction of Monasteries in Anglo-Norman and Angevin England*. (Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, number 21.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 184. \$90.00.

Kevin L. Shirley examines the litigation of English monasteries in secular courts in the period 1066–1272, although the long concluding reign of Henry III (1216–1272) is rather cursorily treated. The book is not concerned with monasteries as religious bodies, subject to canon law and involved with the papal, archiepiscopal, and episcopal courts, but as landowners and lords of men, both military and agricultural, thus a kind of religious baron. Like other barons, royal tenants-in-chief, owing military and other services to the king, abbots were involved in three types of secular court: their own manorial and honorial courts for their tenants and military vassals, the "national" county courts, and the king's court.

The *Curia Regis* is considered in part two of Shirley's book, the others in part one. Inevitably abbots and priors found this secular jurisdiction difficult and, often, uncongenial. It was a distraction from their

primary spiritual duties. And abbots of important houses who were feudal lords of important men, often royal vassals, found it hard to keep those men under control. It was difficult to force an earl to hand back a piece of land that he or his servant had usurped or to perform a feudal service that he found inconvenient. The abbot had to turn to the king for help, and Shirley shows how as a rule the king obliged and supported his abbot against the lawless nobility. It is interesting to note how well King William II (Rufus), usually considered lawless and anticlerical, behaved in this matter.

After the Angevin King Henry II reformed the royal court, what in the Norman period had usually been a personal relationship between the abbot and the king was increasingly institutionalized. Instead of asking a friend and patron for a favor, the abbot sued out the appropriate royal writ, which brought the matter formally before a royal court where the matter was dealt with according to royal law. Shirley strongly criticizes S. F. Milsom (*The Legal Framework of English Feudalism* [1976]) and his followers for claiming that "this rise of a common law undermined seignorial jurisdiction" (p. 158). He stresses how involved the king had always been in the abbot's court and how convenient to the abbots were Henry II's reforms. The author has worked through a large bibliography and there can be few, if any, recorded law suits in his period concerning abbots and priors that he has missed. Abingdon, Bury St. Edmunds, Ramsey, St. Albans, and Westminster provide the largest numbers. But there are quite a few, such as Abbotsbury, Bicknace, Selby, Stanley, and Stowe, which make a single appearance. Shirley gives the impression of complete mastery of the subject matter.

It is, therefore, disconcerting to find in his prefatory list of abbreviations (pp. ix-xi) several errors in the Latin titles of books. For example, *Glanvill* is the short title for *Tractibus [sic] de Legibus et Consuetudines [sic] Regni Anglie qui Glanvilla [sic] Vocatur*; and Ramsey stands for *Cartularum [sic] Monasterii de Ramesia [sic]*. It is only fair to notice, however, that these and similar howlers do not occur again in the text. Shirley's knowledge of Latin, the language in which all the documents and other literature with which he is concerned are written, is not, therefore, demonstrably imperfect. It must also, however, be admitted that his English is sometimes opaque, which is no great help with a rather difficult subject matter. To complete the criticism, the index is somewhat capricious. Many personal names are omitted. Abbots are usually listed only under their abbey. And place names, even the most obscure, are seldom further identified. All in all, however, this is a sound piece of work that will be of interest to students of the period.

FRANK BARLOW,
Emeritus
University of Exeter

J. L. LAYNESMITH. *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445-1503*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 294.

J. L. Laynesmith's study of queenship in later medieval England is a welcome addition to the field, closing a gap in the scholarship between the high medieval and Tudor periods. Deliberately eschewing a purely biographical approach, Laynesmith instead looks at the development of the office and institution of queenship in the half-century between the tenures of Margaret of Anjou and Elizabeth of York (1445-1503). Those who have followed the development of queenship studies will not find her conclusion that a queen consort was ideologically and politically integral to the practice of mature kingship in later medieval England startling. And while her study demonstrates that the queen consorts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries did not employ the same strategies that had brought success to earlier consorts, this demonstration raises many questions about the function of both queenship and the later medieval monarchy that unfortunately are left unanswered.

Laynesmith's arguments are put forward in a fairly straightforward manner. Chapters exploring rituals of queenship and the queen's court and household are interspersed with sections dealing with selections of queens, queens as mothers, and the queens' natal family. The nature of the sources dictates that some queens are covered more fully in some sections than others, but overall, the approach of looking at the queens as a group works well to foreground the institution rather than the personalities of the women under discussion. This approach also neatly sidesteps the arguments of those who have argued that successful queenship is as at least as dependent upon the abilities and personalities of individual holders of the office as it is on structural factors of a reign.

Exactly what Laynesmith means by the repeated claim that the office of queenship was essential to the functioning of sovereignty in this period is never quite clear from her exposition. Neither the practice of ritual intercession nor that of systematic patronage of artists or religious houses, both of which had been important to the images of earlier queens, seem to have been important in this period. There was little that was common to the women under scrutiny, other than the fact that they were distinguished from their immediate predecessors in office by not being royal virgins with ties to the French monarchy. Nor can we understand the importance of queenship through a study of ideals articulated in coronation or funeral rituals, since the descriptions for those rituals are often missing or incomplete. Although she provides a detailed discussion of rituals surrounding the birth of a prince or princess, Laynesmith seems ambivalent about the role of motherhood for the construction of queenship, arguing that the inclusion of fertility imagery in royal ritual reflects concerns that are not unique to queens but rather common to all women. At the same time,

she points out that the queen's fertility or lack thereof had ramifications that affected the entire kingdom, even if the "political classes" understood that the queen's importance to the kingdom was not just tied up in her success at producing potential heirs. Laynesmith is uncomfortable with the realization that many of the rituals she discusses were less than fully understood by contemporaries, or were more important to one group of people than others, or were understood differently over time. This discomfort is perhaps due to her search for a coherent and systematic ideology of queenship, something that was never put forward during the Middle Ages.

There are times when it seems that Laynesmith's findings are not integrated into her argument. For instance, she shows that staged acts of public intercession, quite common in the thirteenth century, were either abandoned or disregarded in the later period. This change in the queen's role would seem to be significant enough to require some analysis of the circumstances or mindset that led to such a change. Was it the role of the queen that changed? Was there a difference in the perceived power of the monarch himself? Perhaps intercession became less important as subjects found other ways to influence the king's behavior? Or was it that situations that required personal intercession in the thirteenth century were now handled through specific bureaucratic channels? Similar questions could be asked about religious and cultural patronage.

Despite the lack of analysis of several key points, Laynesmith handles many aspects of her topic quite well. She is convincing in her portrayal of a society thoroughly disabused of the notion of queen as peaceweaver or as a guarantor of a foreign treaty. She treats the historiography of the Woodville kin and their role in Edward IV's reign nicely, and her prior experience with Margaret of Anjou makes that queen come to life on her pages more than any of her successors. While not destined to be the final word on the period or on the women in question, this book does deserve a place on the shelves of those interested in fifteenth-century England, and it is essential reading for those interested in the history of monarchy and queenship.

LOIS L. HUNEYCUTT
University of Missouri,
Columbia

CAROLINE M. BARRON, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People, 1200–1500*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 472. \$99.00.

This long-awaited book deals with the civic and corporate life of late medieval London. In the course of numerous conflicts with the crown and its own factious citizenry, London had evolved a stable government by the fifteenth century and was a political and economic capital. Caroline M. Barron detects two trends in the political life of London: particularly after the Common

Council developed in the fourteenth century, civic offices became open to a wider social spectrum, even though aldermen represented wards and were elected for life; but the electorate that chose them became more restricted.

The least "public" sections concern London's economy and demography. Barron accepts a figure of 80,000 for the city's population around 1300 and concludes that it dropped after 1348 to perhaps half that size, then rose to 50,000 in the late fifteenth century. A higher standard of living for the survivors was a byproduct of the plagues, yet institutions to care for the poor developed precisely at the time when poverty appears to have become a less serious problem than earlier. The city government used its resources and political influence to create an infrastructure that fostered the interest of its merchants and craftspeople. London was always a distributive and demand center within England. During this period, with the weakening of foreign trading privileges, new opportunities developed for native London merchants. The percentage of England's foreign trade that went through its port rose to eighty-five percent by 1540, and London interests dominated the overseas trading companies. Some of Barron's most original passages concern London's manufacturing; she concludes that by the sixteenth century three-quarters of London's people produced goods, mainly in the food, clothing, and construction sectors of the economy.

Four chapters on the governance of London form the core of the book and are more closely linked to Barron's previous work. Noting that no clear distinction among executive, judicial, and legislative can be made, since aldermen and common council were legislators, administrators in their wards, and judges, she nonetheless provides a lucid analysis of their respective if overlapping spheres of jurisdiction. Separate chapters concern the functions and staffing of the city courts and the civic bureaucracy, where Barron notes that such officials as the recorder, chamberlain, and common clerk brought continuity and professionalism that balanced the rotation of the political officials, the sheriffs and mayor.

Barron considers the city's craft and merchant organizations and their changing roles toward and within the city government; while in the thirteenth century the political conflicts in the city had been between individuals, in the fourteenth and particularly fifteenth they came to concern leaders of corporate groups. Tensions arose between the primarily artisan guilds, which generally had the court of aldermen ratify their statutes, and the merchant-dominated organizations, which did not. The companies became more aristocratic in the fifteenth century, when the wealthier trades were dominated by those who purchased the livery. Company courts regulated conflicts between members and thus supplemented the regular city tribunals.

The final chapters concern the regulation of the physical environment by the aldermen and their super-

vision of welfare. In a prospective, Barron notes that the quadrupling of the city's population in the sixteenth century forced the government to accept more restrictions from the crown in exchange for help in controlling the suburbs. The city companies declined with loss of their religious and governmental functions during the Reformation. Barron provides two copiously documented appendixes: lists of mayors and sheriffs of London 1190–1558 and of other civic officeholders ca. 1300–1500. The book concludes with a reprint of M. D. Lobel, ed., *Historic Towns Atlas: The City of London from Prehistoric Times to c. 1520* (1989) in thirty-two sections, followed by a gazetteer of all places named on the map.

Barron's focus is entirely English except for a few comparative references to developments in Florence. Scholars of the larger towns of northwestern Europe will find many parallels for their own subjects. The historiography of London, much of it provided by Barron herself, is substantial, but it lacks the nitpicking rancor among its practitioners that often mars scholarly discussion of other cities. Barron's focus is interdisciplinary to the extent of using archaeological evidence to discuss the physical environment of London. Given her focus on public and corporative London, the city's cultural life rarely appears. Barron relies on her mastery of the copious original sources, both published and manuscript. She typically discusses an institutional or economic development in general terms, then illustrates with quotations from the original documents to allow the actors to speak for themselves. The book is thus engagingly readable. It contains few surprises, and its documentation is so solid that it will be the standard monograph on its subject for the foreseeable future.

DAVID NICHOLAS
Clemson University

PATRICK NOLD. *Pope John XXII and his Franciscan Cardinal: Bertrand de la Tour and the Apostolic Poverty Controversy*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 212. \$74.00.

When Umberto Eco published *Il nome della rosa* in 1980, he projected an obscure legal and theological squabble between a fourteenth-century pope and the Franciscan religious order over the legal and theological meaning of apostolic poverty into the imaginations of millions of readers. Saint Francis had wanted his followers to imitate Jesus and the Apostles and live a life of poverty, owning nothing. In the late thirteenth century, "Spiritual" Franciscans accused their lax brethren of betraying their founder's vision. In 1279, Pope Nicholas III issued a bull in which he distinguished between ownership and use. With papal support, Franciscans claimed to own nothing and to live in absolute poverty because they only had the use of their possessions. In 1322, Pope John XXII decided that this key legal fiction was no longer sustainable. Patrick

Nold tells the story of the debate between John and the Franciscans from roughly 1322 to 1324.

The principal characters in the book are Pope John XXII and a Franciscan cardinal, Bertrand de la Tour, who wrote two important tracts on the meaning of apostolic poverty. Nold edits one of them as an appendix and relies on Felice Tocco's edition (1910) for the other. He tries to demonstrate that Cardinal Bertrand's arguments shaped the content of John XXII's decretals. The broader significance of his thesis is that John XXII sought the help of a Franciscan to draft his decretal and that the gulf between Franciscans and the pope was not as deep or as wide as historians have thought. John was not uncompromising, and the Franciscan order was not completely united. Michael Cesena, the leader of the radical wing of the Franciscans, did not represent the center of the order. Nold shows that Cardinal Bertrand might have had an influence on the conception of the "right of use" (*ius utendi*) that John XXII adopted in his legislation. This part of his book is quite convincing.

In his last chapter on John XXII's legislation, Nold has a different agenda. He attempts to demonstrate that modern historians have misunderstood John's decretals. This argument is a much harder sell. The pope promulgated a decretal, *Quia nonnumquam*, in March 1322, in which he declared void Pope Nicholas III's prohibition against debating or discussing his decretal *Exiit*, which had defined Franciscan poverty. Nold claims that John XXII did not assert the right to contradict or to annul *Exiit*. This reading of the text is completely contrary to how every later jurist read it. John did not mention *Exiit* in his own decretal, but in the context of the debate he did not have to. He opened *Exiit* for discussion. There could be no other point for doing that than modifying the content of the decretal.

Nold's criticism of other scholars in this section is perceptive but dulled somewhat by tendentious quotations that distort their actual views and by a less than sure understanding of medieval jurisprudence. In writing about *Quia nonnumquam* he misquotes Brian Tierney and makes him appear to say that John introduced the idea that the pope could revoke the decrees of his predecessors in the decretal (p. 144). What Tierney wrote was that John introduced the theme of revocation into his letters with *Quia nonnumquam*, not the idea itself. The principle that every pope could revoke his predecessors' decrees had been a staple of medieval jurisprudence for a long time. Further, Nold's efforts to find "errors" in other scholars' interpretations result in very obscure distinctions. Perhaps his greatest weakness in reading these texts is an unsure grasp of the rhetoric, jurisprudence, and presuppositions that underlie the drafting of papal decretals. His interpretation of the arenga of *Quia quorundam mentes* (p. 175), for example, does not prove that John's legislation was theologically well informed, only that the pope claimed to have rendered his decision after much consultation.

Eco used a single manuscript to provide a vehicle for telling his story. Unfortunately, so does Nold. He relies on the text of the tracts in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 3740. His project is based on two tracts by Cardinal Bertrand. Tocco "edited" the first from a Venetian manuscript. Nold appends the other to his book. Why he did not edit both texts is a mystery. Tocco's book is found in very few libraries, and, more importantly, he did not do an adequate edition. For the text in his appendix Nold consulted no other manuscripts, not even the one that Tocco used. He does not inform the reader whether there are more manuscripts of these two texts. His transcription of Bertrand's text will not become a model for textual editing or transcriptions. Particularly unhelpful is his practice of not identifying all the citations in the text.

KENNETH PENNINGTON
Catholic University of America

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

NICHOLAS HOWE, editor. *Home and Homelessness in the Medieval and Renaissance World*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2004. Pp vii, 170. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$20.00.

Home is where the heart is—and the hearth, too—or so insist the authors of these introductory and exploratory essays on the concept and reality of home and homelessness in the medieval and early modern world. All the essays deal with the obvious physical nature of the home, its architecture, its archaeology, its material culture. More importantly, they interpret and analyze the meaning of home, the mentality if you will, in the cultural context of Renaissance Venice, Morisco Spain, colonial Peru, medieval Iceland, and Anglo-Saxon England. Despite the variances of time, geography, and people in the individual essays, the authors consistently touch on the same themes: how and why home means much more than a dwelling; how and why home implies and establishes a community; how and why home—and thus that community—can be threatened; and how and why people become homeless, and what to do about them, either to protect the community or to reintegrate them back into the community somehow. Editor Nicholas Howe is to be commended for putting together such a tightly focused collection of essays, each of high quality that integrates well with the others.

Howe's introductory essay sets out the themes, many of which are obvious but need dwelling on, such as the trenchant comment that one's migration, which implies a loss of home, also means a resultant loss of home for another, either as subject or refugee. In addition, Howe explains the initially confusing organization of the essays in backward chronological order as moving the reader from the familiar world of homes in Renaissance Venice, many of which are still extant and visible to any modern tourist, to the very unfamiliar world of Anglo-Saxon halls and pit homes, where the

physical evidence of these dwellings has burned, rotted, collapsed, and generally disappeared. Here historians have to interpret literary texts to discern what exactly home meant to Anglo-Saxons. Moving backward in time means relying more and more upon the mental image of the home rather than what the home actually looked like.

In "Not One But Many Separate Cities: Housing Diversity in Sixteenth-Century Venice," Patricia Fortini Brown examines how the city of Venice with its varying population of noble and nonnoble, rich and poor, Christian and Jew, formed a number of overlapping little worlds, most of which were united by the sense of civic duty and united in all sorts of ways by the structures of the housing. Tenement dwellings of the poor, for instance, were constructed on a grand scale, which mimicked the great houses of the wealthy. The elite of Venice likewise saw a duty to the poor, offering many of these rental dwellings as charitable works, and a duty to the sick, providing upwards of a hundred hospitals, most under private subscription. Venice, that serene republic, tried hard to integrate the homeless into the state. Mary Elizabeth Perry, in "Space of Resistance, Site of Betrayal: Morisco Homes in Sixteenth-Century Spain," likewise focuses on structures, but ones implying separation rather than integration. After 1492, with the loss of Moorish Granada and the progressively enforced Christianization of the Muslim population, Moriscos retreated into their private houses to continue their culture and religion. Because religion was now privatized and domesticated, Perry argues for a greater role of Muslim women in maintaining Islamic culture in Spain. Eventually, Christian Spain, in the wake of various Morisco revolts, dispersed and exiled the Morisco population, leaving them homeless. Spain's violent military invasion of Peru left about half the native dwellings standing, which led to unique colonial issues of homelessness for the Spanish government to resolve, which Sabine MacCormack examines in "Social Conscience and Social Practice: Poverty and Vagrancy in Spain and Early Colonial Peru." Not only were many Incans displaced, but the physical façade of Peruvian cities and villages changed, taking on a less familiar appearance to the homeless natives, who were also jostled by the waves of Spanish poor and vagrants who immigrated. William Miller's "Home and Homelessness in the Middle of Nowhere" and Howe's "Looking for Home in Anglo-Saxon England" examine two migratory cultures that, because of their recent memory of migration, ultimately saw home as meaning landed property rather than any transitory dwelling. As do all the essays, these last two emphasize the point that home was also where you were not an outsider, bereft of shelter, sustenance, conviviality, peace; you were not *The Wanderer*.

LOUIS HAAS
Middle Tennessee State University

HARALD KLEINSCHMIDT. *People on the Move: Attitudes toward and Perceptions of Migration in Medieval and Modern Europe*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2003. Pp. xii, 289. \$87.95.

The subtitle of this book correctly identifies its contents. The "attitudes" are legal and philosophical, not, for example, how individuals viewed migration. Harald Kleinschmidt argues that the idea that "the English" were created by waves of immigrants from central and western Europe, as stated in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, is incorrect. Imaginatively using place-name evidence, he argues that the immigrants must have arrived in small groups, characterized by contractual relations between individuals rather than autocratic leadership. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was a politically loaded account that was used by later generations to create a heroic, not to say Whig, history. But as the medieval period progressed, long-distance migrations became relatively rare. Increasingly, movement was within one jurisdiction. And as the jurisdictions became more defined a new concept was created: the "resident alien."

There is a chapter that discusses how the age of exploration affected socio-legal concepts. For example, what was meant by "continent" (nothing in the fifteenth century) or by the "Pacific"? Initially exploration had few consequences for migration since few migrants accompanied the great trading companies. The most important change in attitudes came with the growth of the slave trades. Kleinschmidt argues that the idea of "natural slaves" only developed with the Atlantic slave trade. Other features of the early modern period include the development of the art of traveling ("apodomies") complete with the expected account of the travel. More interestingly, Kleinschmidt points out that the new science of demography provided the material to estimate the benefits of immigration and led, for the first time, to active immigration policies. Nor, according to Kleinschmidt were eighteenth-century immigrants seen as a threat to social order.

A clear line was drawn between residents and migrants only in the nineteenth century: "residentialism," in the author's terminology. Nationality and citizenship were subject to a more detailed discussion than hitherto, creating the political context for immigration restriction. (For the first time, immigration was seen as destabilizing.) Kleinschmidt illustrates this with a detailed discussion of the development of German citizenship (and that of the German States). The key concept was participation. For example, if German-born emigrants failed to maintain contact with the German consul in their new country, they were held to have cancelled their contract with the state and lost their German nationality. The foreign born in Germany could never obtain the same status as German born, and a foreign-born woman who married a German could not maintain her previous citizenship. Cit-

izenship depended on the (Hegelian) unity of the state.

Kleinschmidt is less assured when he refers to substantive issues. For example, he states that historians of nineteenth-century migration have emphasized Atlantic migration, leading to a view that internal migration was low. All this means is that records are much more abundant for the former. When data are available, as in nineteenth-century Prussia, it is clear that gross internal migration rates were high.

The book contains other statements whose purpose appears to denigrate different approaches to that taken by the author. For example, he writes that "if there is no statistical evidence providing long term comparative migration data, any claim that that migration in general increased substantively and worldwide over the last two hundred years is unwarranted," and that "most social scientists have accepted the premise that migrations are unidirectional movements" (p. 15). He also claims that "immigration controls were unsuccessful in their own time and have continued to be so" (p. 9). The first statement embodies a confusion between statistical evidence and evidence. The extent of migration depends, of course, on how we chose to measure it but, in fact, there is no contrary evidence. The second statement is not true of most modern work. And the last statement is incorrect. Otherwise, why would there be fewer people proportionately living outside their country of birth than in 1913?

This is an interesting book concerning a relatively under researched area.

DUDLEY BAINES

London School of Economics

LISA Z. SIGEL, editor. *International Exposure: Perspectives on Modern European Pornography, 1800–2000*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 283. \$26.95.

In her introduction to this interesting collection, Lisa Z. Sigel notes that Robert Darnton's *Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (1982), Iain McCalman's *Radical Underworld: Prophets, Revolutionaries, and Pornographers in London, 1795–1840* (1988), and Lynn Hunt's *Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500–1800* (1993) were landmark works in demonstrating the role pornography played in the modernization of European culture. These scholars legitimated the scholarly investigation of what had heretofore been a tabooed topic. While lauding their studies, Sigel pertinently points out that the authors were not interested in pornography per se but saw the need to exploit such sources in order to round out their investigation of cultural and political change. She is quite right in maintaining that much remains to be done in determining the best ways in which to approach pornography. Almost all the essays in the collection hammer home the message that we need to know more about how and why pornography was produced and consumed. Nevertheless, the most ac-

complished pieces in the collection are those that tell us the most about the cultural context in which obscene texts were created and the least satisfying—at least from a historical point of view—are those that narrowly focus on the pornographic.

The book begins with essays on nineteenth-century France, England, and Germany; shifts to Edwardian England and twentieth-century France; jumps to late twentieth-century Britain; and devotes three chapters to postcommunist Hungary, Ukraine, and Russia before ending with an account of the cyber world of Internet porn. Given such temporal and geographic breadth and the fact that the contributors come from a variety of disciplines, the brief overview of the history of pornography that Sigel provides in her introduction is very useful.

What is pornography? Sigel reminds us that the fixation on the naked woman was a relatively recent invention. In the nineteenth century, the upper classes, preoccupied by notions of the immorality of the masses and fears of cultural decay, asserted what was immoral. Hence, to discuss pornography means discussing censorship. Sarah Leonard's brief essay, "Wanderers, Entertainers, and Seducers: Making Sense of Obscenity Law in the German States, 1830–1851," demonstrates the enormous discretion vague legal language provided the nineteenth-century German police. Non-explicit gallant literature was banned for questioning marriage, the social order, and female virtue. Few will be surprised to hear that that what we consider innocent literature nineteenth-century officials might have considered lewd. Leonard suggests the reverse was true as well, though she provides no evidence. The question of why specific works were deemed unacceptable is pursued by Annie Stora-Lamarre in "Censorship in Republican Times: Censorship and Pornographic Novels Located in L'Enfer de la Bibliothèque Nationale, 1800–1900." The essay cannot sufficiently cover the vast range of topics it broaches, from the French preoccupation with divorce and birth control to the late nineteenth-century evolution of the image of the femme fatale, but it does demonstrate that social purists feared not so much sex as the half-literate city masses who would find in the obscene novel "alcohol for the brain" (p. 56).

How did pornography reflect its culture? In "Anti-Abolition Writes Obscenity: The English Vice, Transatlantic Slavery, and England's Obscene Print Culture," Colette Colligan carefully traces how the image of the flogged slave woman was introduced to the public by transatlantic abolitionists, unconsciously employing the politics of arousal. More could be said in slave narratives about sex than in legitimate nineteenth-century novels. Pornographers quickly appropriated such images of sexual exploitation and shifted the scenario to depict the flogging of white women. What was soon forgotten was that these sadistic themes, which could be traced as far forward as the *Histoire d'O* (1958), revealed the linkage of the prac-

tice of slavery to sexual fantasy. Even Sigmund Freud, Colligan notes, slighted the connection.

Freud is also taken to task by Sigel in "The Rise of the Overly Affectionate Family: Incestuous Pornography and Displaced Desire Among the Edwardian Middle Class." Asking why the 1908 Punishment of Incest Act was so widely opposed by middle-class males, Sigel attributes much of the resistance to a contemporary flowering of pornographic literature that suggested incest was enjoyable and consensual. Pornographers, exploiting the notion of the middle-class family as a new site of forbidden desire, churned out tales of the young lusting after the old, girls seducing fathers, even boys lusting after sisters, aunts, and mothers. Such texts allowed their male readership to envisage the family in ways others could not and clearly provided apologies for abuse. Sigel suggests that the Victorian family, in damming up extrafamilial relationships, naturally lent itself to the growth of such fantasies. Freud, in inventing the Oedipal complex, ignored adult sexual fantasies and played up childhood desires. Sigel cannot, of course, prove that the incest literature influenced the thinking and practice of MPs and thereby held off legislation against incest, but she does demonstrate a striking synchronicity.

Finally, a number of contributors tackle the question of how pornography was produced. John Phillips, in "Old Wine in New Bottles? Literary Pornography in Twentieth-Century France," notes how French literary erotica from the eighteenth-century libertines to twentieth-century Surrealists was more related to subversion than its counterparts in America and Britain. He ends on an extremely positive note, asserting that all pornography is transgressive and creatively represents desire. Clarissa Smith takes a more mundane approach in "A Perfectly British Business: Stagnation, Continuities, and Changes on the Top Shelf," investigating the ways in which twentieth-century British businessmen responded to the pressure of the courts and distributors to produce a predictable type of down-market British girlie magazine. Katalin Szoverfy Milter and Joseph W. Slade's "Global Traffic in Pornography: The Hungarian Example," an overly detailed account of the current Hungarian hard-core video scene, would presumably be of scant interest to the readers of this journal. One gets a sense of their approach in the line "However one thinks of anal sex, its prevalence suggest a maturation of pornography into a deconstructive, self-reflexive mode" (p. 188) and their six-page videography. Similarly Maryna Romanets's essay, "Ideologies of the Second Coming in the Ukrainian Postcolonial Playground," is of limited use, focusing as it does on a handful of Ukrainian literary artists—Iurii Il'ienko, Oksana Zabuzhko, Iurii Pokalchuk, Iurii Vynnychuk, Valerii Shevchuk, and Les Podereviansky—unknown to most Western readers. The best of the essays on Eastern Europe is Eliot Borenstein's "Stripping the Nation Bare: Russian Pornography and the Insistence of Meaning," a witty and well-written account of the flowering of pornography after the fall of

communism that details how eroticism and nationalism were entangled, with patriotic pornographers presenting themselves as fending off Western feminism and "invader magazines" (p. 242) such as *Playboy*.

Given the current political climate in the United States, a scholar researching the history of pornography takes certain risks. Sigel is to be congratulated on pulling together a collection that introduces the reader to the key problems and issues posed by the obscene. A literature that clearly exploited women yet provided for the sexual expression of marginalized groups such as homosexual men and lesbians, that subverted some sexual hierarchies while supporting others, that always reflected, if indirectly, its culture's views on class, race, and gender clearly deserves further exploration.

ANGUS MCLAREN
University of Victoria

JOHN BROAD. *Transforming English Rural Society: The Verneys and the Claydons, 1600–1820*. (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time, number 40.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 292. \$75.00.

Perhaps no close study of aristocratic life in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries provides as rewarding insight into the landed elite's impact on rural society as does this exemplary investigation of the Verney family's dominance over the north Buckinghamshire communities of Middle Claydon, Steeple Claydon, and East Claydon. Not H. J. Habakkuk, Vivienne Larminie, R. A. Kelch, nor even J. V. Beckett in his study of the Lowthers of Whitehaven captures both family and community history in all their complexity over so long a span as forcefully as does John Broad. This investigation of rural transformation delivers what it promises, tracing the Verneys' successful efforts to turn two of the Claydons into estate villages, "closed" communities where the landlords' estate policies determined much of the nature of local life. Here, the practice of enclosing open fields for pasture increased the size of farms, reduced the market for farm labor, induced high turnover of tenants and changed the local occupational structure, while providing the Verneys with growing rent rolls. As virtually the sole landowners in East and Middle Claydon, the family over generations had great control over the local population, exercised by generating competition for leases to their farms, by pulling down or erecting farm buildings and houses, by preventing in-migration, and by providing individual charity, to name only a few aspects of their dominance.

The Verneys' successful enclosure, part of what Broad calls their "single-minded dedication to the dynastic imperative over four generations" (p. 264), virtually eradicated smallholdings in Middle Claydon and promoted dairying to the virtual exclusion of arable cultivation, a shift that fostered the emergence of well-capitalized tenant farmers to work the Verney lands. These farmers generally shared the Verneys'

interests in keeping their communities as free as possible from in-migrants and others who required poor relief, and in dealing with civil strife and criminal misbehavior by mediation or by recourse to locally administered justice, rather than the quarter sessions. One of the great strengths of Broad's book lies in its close examination of both these processes.

The Verneys' success depended on more than agricultural and estate policy alone. Financially useful connection to London's commercial markets was cemented by the successful career of Levant trader John Verney (1640–1717), a second son who became heir to his father in 1688. Success in securing marriage to heiresses, despite their low social standing, along with meager provision for daughters and younger sons, bolstered the position of eldest sons and of the central estate. By shunning court and high political life between the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries, successive patriarchs avoided incurring the kind of debt that on the one hand spurred Sir Ralph (1613–1696) to build the Verney fortunes and on the other hand set his great-grandson, Ralph the 2nd Earl (1714–1791), on the course to bankruptcy.

Broad notes the limits to the Verneys' political and religious control over the Claydons, and he freely admits that his reliance on documents generated by the Verney interest (above all the extensive archive at Claydon House) must skew his depiction of local affairs. Yet the wealth of family correspondence underpinning the first three-quarters of the era he studies would not have failed to record any more substantial resistance to Verney policies than he has identified. Using parish documents especially to reconstitute the population and to trace the history of poor and charitable relief, he has in fact made the Claydons as much a set of characters in this book as the Verneys themselves, laying out the three communities' distinctive yet not entirely dissimilar evolution.

Broad's book adds materially to an already detailed picture of the Verneys that began with the publication of extracts from their papers in the nineteenth century and was splendidly continued by Miriam Slater's *Family Life in the Seventeenth Century: The Verneys of Claydon House* (1984) and Susan Whyman's *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys 1660–1720* (1999). The latter two have placed the Verneys in a distinctive set of gender and generational dynamics and a provincial-urban cultural complex, respectively. Broad has now set the family firmly in both the rural setting that they did so much to transform and define and in the context of early modern agricultural improvement and change, much to the benefit of us all.

JAMES ROSENHEIM
Texas A&M University

M. F. SNAPE. *The Church of England in Industrialising Society: The Lancashire Parish of Whalley in the Eighteenth Century*. (Studies in Modern British Religious

History, number 9.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2003. Pp. xi, 228. \$85.00.

Historians of the eighteenth-century church tend to be pessimists or optimists, either decrying its stagnation and complacency or praising clerical professionalism and responsiveness to social change. Curiously, although optimism has largely prevailed among church historians, generalists often remain pessimistic. M. F. Snape's local study of Whalley presents a renewed challenge to the optimists, arguing that flaws in the Church of England caused it to lose popular support in the closing decades of the eighteenth century.

Physically the largest parish in a county of large parishes, Whalley contained eleven parochial chapels, the rapidly expanding textile towns of Colne and Burnley, and the parliamentary borough of Clitheroe. Early in the century, a humble, impoverished, and predominantly nongraduate clergy fulfilled their duties conscientiously, although their situation was unenviable. The laity appear to have supported the church through regular attendance, although not catechism or communion. By the end of the century, the clergy were reporting the absence of many of the poor, while Methodism was in the ascendancy. Although the clergy blamed these developments on industrialization and urbanization, Snape argues that social change only exposed long-term weaknesses within the church. The clergy's failure to understand folk Christianity and determination to impose orthodoxy put them at a disadvantage in competition with Dissenters and Methodists. The church lost touch with popular festivities and recreations, e.g. through the decline of rush-bearing. As elsewhere, the church courts became restricted to regulating sexual morality, but demographic change eroded the moral consensus upon which they relied. Most seriously, pluralism and nonresidence worsened even though Queen Anne's Bounty had largely relieved clerical poverty. Snape challenges the conventional view that pluralism compensated for poor livings and was consistent with pastoral care. He follows Peter Virgin (*The Church in an Age of Negligence* [1989]) in relating the distancing of ministers, which led some to be hated, to their social aspirations, expressed through participation in electoral politics and magistracy.

This book makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the eighteenth-century church in all its variety. Snape shows how ministers and congregations worshipped in the same church but held different views about orthodoxy. Folk religion was Christian, because continued popular support for exorcism, providence, ghosts, and witchcraft expressed popular belief in the immanence of God and the Devil. A detailed analysis of charity describes how resources were lost through mismanagement and endowments were used to reduce the burden on the ratepayer. The discussion of electoral patronage is also illuminating, showing how Tories used Queen Anne's Bounty to gain control over clerical appointment in much of the parish, and

confirming the importance of party conflict in eighteenth-century Lancashire.

The timing of the church's decline is more problematic than Snape suggests. Even before 1750, nine local clergymen were charged with scandalous behavior, pointing both to their vulnerability and to the hostility some laymen felt toward the clergy. The unpopularity of catechism meant that parishioners knew no more about church doctrine than they had in 1600. The evidence for declining popular support rests upon clerical presentments, in 1778 and 1804, but the clergy were more likely to present than churchwardens had been earlier in the century. Yet the story of the curate who, after divine service, used to start a football game by kicking a ball into the churchyard from the church steps suggests that, even at the end of the century, the clergy were not completely out of touch with popular culture.

Why did the experience of Whalley differ so much from that of Oldham and Saddleworth to the south, studied by Mark Smith (*Religion in Industrial Society* [1994])? Snape's focus on sources that expose less positive aspects of the established church (to which, unlike Smith, he restricts himself) are only part of the answer. Perhaps differences are to be expected from local studies, even of parishes with similar economies. Personalities played a part, and in Whalley these included an apostate Catholic priest who led resistance to Methodist itinerants in 1748. Placed beside Oldham and Saddleworth, Whalley appears relatively conservative: charity schools had only limited success, adoption of Sunday schools was slow, and no evangelical was a permanent curate until 1797. Snape reminds us that, even if Whalley's experience was not universal, the established church had much to be concerned about in 1800.

DONALD SPAETH
University of Glasgow

RICHARD DALE. *The First Crash: Lessons from the South Sea Bubble*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2004. Pp. 198. \$29.95.

The title of Richard Dale's book says a good deal about the author's intentions. Dale is not a professional historian, nor an economic historian, but as a former professor of banking he sees many parallels between the famous events of 1720 and the financial shenanigans of the late 1990s. Irrational exuberance, he believes, is a general ailment, and not just a specifically early modern British disease. This book ably and carefully describes the original bubble, and by pointing out various similarities with more recent scandals, it tries to draw some historical lessons. It succeeds more in the first task than in the second, and so by the close I felt I knew much more about the London stock market of 1720 than about what it might mean for investors in 2005.

Dale sets his stage in a series of brief chapters covering topics like coffee houses, business informa-

tion and the press, the widespread fascination with gambling, Exchange Alley, the founding of the South Sea Company, and John Law's career as a financial entrepreneur and "projector." He also gives a good description of the mechanics of share transfers, and how market liquidity *de facto* differed from liquidity *de jure*. Dale then provides a straightforward narrative account of the Bubble, starting with the problems of public finance and the initial debt-for-equity swap and continuing through the crash and political backlash. Building particularly on the published work of Archibald Hutcheson, dubbed the "true unsung hero of the South Sea crash" (p. 2), Dale also provides a detailed financial analysis of the various proposals, swaps, deals, and transactions that inflated and later punctured the Bubble. Some might doubt whether Hutcheson the politician, an MP for Hastings, is the best source for a truly nonpartisan diagnosis of such a politically controversial event, but Dale believes him to be the "father of investment analysis" (indeed, Dale claims that Hutcheson used modern valuation techniques; see p. 89).

Given Dale's eagerness to make connections to the present, it is perhaps not surprising that some of his observations seem anachronistic and even overly casual. The reader is repeatedly enjoined to see the similarities between the South Sea Company and Enron, WorldCom, and other dot.com flashes-in-the-pan. Sometimes the parallels are pretty elementary: lax accounting standards were a problem in 1720 and again in the 1990s, company directors in both periods pursued their own interests at the expense of shareholders, and so on. Other parallels are hard to believe without more evidence. I am not yet convinced that many investors in 1720 had such easy access to modern methods of financial valuation, despite the presence of Hutcheson and his numbers, or whether such access made a real difference (consider how sloppily many businessmen kept their books, even though they were familiar with double-entry bookkeeping).

The biggest connection lies in the fact that at some point in a bubble, investors lose touch with financial reality. Here Dale parts ways with orthodox neoclassical economics, which takes rationality as an article of faith and views even bubbles as rational events. For Dale, early modern and contemporary investors alike can reach a moment of collective madness that produces a bubble because irrational optimism keeps them in the stock market long after they should have exited. It would have been very interesting if the author had thought more carefully and systematically about the general conditions and social dynamics that compel large numbers of people to take leave of their financial senses, but he does not go beyond claiming that they do so take leave. Is collective irrationality a rare random outcome, or could one predict its occurrence? And aside from punishing them by inflicting massive losses, it is not clear how to sober up the deluded masses and return them to their senses. Without addressing these questions more thoroughly,

it will be hard for Dale to answer his own call for economic policy to prevent such events from happening today.

Dale's glossary helpfully explains technical terms that will be opaque to many readers ("long annuities," "refusals") but he unnecessarily includes others that should be known to most ("Glorious Revolution," "Whigs"). The readership implied by this glossary includes persons interested in British financial history who evidently know little about finance and even less about British history. Nevertheless, Dale writes clearly and has pulled together an impressive amount of evidence. The book is nicely produced by Princeton University Press: it includes many figures, few typos, and moves at a brisk pace. For those who want to know about the South Sea Bubble, this is a very good place to start.

BRUCE G. CARRUTHERS
Northwestern University

ANDREW T. HARRIS. *Policing the City: Crime and Legal Authority in London, 1780–1840*. (History of Crime and Criminal Justice Series.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 205. Cloth \$41.95, CD \$9.95.

Home Secretary Robert Peel has long been credited with creating in 1829 London's first effective, government-controlled police force (the "bobbies"). In doing so, the standard interpretation says, he had to wade through a miasma of inefficiency and corruption, "liberties," and privileges, amid the metropolis's myriad institutions of local policing. The government's struggle to make some centralist sense out of the capital's policing dated to 1785 when William Pitt's bill had encountered such stiff resistance from the City of London that it had been withdrawn. Peel's plan succeeded, many have suggested, because it specifically excluded the City from the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829. The City of London, in this view, was denied effective policing until passage of the London Police Act of 1838.

Andrew T. Harris's slim volume adds importantly to recent scholarship on policing in metropolitan London before Peel's famous centralizing legislation. In *Before the Bobbies: The Night Watch and Police Reform in Metropolitan London, 1729–1830* (1998), Elaine A. Reynolds showed that many parishes, especially the wealthier ones, were hardly "unpoliced," and indeed in many ways local forces were professionalized. Now Harris demonstrates that in the small, one-square-mile City of London, the mayor and city corporation and authorities in many of the twenty-five wards sought not just to retain local control but to increase efficiency and lower the costs of traditional policing. Peel's famous reform, in short, occurred not in a situation of stasis but in the context of numerous local ongoing proposals and reforms.

Harris's book updates and in many areas supplants Donald Rumbelow's *I Spy Blue: The Police and Crime in the City of London from Elizabeth I to Victoria*

(1971). Using the archives of the Guildhall Library and the Corporation of London Records Office, Harris has uncovered important policing changes in the six decades prior to the well-known 1838 act. In the wake of Pitt's failed metropolitan bill, the City created a ten-man night patrol in 1785 and added a day patrol in 1799. These patrolmen kept an eye on ward watch houses, chased thieves, monitored street lamps, assisted at fires, and checked public houses. City authorities pressed the wards to improve their night watches: "The [City] Corporation tried to treat the wards as Parliament would later treat the Corporation" (p. 92). As early as 1816 activist mayor Matthew Wood, who was also a Radical MP, proposed creation of a merged day-and-night police of 400 patrols led by forty superintendents; the City Common Council overwhelmingly rejected the plan. (Another of Wood's ideas—a 100-man Horse Police useful "in case of tumult"—was also batted down.) However, as Harris's researches show, from 1816 onward individual wards made a number of reforms that characterize modern policing: abolishing watch boxes (they led the men to laziness and drinking), posting watchmen outside their native wards, hiring younger men (often ex-military), increasing pay, and making patrol beats temporary and changing them frequently. City regulations in 1824 and 1827 formalized many of these changes.

In this environment of change and controversy, the tension between liberty and efficiency, accountability and power, was continuously tested. For example, in 1830 a city subcommittee recommended creation of a 432-strong force of men that would not only replace the existing system but take many police powers from both mayor/aldermen and the local wards. This bombshell proposal was shelved, and a different subcommittee recommended retention of traditional local control and continuation of the gradual reforms already occurring. But, notes Harris, this final outcome by a vote of 12–11 demonstrates the heatedness of the debate over policing.

The basic point of this valuable short study is that, as Reynolds showed for the metropolis at large, so too for the tiny City of London important policing changes were being discussed and implemented by local authorities. Parliamentary debates and statutes must be understood in this context. For the City of London, which was neither industrializing nor growing in population, police reform was an ongoing process not triggered by any surge in crime, or undue working class unrest, or crisis in "immorality." The 1838 act creating the City of London Police was simply the climax of a lengthy process. In the end, City authorities learned for their small jurisdiction what Pitt (1785) and Peel (1829) believed was necessary for the metropolis: "the efficiencies of centralization" (p. 156) mandated a single force of uniform dress and direct, immediate accountability. In the City's wards, as across the metropolis after 1829, the price paid for administrative efficiency was the end of traditional local liberties, which had included "popular participation in setting

the parameters and priorities of the criminal justice system" (p. 156).

STANLEY H. PALMER
University of Texas,
Arlington

MICHAEL FREEMAN. *Victorians and the Prehistoric: Tracks to a Lost World*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. 310. \$45.00.

The volume under review was planned by its author, Michael Freeman, as a companion to his *Railways and the Victorian Imagination* (1999). The "moment of intensity" here (as Ernest Hemingway would have framed it) is the Victorian vision of the railway engine as some sort of terrible cyclopean monster. Freeman grasps imaginatively the Victorians' position, bracketed between the monsters of their future—locomotives—and the monsters of their past—the great fossil beasts exhumed in the course of digging the right of way for the new monsters.

This is an admirably produced book, and Sandy Chapman, the designer, is to be congratulated. The abundant illustrations are clear and sharp; those in color have uniformly good registration. These illustrations (in the main, paintings and engravings of landscapes both real and imagined) date mostly from the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and they are physically integrated with the text in a stimulating variety of ways: half-page, full-page, side-bars, top quarter indents. All attract the eye. The text is in Times Roman 14 point double lead with 13/4" margins left and right, giving a sense of room quite appropriate to a book about space and time and imagination.

Despite the title, this is not a book about Victorians or the prehistoric. It is about late eighteenth to late nineteenth-century British explorations of past time through the study of geology and the history of life. "Prehistory" has always meant, since the word was coined in 1860, accounts of human life antecedent to written records. The contents of the book under review have nothing whatever to say about this material, and the successive chapters are instead a series of stand-alone essays, giving sweeping summaries of the study of geological time, stratigraphy, paleontology, the deluge story, evolutionary competition, and natural history museums in nineteenth-century Britain.

Each of the chapters is a dense narrative drawn from extensive reading in primary and secondary sources pertaining to the study of geological sciences in the period from 1780 to 1890. This time frame means, as the author cheerfully announces, that the word "Victorian" is used "with considerable license." (p. 7). The volume ranges over and juxtaposes a variety of materials. For instance, in the chapter on Charles Darwin we get references to Darwin, T. H. Huxley, Richard Owen, Robert Chambers, Charles Lyell, and T. B. Malthus, whom one would certainly expect to hear about, but also remarks about Jules Verne, Charles

Dickens, Thomas Hardy, and George Eliot's *Middlemarch* that one might not have anticipated. One wishes the author had followed up more of these hunches, as they are often stimulating.

By the author's own admission, he has glossed over most of the recent work on science in the Victorian era, and when painting and poetry make up a part of his narrative subject, he takes no responsibility for them, saying that these materials are allusive and suggestive. This is just as well, as much of the lavish pictorial evidence on display here, especially the landscape painting, is clearly pre-Victorian. Freeman further says that familiar explanatory structures of the humanities and social sciences are firmly rejected by his postmodern position, and that the book will not appeal to those seeking definitive conclusions (p. 6). This is a rather startling declaration, and I am not sure what it means. If it is a claim that the author of a narrative history published by a scholarly press may, at will, opt out of the culture of evidence and inference, I beg to differ.

The readership most likely to benefit will be those who know little about the Victorian period in either its scientific or artistic dimensions but are willing to learn by following a rich interleaving of previous work to get a sense of the movement of the century, within the covers of a single volume. The abundant, almost superabundant referencing (nearly 2,000 footnotes in a book of just over 300 pages) makes the volume a useful entry port to a large literature. But to get an idea of what these rich materials mean one will have to go to A. N. Wilson's *The Victorians* (2002) or Walter Houghton's *The Victorian Frame of Mind* (1957), or some similar volume, to get an extended argument, as the book (quite deliberately it would seem) has no commitment to any concrete historical or historiographic position.

MOTT T. GREENE
University of Puget Sound

ROBERT COLLS. *Identity of England*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 409. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$24.95.

Published in 1986, *Englishness: Politics and Culture, 1880–1920*, co-edited by Robert Colls and Philip Dodd, made a vital contribution to the study of national identity in the British Isles. Colls's own volume on the subject has, therefore, been much anticipated. The context, of course, has changed: devolution to Scotland and Wales, the progress of the European Union, and the rise of multiculturalism have altered the terms of the debate. The old (if mythical) certainties of empire, ethnic homogeneity, and progress have finally been revealed as anachronistic, problematic, and partial. Flags and symbols emblazoned with the cross of St. George are today sported by neo-Nazis as well as by football supporters and traditional patriots. To ask "what is England?"—to question its future as

well as its past—is therefore an important task, and it is such a reassessment that Colls attempts.

The book is divided into two halves, six parts, and twenty-two chapters. The first half concerns itself with national identity as related to the growth, development, and exclusions of the English state; the second half focuses on national identity as a looser relationship between land and people. The discussion draws, where appropriate, on the voluminous recent work on national identities in British history, as well as on an impressively wide reading in other secondary literature and primary sources, and sees identity as malleable, movable, and manipulable. At one level an homage to George Orwell, at its best it is, like much of Orwell's writing, sensitive, subtle, and deeply human. Entirely undogmatic, it aims at starting a conversation, not terminating a discussion.

The book is admirably broad in its scope. While the usual suspects—Walter Bagehot, F. R. Leavis, Richard Hoggart, William Stubbs, J. R. Seeley—are discussed, so are those drawn from less orthodox ranks: Agatha Christie, Monty Python, Pete Townshend, and Billy Bragg. Readers will discover fascinating cameos of *Sanders of the River*, Thomas Cook's travel agency, the Ministry of Information, and the English Dialect Society. Colls ranges as far back as the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and as far forward as the beginning of the present century. His prose is never dull, his views are always intellectually lively, and he takes the reader on an epic journey across the centuries and, indeed, across the world, for this is no insular take on an island nation but one that locates England's identity at the heart of its global history. One is therefore as likely to encounter Irving Berlin or Idi Amin as Matthew Arnold or Stanley Baldwin.

Where one ends up is another matter. Having read the book twice, I remain unclear as to its overall argument. England and Englishness will continue, yes, albeit not in the same manner as before. Parts of that history should be rescued for the future, others (particularly elements incompatible with multiculturalism) will have to be discarded. Colls is fundamentally sympathetic to a popular, democratic sense of Englishness and unwilling to consign it to the dustbin of history, or to condemn it outright for having harbored elements of chauvinism, racism, and imperialism. But it does not require 400 pages of text to settle on these attitudes, and the rapid changes of direction and the apparent absence of connecting threads between separate parts of the discussion are bewildering and ultimately frustrating. If one were able to carry on the conversation with the author, it might all begin to make sense, but this is not a convivial evening in a public house. Colls is writing self-consciously about England, yet often the organizations, structures, or individuals he discusses only make sense in a British context: the *British* Broadcasting Corporation, the *British* Army, the *British* Empire, Raymond Williams (Welsh), and Humphrey Jennings (*Listen to Britain*). Colls does not ignore England's Celtic partners, but if

"No one today is purely one thing" (Edward Said, cited p. 192), I find it difficult to understand how England and Englishness can be extracted from a British context that has been particularly powerful for at least the last century. However, the critical defect is the way in which Colls, through praiseworthy ambition, has allowed his meaning to be obscured by the wealth of detail he has embraced.

CHRIS WILLIAMS
University of Wales,
Swansea

MARC BRODIE. *The Politics of the Poor: The East End of London, 1885-1914*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp.viii, 240. \$95.00.

The most influential interpretations of English working-class history in the industrial era between 1780 and 1945 have their roots in detailed local studies. Marc Brodie's subtle and thoughtful book critically examines one of the longest-lasting myths in this literature: that the working classes of London's East End were antipathetic to progressive and socialist politics in the three decades before World War I and were consistent Conservative Party supporters. This long-established view, voiced by Henry Pelling and made famous in Gareth Stedman Jones's argument that the English working class was remade between 1870 and 1914 around a consumerist and politically quiescent ethic, has never before been subject to sustained scholarly examination. Brodie is therefore to be applauded for writing an engaging and generally convincing account of political alignments in Stepney, Poplar, Bethnal Green, and Shoreditch during these crucial years.

Brodie's argument has several components. He first disputes the established view that the Trafalgar Square riots of 1886 were the work of unemployed casual laborers, and he goes on to argue that the docking labor force was actually fairly regularly employed. Second, using a careful study of the similarity between the census returns and the electoral register, he shows that the laborers and unskilled were only marginally underrepresented electorally: fifty percent of household voters and forty-five percent of lodger voters were laborers or artisans, compared to fifty-three percent of the adult male population who fell into these categories. However, those who were enfranchised were the most securely employed, and hence electoral conservatism cannot be attributed to the votes of the marginalized and unemployed. In Brodie's third chapter, in my view his most original and insightful, he contests the view that East Londoners were politically apathetic. He subtly points to the value of personal independence evident in working-class culture and indicates their skepticism toward aristocratic and elite values. He goes on to argue that the success of the Conservatives in this part of London was by no means unambiguous, since it was unchallenged in only four of the area's eleven seats. In the poorest constituencies,

the Tories did not predominate, and Tory success rested upon the abstention, rather than keen support, of workers. There was no straightforward Tory majority among the working class. After this fine chapter, the two final chapters peter out somewhat, since they focus on rather more specialized, though undoubtedly important, issues. Chapter four examines the role of religion, which Brodie thinks is considerable, and chapter five conducts a critical debunking of the widely held view that costermongers were a bastion of political reaction.

Brodie's meticulous work effectively challenges simple shibboleths of East London working-class history. He does so less by uncovering vital new evidence and more by the subtle and detailed reworking of familiar sources: Charles Booth's poverty inquiries, the census, electoral registers, and the like. The book carefully specifies subtle links between local conditions and political outcomes, although at times Brodie overplays his hand given the lack of evidence. For instance, the argument that the unemployed and unskilled were not central to the Trafalgar Square riots rests partly on indirect inference. The author cites some occupational information from arrest records (p. 22) but not in the kind of detail that is necessarily convincing. Can we infer from the fact that one-third of those who were arrested were artisans that the remaining two-thirds were laborers and the unemployed? If so, this would be a dramatic over-representation of such groups, who comprised twenty-seven percent of the adult male population in the three areas studied in detail. It would have been useful to have a systematic, quantitative breakdown of the arrest details, but Brodie generally shies away from the kind of systematic quantitative analysis of sources (such as the census) that might have allowed him to explore his arguments about the labor market more fully.

Brodie writes not as a cultural historian, but as a social historian with an interest in culture. He does not fully elaborate his fascinating observations about the cultural features of East End working-class life. To be sure, he does return on several occasions to his point about the importance of the "personal." He uses this observation in telling ways: to explore the nature of gossip, neighborliness in working-class communities, the role of theater and melodrama in working-class culture, and the way that political debate drew on questions of personality. However, the argument remains somewhat tenuous in the absence of the kind of ethnographic source that might allow it to be fleshed out more firmly.

There is no doubt that this book is one of the most important local studies to be published in recent years. It is to be hoped that, like other studies of its type, it is read not just by London specialists, but by all with an interest in understanding the contours of working-class history in England in the crucial period before World War I.

MIKE SAVAGE
University of Manchester

ADRIAN BINGHAM. *Gender, Modernity, and the Popular Press in Inter-War Britain*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 2004. Pp. 271. \$98.00.

Adrian Bingham's examination of a previously untapped reservoir of evidence pertaining to popular beliefs in interwar Britain yields important findings. Bingham has examined the most significant of the mass-circulation daily newspapers with an eye to the way they treated masculinity, femininity, and modernity. He concludes that the arguments about the interwar period constituting a "backlash" are overstated, providing an important corrective to the way we have perceived the years between 1918 and 1939.

The interwar dailies depended upon advertising revenue to keep themselves solvent, and their editors had learned from Lord Northcliffe, who pioneered the practice at the end of the nineteenth century, that they had to appeal to women readers if they were to maintain circulation at a level sufficient to keep their advertisers happy. The papers could not, their editors knew, alienate the very demographic group that kept them afloat. They all carried a women's page that treated a variety of issues thought to interest a large and varied female audience, and they oriented their general pages toward human interest stories that would appeal to both men and women. Thus, Bingham argues, content that might emphasize a return to domesticity was balanced by tales of modern women flying across the Atlantic or being rained out at Wimbledon. Notions of "progress" or "retreat" cannot adequately capture the situation women experienced in the interwar period; rather, what Bingham calls "a complex picture of fragmented change" (p. 21) characterized the lives of men and women. Gender—both masculinity and femininity—was far more fluid than historians, including this reviewer, have suggested.

In arguing for this fluidity, Bingham resorts to a narrative strategy of "on the one hand" and "on the other" that serves to vitiate the force of his argument. The very real complexity of determining patterns in the shapes of masculine and feminine identity in interwar Britain should not prevent historians from attempting to make larger claims, whether they be about subjectivity, culture, or politics. For example, Bingham argues convincingly that the *Daily Mail's* obsession with the "flapper vote," coverage of which, Billie Melman has shown, exceeded all bounds of proportion, was actually an obsession with socialism. The paper's owner, Lord Rothermere, feared that women under thirty would flock to the Labour Party, bringing in a government that, he believed, would destroy the country. I would urge, however, that an analysis of the representations of femininity and Bolshevism would deepen our understanding of what the fear of socialism meant to Rothermere and to so many others in interwar Britain. Certainly we should accept at face value the conviction that Bolshevism constituted a danger to Britain; but there is more at work

here. The *Mail* also utilized the concept of the "feminine" to represent the dangers of Bolshevism. "Flappers" called forth ideas of frivolity, irresponsibility, and a set of sexual behaviors that constituted a significant break with the mores and morals of the past. But they could also represent instability of a more profound, threatening sort, a transgression of boundaries that could signal the annihilation of the self. As critics have argued, the subject of the interwar period experienced himself—and this claim should be extended to include women as well—as "shattered." Subjects whose formative identities derived from the experiences of the war felt a desperate need to protect themselves against the chaotic forces that threatened fragmentation and dissolution. Those forces might be internal or external; they might be conscious or unconscious sexual desires, or racial, sexual, gendered, or political "others."

Two of Rothermere's sons died in the Great War, a loss that left him "shattered," as one relative described him. His embrace of Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler as exemplars of strong government is not merely indicative of his desire for a British equivalent, in which capacity, he believed for a time, Oswald Mosley could serve. Bingham shows that Rothermere's flirtation with fascism was not a shortlived, misguided infatuation; his admiration for the policies of Hitler and Mussolini continued long after his split with Mosley in 1934. I would argue that Rothermere's infatuation with strong, masculine leaders was not simply "a means of remedying what he perceived to be a loss of the virility and active patriotism that had previously marked the British Empire and its leaders," as Bingham puts it (p. 201). It also constituted a yearning for a figure possessing the power to keep the threat of annihilation at bay.

SUSAN KINGSLEY KENT
University of Colorado,
Boulder

ROBERT CALDER. *Beware the British Serpent: The Role of Writers in British Propaganda in the United States 1939–1945*. Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 311. \$49.95.

In the wake of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the United States has experienced an intense debate over the challenge of hostile international public opinion and the alleged failings of America's efforts in the field now known as "public diplomacy." Theorists have pointed to the dimension of "soft power" in international relations—the attractiveness of a nation's ideas and life—and called for concerted investment therein. In this book, Robert Calder provides a case study of soft power at work, in the form of British literary propaganda deployed in the United States during World War II.

In 1939 Britain had a major problem. Its only hope of surviving an onslaught from Nazi Germany lay in winning aid from the neutral and sometimes Anglo-

phobic United States. Britain had successfully turned the tide of U.S. public opinion in its favor during the Great War, but that achievement had left America on guard against British propaganda the second time around. In September 1939, Britain's Ministry of Information announced a policy of "No Propaganda" in the United States and resolved to focus on facilitating coverage of the war through American commercial channels like Edward R. Murrow of CBS radio. But despite this "self-denying ordinance," Britain eventually worked hard to sway American opinion, with BBC radio broadcasts, press offices in the United States, a clutch of documentary and feature films, and as Calder demonstrates, the extensive use of British writers.

Calder shows how literary Britain rallied to the Ministry of Information's agenda in America, not as official paid lecturers but as informal ambassadors and independent voices. Working with the blessing and often guidance of the ministry, they reaped the benefit of a common language and a transatlantic literary culture. They toured, published nonfiction, novels, and short stories, broadcast, and for the most part dodged under the isolationist radar. Some visitors were controversial at home, such as the pacifists Normal Angell and Vera Brittain; others were counterproductive, like H. G. Wells or Noel Coward, but some hit the mark squarely. Calder—a biographer of W. Somerset Maugham—singles out Maugham for particular credit. Other writers who struck a nerve included J. B. Priestley, Storm Jameson, and Jan Struther, creator of *Mrs. Miniver*.

Calder contrasts the World War II campaign with its Great War equivalent. During the Great War, Britain had deployed literary giants of the stature of Rudyard Kipling and John Galsworthy to woo America. The World War II campaign was, by contrast, middle brow, seeking out regional voices and avoiding intellectual pretension in deference to America's perceived preferences. There is no doubt that the writers who made the biggest impact were those whose work was adapted by Hollywood. Calder points to Phyllis Bottome's *The Mortal Storm*, Geoffrey Household's *Rogue Male* (filmed as *Man Hunt*), to the contribution of James Hilton to *Foreign Correspondent* and the screen adaptation of *Mrs. Miniver*, and the work of R. C. Sherriff on *Mrs. Miniver* and Alexander Korda's *That Hamilton Woman*!

While Calder covers a broad range of territory and has an excellent command of the archival sources, there are some holes in Calder's bibliography. He appears unaware of an excellent book on British propaganda in the United States by Susan A. Brewer, *To Win the Peace: British Propaganda in the United States during World War II* (1997). Brewer details the key official themes of British information in the United States after America's entry into the war, including careful treatment of issues around the British Empire and an emphasis on postwar planning. Calder's narrative does not reveal the same themes in literary propaganda, which seems to reflect only the general

need to maintain sympathy for Britain. Perhaps there was no link between the preferred themes of the Ministry of Information and the output of British literary propaganda in the United States, but if so this deserves comment. Similarly, Calder gives little attention to the audience for these works. The prevalence of women writers deserves further investigation, given the greater tendency of women to hold isolationist views.

Calder does not attempt his own assessment of the ultimate impact of Britain's propaganda campaign, preferring to cite the views of other authors on this point. He has, however, delivered a painstakingly researched and elegantly written addition to the cultural history of World War II and Anglo-American relations. As a testimony to the working of soft power in times past, it is not without implications for our own time.

NICHOLAS J. CULL

University of Southern California

MARY JO NYE. *Blackett: Physics, War, and Politics in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 255. \$39.95.

The British physicist Patrick Blackett died in 1974, the year Margaret Thatcher came to lead the Conservative Party. Described in an obituary as "the last of the barons," he had been a member of the House of Lords, President of the Royal Society, and a Nobel Prize winner. Despite his associations with old institutions, he was a radical modernist, loyal member of the Labour Party, and an advisor to Britain's dirigiste industry department, "Mintech."

Throughout his life, Blackett was an apostle of the causes of science and modernity. He attended a technocratic high school established early in the twentieth century to provide the Royal Navy with officers. From the navy he passed to Cambridge University, to research in the Cavendish laboratory, then to operational research (OR) in World War II. More than a group of techniques, OR would serve, postwar, as a demonstration that a scientific approach to the problems of ordinary life, business, and manufacturing would, even if opposed by the forces of reaction, ultimately succeed and bring about improvement.

Blackett's postwar career combined development of the newly expensive instruments of big science, the pioneering of big academe in the physics department of Imperial College, and technocratic politics. It was rumored that he had written Harold Wilson's speech pledging that Labour would deploy the "white hot heat of the scientific and technological revolution."

Despite Blackett's iconic significance and frequent reference to his name in both the journalism of his time and the historiography of our own, there has been scant biographical treatment. Unlike his French contemporary, Pierre Joliot-Curie, Blackett has not attracted a direct historical gaze. Now the distinguished historian of science Mary Jo Nye has written a book

that whets the appetite by describing the complex of political, cultural, and scientific causes he so energetically espoused. She recounts the details of the world through which he moved, so his club "The Tots and Quots" rates a mention; the Labour Party of the 1950s and Imperial College are lit up briefly as by an asteroid passing through the atmosphere. The names of many interesting contemporaries pass by. Joseph Needham, Solly Zuckerman, and Michael Polanyi make cameo appearances.

Nye made the decision to write a biography of an individual, not the portrait of an age or the history of a network. She discusses at length the failure to award a Nobel Prize for the discovery of the electron and Blackett's later success in winning the prize. She talks about Blackett's manly disdain for fussing, but she does not speculate on what the awards suggest about the scientific community. Strong socialist principles are cited, but she scarcely footnotes Gary Werskey's *The Visible College* (1979) dealing with the prewar network of left-leaning scientists in which Blackett figured so significantly. Nor does she examine the complex of beliefs in science and socialism that so many of his contemporaries espoused with various accents. What came first: socialism or technocracy? And what did either have to do with Blackett's conduct of academic science?

Nonetheless, even with these silences the biography is an articulate if careful introduction to a Britain that is seldom remembered. Even if it is not the last word either on the man or his times, it will provide an invaluable resource for historians in other fields seeking a ready reference and for successors to Nye. Historians encountering Blackett for the first time will have an authoritative and useful account.

In a typically provocative observation the author points out that in 1948 two Britons won Nobel Prizes: Blackett, for physics, and the poet T. S. Eliot for literature. Eliot and other writers had been terrified of the world Blackett and his ilk were conjuring up. C. S. Lewis, Aldous Huxley, and George Orwell each described anti-utopias in which men like Blackett were the villains. The ghosts of that conflict over the future of modernity are summoned up by this biography. It will remain for others to bring them back to life.

ROBERT BUD
The Science Museum

THOMAS BARTLETT *et al*, editors. *1798: A Bicentenary Perspective*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2003. pp. xii, 756. \$60.00.

The 1990s saw a series of historical anniversaries that were remarkably productive in Irish historiography. Perhaps the most noteworthy of these was the sesquicentennial of the Irish Famine, which triggered a series of important works on that watershed event. A similar phenomenon can be seen with the bicentenary commemoration of the 1798 rebellion, which helped to generate a wide variety of important articles and

monographs on late eighteenth-century Ireland. Based on a five-day conference held in Belfast and Dublin in 1998, this collection of essays reflects the wide range and sophistication of the work, acting as both an excellent reference guide to the current state of the field and as an inspiring spur to new research.

Conference collections are notorious for their incoherence, so it is a real credit to the editors that they managed to put together such a massive tome in a way that makes sense. Much of the credit here must go to Kevin Whelan, who provides a series of typically thought-provoking introductions for each of the eight sections. Resolutely focused on the complexity of late eighteenth-century Irish society and politics, these introductions will soon become must reads for graduate students and scholars desperate to keep up with the current state of the field. While the wide range of studies makes it difficult to analyze, I will focus this review on a series of themes that seem to dominate the best work in this collection.

One of the most important trends in recent Irish historiography has been an increased sensitivity to the significance of regional variation, a fact reflected in this collection. Fully two of the eight sections in the book are devoted explicitly to the regional dimensions of 1798. In one of the strongest chapters in the volume, Breandán Mac Suibhne examines relationships between politicization and paramilitary activity in western Ulster. Comparing the development of radical politics in northwest and southwest Ulster, Mac Suibhne finds significant differences between the two regions. Looking closely at Volunteer politics, he makes a persuasive case that while the Society of United Irishmen represented a "new opportunity" for radical politics in southwest Ulster, they had a solid foundation of anticolonial politics to build on in Donegal and Derry. Likewise, David W. Miller's examination of ritualized contestations of power in east Ulster is thought-provoking and potentially path-breaking, while Kevin O'Neill's close study of postrebellion violence in Ballitore, County Kildare, not only complicates the standard sectarian story but, in putting a woman's voice at the center of his analysis, also offers a refreshing contrast in a male-dominated historiography. Clearly, both our understanding of the politics of 1798 and the complex mosaic of late eighteenth-century Irish society have benefited in recent years from a greater sensitivity to locality.

Mac Suibhne's essay also highlights one of the most important developments in recent scholarship: a renewed sense of the importance of examining events in Ireland in the 1770s and 1780s, an emphasis that has led many scholars to explore the transatlantic dimensions of the late eighteenth-century Irish experience. One of the most productive scholarly trends of the late 1980s and early 1990s was the effort to better locate eighteenth-century Ireland within a broader European context. Led by Marianne Elliott's *Partners in Revolution: The United Irishmen and France* (1982), a number of historians examined the important and complex

social and ideological links between Ireland and France. Unfortunately, this fostered a tendency to privilege the French Revolution and European ties over transatlantic connections, particularly with the American Revolution and the emergent United States. While the European dimension of 1798 is not ignored (Hugh Gough and Brendan Simms make solid contributions here), it is the global reach of 1798 that stands out. Ruan O'Donnell explores republican struggles in early nineteenth-century New South Wales, while Maurice Bric and David Wilson examine the impact that Irish radical émigrés had on early American political culture and shifts in Irish-American identity. While one might wish for a more extensive engagement with issues of race, these studies certainly mark a productive trend in Irish historical scholarship and one can only hope that Irish historians will become increasingly engaged with the dynamic work being done in both Atlantic and the so-called New British History.

Finally, the use of Irish-language sources has been one of the most fertile areas of research in eighteenth-century studies. This has been particularly true of the study of Jacobitism. Éamonn O'Ciardha and Breandán O'Buachalla have been the leaders here, using long neglected sources to show Jacobitism as a much more complex system of beliefs than heretofore acknowledged. O'Buachalla's essay continues this line of work, examining the links between Jacobitism and the Society of United Irishmen. Analyzing Jacobite rhetoric and poetry, he builds a persuasive case that the United Irishmen benefited from elements of the Jacobite ideological inheritance, which allowed them to draw on an existing array of powerful radical political critiques of British colonial rule. Clearly, O'Buachalla has identified an area of research that needs to be explored in greater depth.

All in all, the collection reflects the healthy and dynamic state of scholarship on late eighteenth-century Ireland. It is certainly not without its problems. The most obvious one concerns the book's size; it contains thirty-three of the thirty-seven papers presented at the 1998 conference. Greater editorial discipline might have produced a streamlined version that would be more widely available (and might have arrived in a more timely fashion). That said, this is a rich collection of essays and a must read for anyone interested in late eighteenth-century Ireland or the age of Atlantic revolutions.

SEAN FARRELL
Northern Illinois University

ALVIN JACKSON. *Home Rule: An Irish History, 1800–2000*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 405. \$35.00.

This is a political historian's exploration of the history of a concept that more usually falls within the ambit of political science. Home Rule as a party designation and political program is indelibly associated with Irish nationalism in the period from the 1870s to World War

I. Since the twelfth century, all or part of Ireland has been subordinate to English (or British) authority. The constitutional forms of this relationship have varied significantly and have been the subject of much contention. The Act of Union (1800) was merely another contentious variant, and the repeal of the act for which Daniel O'Connell campaigned in the 1840s would, if achieved, have yielded yet another. Alvin Jackson shows how, against this background, Isaac Butt in 1870 propounded a formula to reconcile Irish self-government in domestic matters with membership of a wider British polity directed from Westminster. To this he applied the designation "Home Rule." This compromise between nationality and empire quickly acquired a hold over the opinion of the Catholic masses and, thanks to its advocacy by Charles Stewart Parnell, dominated Irish politics for nearly four decades. Even before the emergence of Parnell and his "new departure," many republicans had tempered their separatism to follow the Home Rule drum.

Jackson is an established authority on the Unionist mobilizations that arose in resistance to the intention of British Liberal administrations, especially in 1886, 1893, and 1912–1914, to deliver Home Rule to an Ireland that would be predominantly Roman Catholic. ("Home Rule is Rome Rule" was one of the slogans.) The present work displays just how familiar Jackson is with the other side of the story. Of particular value is his exposition of the views, plans, and stratagems of politicians, civil servants, and opinion makers in the press. Any Home Rule bill or proposal had to have a specific value for such variables as: powers to be reserved to Westminster, financial provisions, level of future Irish representation at Westminster, and protection to be guaranteed to minority interests. Jackson's book is an excellent guide to the changing combinations that were adumbrated from 1886 to 1920.

In 1914, the Irish majority seemed to be within a whisker of achieving the long-desired Home Rule, before the Great War intervened. By the war's end, the majority would not take a present of Home Rule. The present was, indeed, offered, in the form of the 1920 Government of Ireland Act, with Home Rule for each of both parts of a partitioned island. Southern Ireland said no, and under the terms of the Anglo-Irish Treaty of December 1921 moved on to dominion status and the road to eventual full formal independence. This left the Unionist-dominated six counties of Northern Ireland as a new polity endowed with the Home Rule status that Unionists had so adamantly opposed for generations. The most original aspect of this book is Jackson's conceptualization of Northern Ireland as a specimen of Home Rule in practice. Various insights emerge, some of them ironic. In the past, Unionists had condemned various proposals for all-Ireland Home Rule on the grounds that the provisions for protection of minority rights and interests would not be effective in practice. The working out of the Government of Ireland Act in Northern Ireland

proved the point, but, of course, at the expense of a different minority.

Since the proroguing of the parliament of Northern Ireland in 1972, the province has been subject to direct rule from Westminster with some short intervals when one or another formula for power-sharing government has been in place. The endeavors of the British (and Irish) governments over this time to provide structures within which politicians could agree to exercise devolved authority on an acceptable basis, together with the recalcitrance of the intended beneficiaries, are carefully explored here. Particularly valuable are Jackson's insights into the personalities of key Unionist leaders, from both before and after 1972. This book has the stamp of authority, an impression heightened by Jackson's easy invocation of the apposite literature on a host of topics.

R. V. COMERFORD
National University of Ireland,
Maynooth

LOUISE FULLER, *Irish Catholicism since 1950: The Undoing of a Culture*. Paperback edition. Dublin, Ireland: Gill & Macmillan. 2002. Pp. xxxviii, 380. £14.99.

When the present reviewer first visited Ireland in the 1960s, the Catholic Church there enjoyed extraordinary compliance with canonical norms for religious practice. For example, very nearly one hundred percent of those adult Catholics not excused for illness or other hindrances attended Mass every Sunday. Popular and clerical opinion traced this behavior back to the early medieval "isle of saints and scholars," and academics had done little to challenge the assumption that religiosity was an inherited attribute of the Irish. In the 1970s, Irish historians began to examine past religious practice, most famously in Emmet Larkin's essay arguing that a "devotional revolution" occurred during the decades immediately after the famine of the 1840s (see Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850–75," *AHR* 77:3 [June 1972]: 625–652). We now know that pre-Famine Catholic religious practice was far from universal in many parts of the country; for the most part historians debate not whether there was a devotional revolution but the details of its timing and the mechanisms that brought it about.

The fact that "Irish" piety was a time-bound phenomenon, not a timeless inheritance, has become much easier to understand in the twenty-first century, when an Irish prime minister can live openly with a woman to whom he is not married. Nevertheless, as recently as 1997 journalist Mary Kenny could entitle a book *Goodbye to Catholic Ireland* without realizing that the "Catholic Ireland" she remembered from her youth had said "Hello" only about 150 years earlier. By contrast, Louise Fuller places her analysis of the dismantling of Ireland's Catholic culture in the context of that culture's construction in the post-Famine period and its realization in the institutions of the

southern Irish state. The result is a sophisticated and important work despite the fact that the author was granted access to only a tiny fraction of the relevant material in ecclesiastical archives. However, the phrase "since 1950" in the title is slightly misleading, for the main body of the book covers only the three decades from 1950 to 1980; following the conclusion there is a thirty-two-page epilogue sketching developments over the succeeding two decades.

Nevertheless, this anomalous structure—presumably the result of the publisher's desire to capture a nonacademic market—works reasonably well, especially for an American audience. Readers on this side of the Atlantic will have heard of some of the scandals recounted in the epilogue and might be tempted to surmise that whatever happened to the Irish church during the late twentieth century can be understood in the same terms as the disillusion of American Catholics with their scandal-ridden church in recent years. In fact, the Irish case is unique, as Fuller makes clear.

By concentrating on a three-decade period centered on Vatican II, she demonstrates that the council had truly revolutionary consequences. She describes vividly the complacency of ecclesiastics who regarded near-universal practice as a sure measure of their success in the 1950s, the casuistical mindset that underlay much of that practice, the cozy relationship between church and state, and the hierarchy's reliance on that relationship for the means to keep modernity at bay. Perhaps it was inevitable that those means would fail: the creaky mechanisms of censorship of magazines and movies would be no match for television, available to much of the Irish Catholic population from Britain or from Belfast by the 1960s. But it was *aggiornamento* that changed everything, for censorship could hardly be used to prevent the faithful from learning that the pope himself favored coming to terms with modernity. Archbishop McQuaid of Dublin typified the naïveté of the hierarchy when, upon his return from the council, he reassured those "who may have been worried by much talk of changes to come" that "No change will worry the tranquillity of your Christian lives" (p. 112). Fuller demonstrates that the real challenge the hierarchy had to face was not the humble worriers, but the educated laity together with the theologians (two groups the hierarchy had long been able to cow into compliance).

By the 1980s it was clear that an empowered laity, and the democratic polity it sustained, could no longer be counted on to do the hierarchy's bidding in matters concerning the sins of concupiscence. At the same time the Irish church—bishops, priests, and people—was becoming more concerned with social justice issues: evidence that *aggiornamento* really had made progress in all orders. The two decades that Fuller relegates to her epilogue are perhaps too short a period in which to judge how the revolution she describes will ultimately play out. Measures of religious practice in the Irish Republic are still substantially higher than those of any other Western European country, though significantly

lower than they were in the 1950s. Will Ireland become a starkly secular society like most of its European Union partners? Or will religious values find a continuing role in the public sphere, as they so obviously do in the major country whose levels of religious practice so clearly resemble those of Ireland: the United States?

DAVID W. MILLER
Carnegie Mellon University

SOPHIE LIGNON-DARMAILLAC. *Les grandes maisons du vignoble de Jerez (1834–1992)*. (Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velázquez, number 26.) Madrid: Casa de Velázquez. 2004. Pp. xiv, 567.

Documentary evidence shows that Spain began exporting sherry during the late fifteenth century, while the sherry trade with the New World and northern Europe took off after 1720. As Sophie Lignon-Darmaillac informs us in her fine monograph on the leading wine houses (*bodegas*) of the sector, wines bottled under the appellations of sherry and manzanilla had to be grown in the southwestern part of Andalusia, in the towns of Jerez de la Frontera, Puerto de Santa María, and Sanlúcar de Barrameda. From the earliest times, these fortified wines were a favorite beverage of English settlers in the province of Cádiz. Later, the British Isles and the Low Countries became the leading markets for sherry. Even so, it was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that foreign sales of sherry overtook those of its great rival, port.

Lignon-Darmaillac follows in the path of her dissertation director, Alain Huetz de Lempdes, whose seminal work, *Vignobles et vins d'Espagne*, was published in 1976. Her meticulously researched account traces the growing fortunes of the big names of sherry production, among them Pedro Domecq, González Byass, Garvey, Osborne, and Barbadillo. After the abolition of the restrictive guild, the Gremio de la Vinatería, in 1834, these “veritable dynasties” grouped around a handful of families strengthened by intermarriage, saw off many of the region’s smaller wine growers. Deprived of the necessary funds for investment, the latter succumbed to a series of crises, most memorably of all the ubiquitous phylloxera outbreak of 1894 that ravaged Andalusia’s vineyards. Meanwhile, with the aid of capital repatriated from Spain’s former empire after 1824 and 1898, the leading *bodegas* transformed themselves into giant corporations.

Yet the economic and social history of Spain’s sherry trade also had its darker side. Lignon-Darmaillac recounts such ignominious episodes as the dangerous and illegal practice of fortifying local wines with industrial alcohol imported from Germany from the late 1870s—which eventually led to the introduction of the term *denominación de origen* as a guarantee of origin—as well as the violent confrontations between the export houses and their half-starved day laborers. These events reached a dramatic climax in the anarchist invasion of Jerez de la Frontera in January 1892,

when cries of “Death to the bourgeoisie!” and “Long live the social revolution!” resonated through the streets.

Faced with surplus production of alcohol, from the early twentieth century onward, the large houses diversified into another product, brandy, which enjoyed a boom in domestic sales during the 1920s. However, the progress of the sherry trade was abruptly ended by the Spanish Civil War and World War II. Moreover, replanting those vineyards destroyed by the phylloxera epidemic proved to be a lengthy and expensive business. Not until the early 1950s did the sherry trade recover something of its former glory, with exports peaking at around 1.5 million hectoliters in 1979. The euphoric atmosphere of the 1960s and 1970s attracted a number of new names into the trade, among them the future convicted criminal, José María Ruiz-Mateos, whose vast financial conglomerate, Rumasa, was experiencing a giddy rise. When the Rumasa group collapsed in 1983, however, the writing was already on the wall for the sherry trade. The English middle classes were slaking their thirsts with so-called British sherry, much of it originating from Cyprus and South Africa. In response to the crisis, the authorities brought in two far-reaching reconversion plans in 1983 and 1991 that drastically reduced the total number of hectares planted with vines.

Finally, Lignon-Darmaillac shows how the restructuring of the industry, which required huge sums of capital in order to modernize equipment, threatened the very existence of the large houses, many of which were swallowed up by foreign multinationals. The final two decades of the last century witnessed the globalization of Spain’s sherry trade, as Andalusia’s experience mirrored that of many other wine-exporting regions. By 1992, when her story concludes, Allied Lyons had taken over the Harvey Group and held a forty-five percent stake in Domecq. International Distillers and Vintners, a subsidiary of Grand Metropolitan, controlled Croft as well as thirty percent of González Byass, while Seagrams owned Sandeman. Among the traditional houses, only Osborne remained a family-owned company.

Based on painstaking research in a number of private archives of the large *bodegas* as well as a myriad of local sources, both written and oral, Lignon-Darmaillac’s nicely written analysis offers a series of valuable insights into the closed social world of the great sherry houses of Andalusia.

JOSEPH HARRISON
University of Manchester

JOTHAM PARSONS. *The Church in the Republic: Gallicanism and Political Ideology in Renaissance France*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 322. \$59.95.

Jotham Parsons’s new study returns to the important question of the role Gallicanism played in shaping the early modern French state, a subject first raised by

eminent (but today too little read) historians such as Victor Martin, William F. Church, Pierre Blet, and Aimé-Georges Martimort. By taking seriously the often arid and arcane disputes that roiled French jurists and churchmen in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Parsons affords us an enriched and insightful perspective into how the Gallican views of each group helped to mold both the Bourbon monarchy and later opposition to it.

Gallicanism was a spectrum of ideological stances that encompassed the often competing interests of the crown, legists in the parliaments, and the French prelate. These various positions, furthermore, shifted over time in response to new challenges, not least of which were France's rivalry with the Habsburgs and the advent of French Calvinism. Parsons begins his study by examining the transformation of late medieval Gallicanism. What began as essentially an antipapal movement dedicated to the cause of church reform became after 1500 a largely humanistic enterprise to define the French monarchy's historic relationship with the Gallican Church. Whatever serious issues the crown had with Rome over governance of the Gallican Church effectively became moot as a result of the 1516 Concordat of Bologna. In this accord, Francis I and Pope Leo X jointly affirmed the principle of monarchy over and against the arguments of Gallican legists, who favored local ecclesiastical self-rule monitored by the king's sovereign courts. As a result, "erudite Gallicanism," as Parsons styles it, became even more militantly assertive in the hands of classically trained jurists, such as Guillaume Budé, Antoine Loisel, and Michel de Montaigne. It developed as a political theory that privileged customary practice and historical experience over revealed and rationally based metaphysical truth, a position that might be called "episcopal Gallicanism." At stake in the ensuing debates was nothing less than defining the future development of the early modern French polity.

Advocates of erudite Gallicanism, as argued in chapter two, saw the Gallican Church as an integral part of the historical development of the French *res publica*, thus the notion of the "Church in the Republic." Proponents of the alternative position, which its critics rather simplistically construed as "ultramontan-ism," asserted that the French polity was a divine union of church and state under the joint tutelage of the French monarchy and Roman papacy, with the crown decidedly the dominant partner. Parsons traces these contrasting ideological positions in the Wars of Religion up through Henry IV's reign and culminating in the Estates General of 1614–1615. In chapter three, building on the earlier work of Donald Kelley and Nancy Lyman Roelker and a recent study by Alain Tallon, he examines the institutional and intellectual framework of erudite Gallicanism as it developed in the hands of legal scholars and publishing circles in Paris. Coming at a time of great monarchical weakness, erudite Gallicanism essentially mounted the claim that the king's sovereign courts, by right and

historical custom, provide the best safeguard for the crown's prerogatives in church affairs against the threats posed by Leaguer rebellion, Jesuit-inspired regicide, and Tridentine reform. However, as Henry IV consolidated his power after his Catholic conversion in 1593, so he sought to distance the crown from the constraining embrace of his Gallican legists. The big question is why?

The final three chapters of the book go a long way toward answering why the crown opted in favor of episcopal rather than juridical Gallicanism. One reason concerned the jurisdictional boundaries between the king's courts, Gallican bishops, and the papacy. For example, accepting the legists' claims that the king was not subject to excommunication, as Cardinal Jacques Davy Duperron pointed out both in his polemic with King James I of England and his address to the Estates General in 1615, raised the horrifying prospect of dechristianizing the French state. In chapter five, Parsons follows the tortuous course of a series of legal suits and disputes where judges in the Parlement of Paris sought to speak on Gallican episcopal affairs. Time and again, they found their efforts thwarted by the crown. It seems diplomatic considerations, in the form of at least tacit papal support of France's anti-Habsburg policies, trumped juridical Gallicanism. Also important was the crown's growing fiscal dependence on the ready grants (*dons gratuits*) it received every five years since the 1580s from the Assembly of Clergy. As analyzed in chapter six, the Assemblies of Clergy increasingly leveraged their fiscal advantage to advance the cause of episcopal Gallicanism. Not that proponents of royal absolutism, such as Cardinal Richelieu, needed much prodding, for the personalization of royal power in a centralized administrative state shared much in common with the bishops' own views of their place in the church hierarchy.

As Parsons amply demonstrates, unlike Henrician England a century before, the early Bourbon monarchy did not need to break with Rome to achieve near total control over its territorial church and, through it, greater influence over French society as a whole. After the 1620s, legal Gallicanism gradually became the ideological redoubt of opposition to the Bourbon ecclesiological state, morphing into both parliamentary obstructionism and Jansenism. Echoing the arguments of Dale Van Kley and William Doyle, Parsons sees ensuing generations of these conservative judges and obdurate Jansenists helping a century later in the Enlightenment to undermine the ideological moorings of the Ancien Regime. In sum, this is a significant study that contributes to our ongoing quest to understand both the genesis and eventual demise of the early modern French monarchy.

MICHAEL WOLFE
Pennsylvania State University,
Altoona

ALAN JAMES. *The Navy and Government in Early Modern France, 1572–1661*. (Royal Historical Society Stud-

ies in History New Series, number 40.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 198. \$70.00.

Alan James examines the development of the early modern French navy from its nadir during the Wars of Religion until the period of its greatest strength under the guidance of Jean-Baptiste Colbert. James asserts correctly that scholarly scrutiny of the history of the French navy has suffered from an excessive focus on the contributions of Cardinal Richelieu, and from an outdated historiography that overemphasizes the disrepair and disorganization of the early modern French navy and underemphasizes its achievements. Many historians tend to measure the premodern French navy against those of the Dutch and the English and to focus on the race for supremacy in the Atlantic. This agenda, James argues, still dominates the historical debate, even though it is essentially anachronistic, thus obscuring the history of the French navy as an institution, its true accomplishments, and its role in French state building.

James strives to correct this imbalance. He argues that excessive emphasis on Richelieu or Colbert as institutional innovators is to misunderstand the real nature of their contributions to the French navy. James also contends that to focus on the Atlantic theater of war and on overseas colonies, and France's seeming failure to compete successfully with the Dutch or the English in the Atlantic, is to misunderstand fundamentally the military and foreign affairs agenda of the French crown in the early modern period. In the eyes of the French monarchy, and of officers such as Richelieu and Colbert, the struggle for supremacy in Europe was always the most important preoccupation. And in Europe, the French crown considered Spain to be its primary adversary, so that the most important theater of operations was the Mediterranean rather than the Atlantic. When it came to the Atlantic, Richelieu and his successors tended to follow the time-honored practice of aligning France's diplomatic and naval interests as closely as possible to those of either the Dutch or the English, thus allowing the French navy to benefit from the strength of these two Atlantic nations' navies.

Just as Richelieu and Colbert followed a traditional agenda in terms of where they deployed France's naval power, so, too, James argues, were they less innovative than historians have thought in how they financed and controlled the navy. Historians have credited them with unrealistically grandiose programs of institutional reform, which has resulted in an overly pessimistic assessment of their legacies in terms of naval reform as well. Rather, in James's view Richelieu and Colbert in reality innovated only minimally in how they financed and directed naval affairs, and in this respect they differed little from their predecessors and successors. Expediency and the urgent need for practical results always took precedence over grand schemes for institutional restructuring, results that these men managed to achieve through traditional methods with a higher

rate of success than most historians have realized, and against tremendous odds.

The greatest obstacle the French navy faced lay in geography. Although France possessed extensive maritime coasts, on the English Channel, the Atlantic, and the Mediterranean, its ports tended to be relatively widely spaced. The major French port cities thus developed a strong sense of regionalism and an aversion to interference from the center that the French government never managed to overcome in the early modern period. Thus royal officials seeking to marshal the resources of these ports in support of the navy had to accept more administrative and financial fragmentation than was true in more compact countries like Holland or England. That meant that only men such as Richelieu, capable of asserting strong personal control over the unruly nobles, cities, and financiers contending for control of the money destined for the navy, could hope to expand the strength of the French fleets sufficiently to meet the demands external threats and internal unrest placed upon them. This is exactly what Richelieu and others managed to do. The French navy was there for the crown when it was needed, and when it languished, it was usually because the concerns of the crown were focused elsewhere.

Although James states that he hopes to correct an excessive focus on Richelieu to the neglect of other leading naval figures who also contributed significantly to the success of the French navy, in fact the book is focused squarely on the career of Richelieu, and on Richelieu's struggles to master naval commanders, rebellious port cities, and the often less-than-competent—or honest—financiers upon whom he depended to supply the cash needed to keep the navy afloat. Still, James offers a refreshingly balanced and well-researched assessment of Richelieu's naval program, and his book comprises an interesting and valuable contribution to a much-neglected aspect of early modern French history.

GAYLE K. BRUNELLE
California State University,
Fullerton

HUBERT CARRIER. *Le Labyrinthe de l'État: Essai sur le débat politique en France au temps de la Fronde (1648–1653)*. (Bibliothèque d'histoire moderne et contemporaine, number 14.) Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur. 2004. Pp. 694. €107.00.

The title of this book comes from a *mazarinade* published in Paris in 1652. There were 5,500 such pamphlets published during the civil war of the Fronde (1648–1653), 2,000 in the year 1649 alone. Hubert Carrier has devoted his career to their study and has already published three books on them. In this one, he investigates the wide range of concepts and theories discussed in these pamphlets, asserting that they provide a window into the general political thought of the time. The title indicates the complexity and diversity of these ideas, and the intricate maze of conflicting

currents of thought expressed in the pamphlets. Carrier agrees with Hélène Duccini (*Faire voir, faire croire: L'Opinion publique sous Louis XIII* [2003]) that there was genuine public opinion and political debate during the mid-seventeenth century expressed in these *mazarinades*. He disagrees with Christian Jouhaud, who does not regard the pamphlets as a spontaneous expression of contemporary political thought but rather as a carefully engineered propaganda tool meant to manipulate public opinion and provoke political action (*Mazarinades: La fronde des Mots* [1985]). Carrier considers Jouhaud's approach more valid for the second phase of the Fronde, the revolt of the princes from 1650 to 1653, than for the first phase from 1648 to 1649, which he considers to have been a genuinely popular explosion of political ideas and debate.

Carrier has written a detailed textual analysis of the contents of all 5,500 of these *mazarinades*, using as many actual quotations as possible. Only someone with his expertise could have made such a detailed and thorough study. The first part of the book discusses currents of political thought, including attitudes toward the king, the royal family, and the monarchy; the people of France; the nature and extent of royal power; constitutionalism; the regency; the defense of absolutism; theories of aristocratic government; the ministerial problem; the *parlementaires* and judicial theories; and foreign policy. This section is about half the book, and I enjoyed it the most, which will probably be the case for many readers. Carrier is always careful to present both sides in any debate, and to indicate both mainstream and marginal opinions, a feature that should be most useful to other scholars.

Part two explores the pamphlets' discussions of economic and fiscal problems including financial abuses, tax problems, inflation, suggestions for reform, and public debt. Part three looks at social structures and attitudes as described in the *mazarinades*, including social groups of great nobles, clergy, sword and robe nobles, bourgeoisie, working classes of Paris, and peasants, and contemporary theories on a society of orders and class warfare. Carrier demonstrates a thorough knowledge of the historical literature of the period, and he puts the ideas and debates in these pamphlets into an historiographical context whenever possible.

This book is well organized, logical, precise with carefully defined terms, and frequent, excellent summaries. It covers everything that the pamphlets said on virtually every topic, and should be very useful as a reference tool for scholars interested in early modern European political thought and pamphleteering. It does not discuss the production of these pamphlets, who paid for and bought them, who wrote them, who printed and distributed them, and so forth. (Carrier has discussed production in his previous work, *La presse de la Fronde, 1648-1653* [2 vols, 1989-1991]). His current book covers only the intellectual contents of the *mazarinades*. It is not a particularly easy book to

read because of its extensive detail, but it will almost certainly become the definitive work on the subject. There is not another book that is its equal in terms of the thoroughness, extent, and precision of its coverage.

SHARON KETTERING,

Emerita

Montgomery College, Maryland

DAVID GARRIOCH. *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 382. \$34.95.

In this book, David Garrioch sets out to fill a surprising lacuna in anglophone historiography on France. The past quarter-century has seen a burgeoning specialized literature on the city of Paris in the eighteenth century, exploring every aspect of its urban geography, social life, and political history in the run-up to and during the French Revolution. Yet so far there has been no survey or synthesis of such writing for a wider English-speaking audience. Garrioch, who has already contributed two important monographs to the recent historiography, would seem to be the ideal candidate to fill the gap. In many ways, his book succeeds admirably in its aims. There can be few historians who possess Garrioch's command of the Parisian archives, or who have made so thorough a study of the vast and growing secondary literature on the city. His synthesis of these sources is presented in unfailingly concise and elegant prose, accompanied by a wealth of apt illustrations and photographs. This work will serve for years to come as an effective launching pad for further research. At the same time, however, readers who are expecting a major statement on the role of Paris in the origins and development of the French Revolution may well be disappointed. For after what appears to be a long wind-up pointing in just this direction, Garrioch's book reaches curiously cautious and equivocal conclusions, that fall short of the title's promise.

Garrioch's introduction raises high expectations. In it, he vows to address "an old paradox": "How could Paris have produced the revolution that took place there? . . . How could a metropolis with low rates of violence and apparent political passivity have led an upheaval that would transform Europe?" (p. 4). The answer, he insists, requires a longer view than that afforded by beginning with the "pre-Revolution" of the 1780s, or even the now conventional focus on the political storms of the 1750s. The book's argument thus unfolds across three roughly chronological sections, encompassing the entire eighteenth century. The four chapters of the first offer a synchronic description of "The Social Order of Customary Paris" early in the century. Garrioch's first chapter is a small tour de force, moving from vivid evocation of the sounds, smells, and sights of the city to a memorable description of what remained for most of its inhabitants an intensely face-to-face, hierarchical, and customary social world. From this phenomenological starting point, Garrioch turns to an analysis of the social hierarchy of

Paris, starting at the indigent bottom, where he places a particular emphasis on the distinction between the "known" and the "unknown" poor; then turning to the laboring classes, where the focus is their corporate organization and the stresses it underwent in the course of the century; and finally to the urban elites, divided between a nobility whose relation to the city remained ambiguous, and a steadily growing bourgeoisie with a far stronger subjective attachment to it.

Although there are some hints of the turmoil to come—increasing numbers of artisanal strikes, the famous beating visited on the young Voltaire by aristocratic thugs—Garrioch stresses that early eighteenth-century Paris was a generally stable, if by no means static, society. What then upset this equilibrium? When did Paris begin to turn "revolutionary"? The middle section of the book, "City Government and Popular Discontent," shifts to the second quarter of the century and two different signs of incipient friction between the Bourbon monarchy and its capital city. On the one hand, there were the infrastructural challenges of provisioning, governing, and policing what was by far the largest urban population in Europe, where the monarchy's efforts at modernization could provoke episodes of popular paranoia like the "vanishing children" scare of 1749–1750. On the other hand, the monarchy's behavior on the ideological plane was itself surprisingly retrograde: Garrioch calls upon his unparalleled knowledge of the Faubourg Saint-Marcel to provide a marvelous account of the court's heedless and self-destructive efforts to stamp out the Jansenist heterodoxy.

The combined result of this mid-century turmoil was a novel "politicization" of both the popular and middle classes of Paris, with consequences that Garrioch then explores in the third and longest part of his book. The first five chapters of "Making a New Rome" are formally thematic, yet they soon acquire a narrative thrust, as the Bourbon monarchy begins to skid toward revolution. First, there are the famous scandals of the 1750s and 1760s, from the Damiens assassination attempt to the climax of parliamentary obstructionism in the Maupeou "coup"—the Parisian hammer blows that contributed so much to the "desacralization" of the monarchy. This ominous perceptual shift was accompanied by a striking "secularization" of the city, described in the succeeding chapter, which resulted in declining numbers of priests and a loosening grip of parishes over urban life by the 1770s and 1780s. From there, Garrioch turns to the monarchy's final efforts at Enlightenment-inspired urban renewal, which, by the 1780s, seemed to result only in widespread charges of "despotism." Chapter ten, "The Integration of the City," is another tour de force, describing the acceleration, in the last decades of the century, of the economic and cultural processes that rendered Paris a far more unified city than it had ever been before, under the sway of a single Parisian "public sphere." The "integration" of Paris was far from complete, however. Garrioch's account of the making of a "new

Rome" concludes with analysis of the gap that had now begun to open up between the two urban cultures that dominated Parisian life at the end of the century: the new bourgeois or "metropolitan," and the "plebeian" offspring of popular, customary culture. The tension between the two was vividly displayed in the "Réveillon" riots of April 1789, which shook Paris even as the delegates to the Estates General began to assemble at Versailles.

Having brought readers to the brink of the revolution, however, the narrative advance of the book suddenly stops, without climax or conclusion. The final chapter is entitled "The City and the Revolution," but its argument serves chiefly to drive a puzzling wedge between the two. There is no doubt, Garrioch insists, that the historical evolution described in the book was somehow necessary for the revolution: "It was only in such a place, already a locus of social, economic, and political experimentation, a city unlike any other in Europe, that revolution could have taken place in the form that it did" (p. 302). Necessary, but wholly insufficient, apparently. For the great *journées* of July and October 1789, July 1791, and August 1792 were all, according to Garrioch, the improvisations of an unprecedented moment, inexplicable in terms of the historical developments of the century that preceded them. Can it really be case that the forcible relocation of the court to Paris in 1789, or the violent overthrow of the monarchy itself in 1792, had so little to do with the historical evolution meticulously reconstructed by Garrioch? If so, then the book would seem to be either mistitled or unfinished—a problem compounded rather resolved by its brief epilogue, whose fast-forward glimpse of Paris in 1800 provides further evidence for thinking that revolutionary Paris was an entirely a creation of the 1790s.

Explanatory caution is always to be respected, especially in a synthetic work covering so much ground, and, above all, on territory that has been a graveyard for so much historiographic hubris. Yet there are signs that more may be at work here than modesty and circumspection. In his introduction, Garrioch reminds us that eighteenth-century Paris was both "the capital of an absolutist state" and the headquarters of the Enlightenment. Yet neither of these facts acquires the salience one might expect in his account of what rendered Paris quite so revolutionary in the course of the century. In fact, the uninitiated reader might fail to grasp that Bourbon absolutism had actually abandoned its capital city after 1683, an historic retreat that is certainly one key to grasping the evolution of French politics in the eighteenth century. Meanwhile, the symbolism of Voltaire's expulsion from Paris in his youth is explored by Garrioch, but not that of his triumphant return to the city in his old age. The Paris of the philosophes, of Denis Diderot and the salons, the "kingless capital of the Enlightenment," in Colin Jones's happy phrase, is not missing from this book, but neither is it granted any independent explanatory force in the "making" of the title. Of course, no book

can do everything, and Garrioch warns his readers at the start that "This also is a local history, not a national or even a regional one" (p. 7). One can well understand his reluctance to attempt both a reliable survey of eighteenth Paris and a new, Paris-centered account of the origins of the French Revolution, giving due weight to both the political involution of late Bourbon absolutism and the Enlightenment. Having accomplished the first of these tasks with panache, however, no historian is better suited or placed than Garrioch to tackle the second. If we are lucky enough to get the sequel, it will be well worth the wait.

JOHNSON KENT WRIGHT
Arizona State University

NICHOLAS PAPAYANIS. *Planning Paris before Haussmann*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 336. \$55.00.

Georges-Eugène Haussmann had ideas about the city, but these were not expressed as ideas but as projects. There is thus an enormous difference between those who imagined the city before him and his making of the city. He knew about the Saint-Simonians, for example. His favorite bankers, the Pereire brothers, were Saint-Simonians. But Haussmann's conceptualization of the city, for example the act of incorporation, was not about ideas, it was about income and order. This is the case with almost all his urban projects. He spoke of the parks as the lungs of the city, but he built them more because Louis Napoleon wanted them. Hygiene was of primary importance, but everyone had that idea. Ditto for streets. There was no one who thought about the city at the time who failed to realize that something had to be done about movement. Nicholas Papayanis's thesis is something of a nonthesis. Many thought about Paris before Haussmann, and many afterward. But he built it, and his adoption of earlier ideas was quite limited. It should also be noted that there is a political dimension. Those who most thought about the city were on the Left; they wanted a republican city, but at best they were outside the government and had to depend on their publications to influence things. There is a sharp break between words and deeds. Papayanis tends to put them in the same register, as if there were some direct connection between what was thought and what was built.

In a sense the comparisons with Haussmann, whether direct or implied, have much of the apples and oranges about them. He never wrote anything about city planning. His pamphlets on water were a contemporary polemic and hardly a treatise on urbanization. It is not at all clear that he read many of the treatises Papayanis analyzes. He was an administrator of genius, and his mind was fundamentally manipulative. He showed, in no area of his life or intellectual activity, any interest in the imagination. The sole exception to this seems to have been his interest in music, although here, too, his taste appears to have been conventional.

Haussmann was a man through whose mind ran all the intellectual currents of the day, usually in some watered down, popularized form. If he was a big reader it is not apparent from his *Mémoires*, nor are there literary allusions in his prose. He wrote dull but clear reports (and they were the kind he appreciated). The few poems he wrote as a young man are without inspiration, rhyming clusters of conventional thoughts and emotions (about walking in the mountains for example, or imitating the conventions of a pastoral). He took his urban ideas from life rather than study. The importance of Bordeaux is an excellent example; there he saw the work of Tourny. Haussmann did not like architects and was much happier working with engineers, presumably men who thought in practical terms as he did. He spoke of his aesthetic interests, but they were quite banal.

What he did with Paris—and one must always remember that he had no power except that which came from Louis Napoleon—was to regularize it. Part of the charm and grandeur of Paris is its regularity. All problems were reduced to formulae in Haussmann's administration, and this was noticed and continues to be noticed by those who deplore his monotonous city. (Papayanis reproduces photos of "monotonous" sections in his book, i.e. the rue St. Antoine.)

Of course Haussmann borrowed or was influenced by all those who came before him. He did not appear in some vacuum. What Papayanis makes clear is that everyone who thought about it, from the time of Voltaire at least—even the kings who tried for so long to control the growth of the city—is that something had to be done about Paris. The medieval city was unhealthy, inconvenient, dangerous, stinking, and overcrowded. These problems, already quite apparent in the eighteenth century, only became more so with time. Added to the difficulties of Paris was the revolutionary activity in the city. It had become dangerous in a much more general way than the individual mugging or theft.

It is no revelation that Papayanis tells us all the obvious: Haussmann's work was foreshadowed. The point is that by the time he was given the job and the power, there was a long heritage of thinking about the city. Anyone who worked on Paris would have been the beneficiary of this tradition. In addition, much of this tradition—straight streets, for example—is so obvious that it is silly to attempt to establish some influence between what Haussmann did and what some predecessor wrote.

Haussmann and Louis Bonaparte were exceptionally well matched. Neither was original, they were repositories, or perhaps the better metaphor is collectors, of the intellectual, artistic, social, and economic, currents of their day. The major difference is that Louis Bonaparte had more of the romantic, he was a dreamer, his ideas were vague, his thinking often clouded by enthusiasms. He was not a doer in the sense of Haussmann. Thus did they complement each other. And if Haussmann was the man who made it work, he

could not have done so without Louis's backing and support. As soon as it was withdrawn, Haussmann fell.

Some see Haussmann as a representative figure, able to express many of the values of his age. This characterization cuts both ways: he was the creator or the destroyer of Paris. Some see him as the instrument of Louis Napoleon's urban ideas, however confused these might have been. Some see him as the perhaps unconscious borrower of others' ideas (or less delicately, as a cannibal). The late Papayanis, who sadly did not live to see his book published, saw him as the last.

Is there another bureaucrat who has been as studied as Haussmann? None comes to mind. After a long eclipse, part of the fallout of the abysmal end of the Second Empire, he has had champions and detractors in almost every generation. In the last few decades we have seen the apotheosis of a centenary exhibition in Paris, a number of books and specialized studies, and even the reissue of his ponderous and self-serving three volumes of *Mémoires*. Although Haussmann is not the direct subject of this book, he is the *eminence grise* whose accomplishments provide the author with his thesis and his research agenda.

DAVID P. JORDAN
University of Illinois,
Chicago

MARY GLUCK. *Popular Bohemia: Modernism and Urban Culture in Nineteenth-Century Paris*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 224. \$35.00.

Mary Gluck had the difficult task of writing this book under the long shadow cast by Jerrold Seigel's magisterial history *Bohemian Paris: Culture, Politics, and the Boundaries of Bourgeois Life, 1830–1930* (1985). She distinguishes her effort from his more overtly sociological treatment, as well as from Elizabeth Wilson's more recent *Bohemians: The Glamorous Outcasts* (2000), by stressing "the symbolic spaces where modernism meets bohemia" (p. 8). Several perceptive essays cumulatively demonstrate that urban popular culture was inseparable from the varying presentations of self that constituted bohemia. Gluck argues that bohemian modernists did not retreat into their private psyches, and in contrast to Seigel she stresses their relationship with popular rather than bourgeois culture. She admits that this "is not particularly original" (p. 2), and pays some obeisance to postmodern appreciation of popular cultural forms. In fact, Wilson makes both these points, though her book does not focus exclusively on France.

An introductory chapter lays out the argument connecting bohemianism, popular culture, and modernism. This is followed by three chapters of roughly forty pages each, dealing in turn with romantic bohemians of the 1830s, realists and flâneurs at midcentury, and decadents in the 1870s and 1880s. A final, briefer chapter focuses on turn-of-the-century primitivism, the last two pages of which constitute a brief conclusion.

Illustrations comprise thirty-four of the 187 pages of text. The brief introductory chapter and lack of a concluding one suggest that the strength of the book lies not in its theoretical premises but in the various discursive contexts Gluck develops to elucidate how bohemians evolved over these twenty-year intervals. In a note to chapter one, she casually dismisses theorists who seek to distinguish "modernism" from the "avant-garde," and both concepts are sometimes elided with bohemia, so that non-bohemian modernists (e.g. Stéphane Mallarmé) have no place here.

Gluck begins with the battle over Victor Hugo's play *Hernani* (1830), and maintains that popular melodrama inspired the heroic self-image of the young romantics. She contrasts this form of popular theater with the more staid and bourgeois Comédie-Vaudeville, and claims that Théophile Gautier's famous argument in favor of art for art's sake was not meant as a defense of elitist high culture but rather celebrated popular and commercial culture.

If the theater formed the main discursive context of the romantics, then journalism shaped the succeeding generation. Gluck focuses almost entirely on the persona of the flâneur in this chapter, and contrasts the colorful romantic bohemians with the self-effacing dandies who nearly blended in with the bourgeois they were parodying. Her exclusive focus on Baudelairean urban observers and "physiologists" who dissected the multitude of urban types leads her to exclude not only Henri Murger (who is termed a "sentimental" bohemian, in contrast to Gautier's ironic stance) but Gustave Courbet, who was certainly both a realist and a bohemian. Nor does Gluck relate the flâneur to the transformation of Paris under Georges-Eugène Haussmann (his name is even misspelled on p. 100, where she claims Charles Baudelaire disdained the urban renewal project).

Despite the title of the book, this is much more a history of bohemians than of bohemia; one rarely encounters much geographical specificity. In the next chapter, on the decadents of the 1880s, we do meet the Hydropathes of the Latin Quarter and then migrate to the Chat Noir of Rodolphe Salis and Émile Goudeau in Montmartre, but the bulk of the chapter focuses instead on Jean-Martin Charcot and his performances of hysteria. Gluck makes some suggestive connections between Charcot, Montmartre poet-performers, and J. K. Huysmans's arch-decadent character Des Esseintes. Hysteria, she argues, functioned as a template for cabaret artists performing their inner dramas in public, and she notes the surrealists' appreciation of Charcot's hysterics as further evidence of their modernist impact. Gluck's close focus on one theme means she minimizes other contemporary currents. She comments that Huysmans's novel parodied naturalism, "which had become emptied of creative energy by the 1880s" (p. 158), though this was the same year in which Émile Zola published *Germinal*. She claims that the bohemian cabaret scene was also in decline as early as 1885, the year the Chat Noir ceremonially moved to

larger quarters. The old locale was taken over by Aristide Bruant, one of many cabaret performers who sang of the lower classes in argot. Although Gluck argues that the cabaret declined because the performers had “no grounds in everyday experience” (p. 149), Montmartre bohemia remained vital (and politically radical) at least until the mid-1890s.

Gluck has interesting things to say about Primitivist escape from Paris bohemian life, in particular that most, including Paul Gauguin, first encountered the primitive not overseas but right in Paris. True “exots” (Victor Segalen’s term) distinguished themselves from tourists and colonial administrators, much as would later hippie travelers. Her claim that primitivism ended by World War I might have surprised Michel Leiris and the surrealists in the interwar years.

Neither a synoptic history of bohemia nor a detailed study of the origins of modernism, Gluck’s book does reveal nineteenth-century discourses that shaped bohemian responses to modernity. Modernism met modernity in part via bohemia.

RICHARD D. SONN
University of Arkansas

DAVID SKUY. *Assassination, Politics, and Miracles: France and the Royalist Reaction of 1820*. Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen’s University Press. 2003. Pp. viii, 301.

The task that David Skuy attempts in this work about the reaction to the assassination of the duke of Berry on February 13, 1820, and the birth of his son seven months later is to explore “how the assassination and the miracle birth merged with the political, social, and philosophical developments in French history to effect radical change in the course of the French Restoration” (p. 14). He wants to contrast his contention of the primacy of royalist reaction to Pierre Rosanvallon’s *La Monarchie impossible: Les chartes de 1814 et 1830* (1994), wherein Rosanvallon asserts that it was inherent weaknesses in the Charter of 1814 that spelled inevitable doom for the Restoration, and to Sheryl Kroen’s *Politics and Theatre: Crisis of Legitimacy in Restoration France, 1815–1830* (2000), which argues that the general population never accepted the Bourbon regime as a legitimate political authority. Both Rosanvallon and Kroen see the demise of the Restoration as rooted in its very beginning, whereas Skuy wants to place it in the royalist reaction of 1820. Skuy asserts that the royalist reaction made Louis XVIII’s policy of *union et oubli* fail. His key sources are the illustrations of these events and personages, plus some archival work in Isère and Haute Garonne.

Skuy divides the royalist reaction into three periods: panic about possible civil unrest, with the solution being new laws that restricted liberty and the press; debate over a revision of the electoral law that would give the top twenty-five percent of the voters two votes; and the period from the passage of the new Law of the Double Vote until the deputy elections in November 1820, when the government and the royalists won “the

destruction of the liberal opposition and a dramatic and widespread public acceptance of the Bourbon regime” (p. 19). He addresses these three phases twice, once thematically and once chronologically. First, the thematic approach covers the electoral system and its weaknesses, then the role of conspiracies in French politics, and ends with a discussion of the political philosophies of the era and their adherents. The chronology chapters cover February, when Élie Decazes was replaced by the duke of Richelieu as first minister and the initial shock weathered; March–April, when the laws restricting habeas corpus and re-instituting press censorship were passed; May–June, when the debate on the new electoral law and the importance of appeals to public order took place, and finally August–November, which witnessed written accusations of Decazes’s involvement in the Berry conspiracy, new conspiracies, the birth of the duke of Bordeaux, and finally the triumph of the royalists in the November elections. Skuy omits any mention of events from June 12 until August 12.

This book suffers from a number of serious problems. Most important, Skuy does not delve deeply into any of his issues. He skims over conspiracy theories, political philosophies, electoral laws and results, and the role of illustrations in molding public opinion. He overstates conclusions (e.g. p. 19 on his main thesis, and pp. 149 and 212 on the Berry and Chambord subscriptions). He never addresses key issues to demonstrate his thesis (e. g. since Decazes had already drafted the essence of the three Exceptional Laws prior to the duke’s assassination, would these have passed even without it?) Skuy continually uses the word “campaign” in discussing the regime’s efforts to mold public opinion, even using the word “media” to describe various forms of communication. However, he never shows how the regime controlled the production of the thousands of illustrations that were produced in 1820 and beyond.

Skuy’s most in-depth work is on the use of illustrations to mold public opinion, but his conclusions seem obvious or irrelevant (see his discussion of feminism, pp. 220–25). Skuy is sloppy in his historiographical work. For example, he cites the work of this reviewer, but he reverses the findings on voter turnout for the elections of 1817–1819 from large to small (p. 40). Also, how can one focus on Haute Garonne and fail to list Robert Forster’s works on Toulouse in the bibliography? There are some fascinating possibilities in the royalist reaction of 1820 concerning people’s responses to traumatic events that might help us understand our own reactions to more recent political turmoil, but unfortunately such insights are not forthcoming in this book.

THOMAS BECK
Pacific University

SUDHIR HAZAREESINGH. *The Saint-Napoleon: Celebrations of Sovereignty in Nineteenth-Century France*. Cam-

bridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 307. \$49.95.

France's first national holiday originated in the pious afterglow of the Concordat. In 1804, Neopolis, a (probably bogus) Roman martyr, was canonized as Saint-Napoleon, and August 15, the feast of the Assumption, was designated the day to venerate this patron saint of warriors. Since August 15 happened to be the birthday of the newly minted emperor, the festival of Saint-Napoleon was created "to cultivate the image of Napoleon Bonaparte as a ruler who was true to the Catholic faith" (p. 5), but reduced to a clandestine affair among ardent Bonapartists after Waterloo. In February 1852, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte revived it as a state-sponsored event in order to (as the official decree put it) "bring together all minds in a common sentiment of national glory" (p. 22). The eighteen annual celebrations of the Saint-Napoleon held throughout France between 1852 and 1869 are the subject of this excellent short book by Sudhir Hazareesingh.

"Despite their symbolic richness and political complexity," Hazareesingh states, "the civic festivities of the Second Empire and the Napoleonic culture in which they were embedded were long exercised from French collective memory" (p. 11). In his hands, however, they reveal much about the reestablishment and transformation of Bonapartism. For example: the *Medaille de Sainte-Hélène*, which "helped turn August 15 into a cult of Napoleonic tradition, especially in provincial and rural France" (p. 74). Beginning in 1857, some 390,000 bronze medals (adorned with the profile of Bonaparte wearing a laurel wreath) were distributed by the government to honor the old soldiers who wore them, suspended from a green and red ribbon, to march in the Saint-Napoleon parades.

The Republican leader Léon Gambetta reviled Bonapartism as "a forgery of democracy" and reminded the regime that its birth (the coup d'état of December 2, 1851) was a crime. Hazareesingh, by contrast, prefers to look for links and continuity between the participatory civic order and institutions the Second Empire established, particularly at the local level, during the 1860s and the subsequent stability achieved by the Third Republic. The military display associated with Bastille Day since its establishment in 1880, he argues, was inherited from the prior celebration of Saint-Napoleon. Consistent here with what he has argued in other recent works, he challenges us to rethink received ideas about the political history of nineteenth-century France.

The product of research in twenty-two departmental archives and the National Archives, this book shows a keen eye for novelistic anecdotes: the case of a veteran of the 1812 Russian campaign who sought a medal but lacked proper documentation of his service (p. 85) is right out of Balzac, while the disputes between mayors and priests over ceremonial precedence almost every August 15 (p. 166) resemble the 1930s world of

Gabriel Chevallier's fictional *Clochemerle*. The book includes a number of well-chosen illustrations; my only quibble is that Hazareesingh fails to use this visual evidence to full advantage.

ROBERT BEZUCHA
Amherst College

SUZANNE K. KAUFMAN, *Consuming Visions: Mass Culture and the Lourdes Shrine*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 255. \$34.95.

For nearly a century and a half, the French Pyrenean village of Lourdes has welcomed a steady stream of pilgrims and tourists from around the world, all drawn to the famous grotto where, in 1858, the fourteen-year-old peasant girl Bernadette Soubirous claimed to have had several visions of the Virgin Mary. The majority of visitors now, as a hundred years ago, are desperately ill, seeking to avail themselves of what they believe to be the miraculous healing powers of the waters that bubble up from the spring outside the grotto. But the town of Lourdes itself seems to belie its sacred status. The streets are lined with "countless piety shops selling bottled Lourdes water, mass-produced religious articles, and an enormous variety of novelty items—from shrine T-shirts to Mother-of-God bottle openers" (p. 1). This seeming contradiction—the jarring juxtaposition of the sacred and the profane—lies at the heart of Suzanne K. Kaufman's fascinating and thought-provoking book.

Kaufman argues that the rampant commercialism associated with the shrine since the late nineteenth century was neither a debasement of Catholicism nor simply a strategy employed by an embattled church hierarchy to boost the shrine's popularity. Instead, she maintains that "the remaking of Catholic devotional activities within an emerging commercial culture produced distinctly modern forms of popular religiosity, innovative practices that offered new opportunities as well as issues of contention" (p. 4). Kaufman rejects Emile Durkheim's assertion of the ontological separation of the sacred and the profane, insisting instead that this dichotomy emerged out of particular political and cultural circumstances. Thus, the "intermixing" of commerce and religiosity that characterized Lourdes was not a sign of advancing secularism but rather a modern phenomenon that produced "a profoundly contemporary shrine" (p. 18). The thousands of trinkets, picture postcards, medals, and bottles of Lourdes water did not undermine religion but rather "enlivened the experience of Catholic pilgrimage for many believers," offering the devout (especially women, who constituted the vast majority of visitors) "new possibilities for connecting with the sacred" (p. 13). Lourdes was nothing less than the new face of Catholicism in an age of consumerism and mass culture.

The emergence of Lourdes in the 1870s as France's first mass national pilgrimage site and the attendant burgeoning of the town's religious tourism industry provoked widespread controversy, most predictably

among anticlerical republicans. Journalists and politicians decried the “frenzied, irrational” and “hysterical” (p. 78) atmosphere at the pilgrimage site and deplored the shrine’s violation of what they saw as the fundamental opposition between reactionary religion and modern capitalism. Moreover, the spectacle of thousands of women journeying by train to the shrine and immersing themselves in the hubbub of religious commerce disturbed republicans who aimed to isolate religious practice in a feminine, private, and thus politically impotent realm.

The critique of Lourdes voiced by Catholics reveals a similar discomfort with the conflation of religion and commerce. Like their anticlerical counterparts, Catholic critics lashed out at the “‘ignorant’ masses,” especially women, who succumbed too easily to “commercialized forms of worship” (p. 82). They contrasted the debased commercial atmosphere at Lourdes with an idealized, purer form of spirituality rooted in peasant worship practices “free from the depredations of commerce” (p. 82). Clerical defenders of the shrine were caught in a dilemma: while fearing that the ever growing commercialization of the site detracted from its sacred purpose, they well understood that the astonishing popularity of Lourdes was in large part the direct result of the blending of religion and commerce. Refusing to condemn commercialized religion wholesale, they found themselves distinguishing between legitimate modern religious products and forms of devotion and the illegitimate economic exploitation of the site and its visitors. So eager were they to justify Lourdes in modern terms that they developed an elaborate system of authenticating miracle cures that involved certification by multiple licensed doctors. That this process met with widespread incredulity and ridicule from the majority of the medical community does not negate the striking facts that administrators felt compelled to seek the imprimatur of modern science and that they had enough support to be able to claim to have won that endorsement.

This is a sophisticated, erudite, and provocative study of one of the world’s most enduringly popular modern sites of Christian worship. In arguing for the transformative character of the shrine’s amalgamation of spirituality and commerce, Kaufman offers a compelling explanation for its longevity and for the ever-growing market for mass-produced religious objects even today. Refusing to condescend to her subjects, in particular the thousands of desperate women who made their often painful way to the shrine, Kaufman has produced an important book that will be of great interest not just to historians of France but to anyone interested in the role of religion in the modern world.

KATRIN SCHULTHEISS
University of Illinois,
Chicago

JAMES SMITH ALLEN. *Poignant Relations: Three Modern French Women*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 270. \$42.50.

In this book, James Smith Allen analyzes the works of three nineteenth and early twentieth-century French women writers to address larger issues of feminism, literary production, and modernity. Although the three figures—Marie-Sophie Leroyer de Chantepie (1800–1888), Geneviève Bréton-Vaudoyer (1849–1918), and Céline Renooz-Muro (1840–1928)—are little known today, Allen maintains that they represent an important gesture of feminism; that is, they wrote to construct meaningful lives that included agency, independence, and a critique of social and cultural constraints on women. None of these women identified herself as a feminist, but, according to Allen, they articulated “traces of feminist consciousness” in their discursive renderings of subjects vitally important to them: namely, marital, familial, sexual, and religious or scientific relationships.

The book begins with extensive literature reviews of feminist scholarship, women’s history, and literary theory. Allen is familiar with just about all of the scholarship relevant to his subject; indeed, the scholarly apparatus that he so conscientiously deploys almost overwhelms his own, original contribution to it. The works of Joan W. Scott and Michel Foucault especially influenced him in terms of thinking about these three women’s writings as configurations of identity within a vast field of asymmetric and varied relations of power. Allen argues that despite their obscurity, perhaps even because of it, the lives and writings of Leroyer, Bréton, and Renooz contribute to a better understanding of how middle-class French women challenged patriarchy. He occasionally borders on essentialism when he suggests an inherent or forced similarity of feminine sensibilities—for example when he refers to “the special nature of women’s creative endeavor” (p. 2)—but he is too careful a historian to stray far from the specific historical conditions of women’s writing in nineteenth-century France, and the individual characters of his subjects.

Each of the three chapters devoted to one of the women reveals Allen’s thorough research and sensitive analysis of printed and manuscript documentation. Allen draws affecting portraits of these most ordinary and deeply emotional lives. Leroyer was a provincial landowner who resided in or around Angers her entire life. She managed three houses, several farms, and a large number of extended family members, friends, and servants, although she never married. Allen presents Leroyer as a complex figure, impatient with the narrowness of provincial life, adhering to a romantic and spiritual ideal of virtue, aspiring to literary achievement, and devoted to her many dependents. These often contradictory features revealed themselves in Leroyer’s extensive correspondence with successful authors like George Sand and Gustave Flaubert, and in other works that traversed the boundaries of fiction, criticism, history, and autobiography. According to Allen, Leroyer’s life was her devotion—to art, family, region, and idealism. And this independent

self-consciousness manifested itself in writings that defied genre classification.

By contrast, Bréton lived in the artistic and literary hub of Paris and traveled frequently. For her, as for Leroyer, relationships figured prominently in her life and writings, including the loss of her fiancé, the artist Henri Regnault, in the Franco-Prussian War, her unhappy marriage to Alfred Vaudoyer, and her second son Jean-Louis Vaudoyer's successful career in letters. Bréton wrote her sorrows, fears, frustrations, thoughts, and artistic judgments into mostly private letters and diaries, the latter recently published in both French and English (edited by Allen). Although outwardly conforming to behavior appropriate for a woman of her class, Bréton constructed a critical and independent identity through her writing, according to Allen.

Renooz was the only one of the three to embrace a public life, although she, too, eschewed organized feminism. After leaving her unfaithful and peripatetic husband, she took her four children to Paris, where she pursued independent study of science. In 1897 she founded the Neosophic Society, a group that challenged empiricism as the basis of science and developed an epistemological alternative in feminine, intuitive understanding. Renooz disseminated her ideas in numerous publications and lectures, and she was ridiculed by the press and established scientists. However, Allen sees her critique of science as a forerunner of contemporary feminist thought that deconstructs the masculine assumptions underlying the very language of reasoned discourse and suggests alternative epistemologies, like the work of Hélène Cixous, Julia Kristeva, and Luce Irigaray.

Adopting a capacious and inclusive definition of feminism, Allen contends that Leroyer, Bréton, and Renooz are feminists and moderns because they enacted independent identities, agency, and self-consciousness in writing. He also suggests, as have other historians, that French feminism was distinctive in its more literary than political orientation, particularly in contrast to Anglo-American feminism's suffrage movements. This book is a thoughtful addition to existing scholarship on feminism and women's history, and the three nineteenth-century women could find no better biographer than Allen.

WHITNEY WALTON
Purdue University

GONZALO J. SÁNCHEZ, JR. *Pity in Fin-de-Siècle French Culture: Liberté, Egalité, Pitié*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2004. Pp. x, 318.

The concept of pity, according to Gonzalo J. Sánchez, Jr., was at the heart of the quest of intellectuals in fin-de-siècle France for a theory of justice and morality appropriate to the recently established secular republic. The author takes up this theme through the close reading of an impressive selection of texts from philosophers, educators, and novelists, focusing on the period from 1880 to 1914. Sánchez opens with a

prologue that reviews the debate over pity between its critics in the seventeenth century and its defenders in the eighteenth. For François de la Rochefoucauld, pity was a self-serving sentiment rather than an ally of virtue; for René Descartes it was a "a form of sadness that is passive and non-instrumental . . . the self-love of the weak" (p. 15). A century later, for Denis Diderot and the philosophes involved with the *Encyclopédie*, pity had become "a universal, natural, and humane passion facilitating intrasocial goodness," a tradition brought to its fullest statement in the work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (pp. 17–18), and elaborated by the Romantics, such as Alphonse Lamartine, Jules Michelet, and Victor Hugo.

In the middle years of the nineteenth century, the official philosophy of Victor Cousin offered an alternative path to morality through disinterest rather than pity. According to Sánchez, threats to the social and intellectual order at the end of the century provoked a recentering of moral philosophy around pity as a way to solve the problems of "living together and knowing together" (p. 45). Sánchez divides the body of his work into three main sections, opening with extended discussions of a number of moral philosophers, most of them associated with the Académie des sciences morales et politiques. In part two he places pity within a number of disparate debates in French intellectual and political life: the French reception of Arthur Schopenhauer and Friedrich Nietzsche, the Solidarity movement and the Dreyfus affair, and secondary education for women. Sánchez concludes with readings of a wide range of fin-de-siècle novelists, including naturalists such as the Goncourts and Emile Zola, the Catholic writers Paul Bourget and Léon Bloy, and Marcel Proust and Pierre Loti.

Many of Sánchez's observations on his chosen texts are sensitive and astute. In his discussion of Alfred Fouillée, for example, Sánchez illuminates an important effort to define sentiments as cognitive and volitional, thereby raising their philosophical status and opening the way for pity to assume a role in moral discourse. In Sánchez's reading of Proust, pity is "an instrument and reward of our emotional education, not a spur or consequence of acts" (p. 252), a comment that suggests an interesting development from some of the more instrumental analyses developed by philosophers of the Third Republic. Sánchez intersperses his comments with extensive quotations from his texts, so that readers can measure his interpretations against their own.

Sánchez's book is, however, also frustrating and at times opaque. While the opening and closing sections on philosophy and literature generally cohere, the middle chapters seem both selective and arbitrary. As a stylist, Sánchez is sometimes drawn to arcane language, with no advantage to the reader, as when he chooses "eleemosynary" over "charitable" (p. 143). More serious, however, is the slight treatment of context, despite Sánchez's recognition that the rediscovery of pity was based on an assessment of a moral

crisis. The church-state conflict over education, and in particular the heated debate over the possibility of a secular rather than a religious morality, are never directly addressed. The virtual absence of this political context distorts our understanding of the work of the intellectuals in question, whose ideas were part of a battle going on that Sánchez seems to be aware of but does not take into account. For this dimension, readers might consult Phyllis Stock-Morton, *Moral Education for a Secular Society: The Development of Morale Laïque in Nineteenth Century France* (1988), a book not included in Sánchez's bibliography. In his chapter on women's education, Sánchez misses the fundamental work of Jo Burr Margadant, *Madame le Professeur: Women Educators in the Third Republic* (1990). Even within the domain of intellectual history, Sánchez is not fully persuasive, for he never gives those who fall outside of the "pity tradition," in particular those associated with "solidarism," a full hearing. Sánchez's book introduces the reader to an intriguing set of ideas but left me unclear about how much weight to give them in thinking about the history of the Third Republic.

THOMAS KSELMAN
University of Notre Dame

MICHAEL SEIDMAN. *The Imaginary Revolution: Parisian Students and Workers in 1968*. (International Studies in Social History.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2004. Pp. x, 310. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$24.95.

The uprisings of May 1968 in France are now ancient history, according to most undergraduates, and therefore fertile ground for historical analysis. In this book Michael Seidman offers a detailed and richly researched overview of the student and worker movements of that eventful spring. His work constitutes a useful, informative alternative to the two kinds of studies that still dominate writing on May 1968: journalistic accounts written shortly after the fact, and nostalgic retrospectives penned by and addressed to the "1968 generation." Unfortunately, Seidman's impressive command of historical detail is not matched by his conceptualization of the events of May. In arguing against the idea of May 1968 as revolutionary, he concentrates most of his attention on what it was not, contributing regrettably few insights to explaining what it was.

The book takes a chronological approach to the May movement, starting with an analysis of French student life and the rise of revolutionary student movements during the 1960s. Seidman gives an excellent summary of the complex situation at Nanterre, as well as the (often neglected) turmoil in the dormitories at nearby Antony. He then follows the movement from Nanterre to the Sorbonne and national prominence, detailing the occupation of the Latin Quarter and the street fighting that erupted there by the end of the first week of May. From chronicling the student insurgency in Paris the book moves to exploring the workers' revolt,

which created the largest strike movement in French history and threatened to topple the Fifth Republic, ending with an analysis of Charles De Gaulle's success in restoring the status quo.

A word about the use of historical sources is in order here. Seidman has profited from the recent declassification of French state documents on May 1968, consulting a wide variety of official materials. Most notably, he makes abundant use of police reports, adding a new dimension to our knowledge of the events of May. Seidman also thoroughly explores press and journalistic accounts, as well as the pamphlets and other writings produced by the May activists themselves. The one weakness is his relative neglect of oral testimony. Since oral sources provide an invaluable tool in writing the history of the recent past, their neglect here limits Seidman's ability to craft a fully articulated account of the May movement.

This is especially true of his discussion of working-class agitation and the tremendous strike wave that it produced. Very much in the grain of his first book, *Workers against Work: Labor in Barcelona and Paris during the Popular Fronts* (1991), Seidman argues that French workers in 1968 were not revolutionary, that they only wanted more money and free time to enjoy consumerism. More specifically, he contends that young workers did not play a prominent role in starting the movement (although, as he notes, they were the most likely to want to prolong it), and rejects the idea that the strikes repudiated the traditional union leadership. Yet if this is true we need a much stronger explanation of why workers rejected the Grenelle accords, against the advice of that leadership. More generally, the facile equation of consumerism and depoliticization needs to be explored more thoroughly here. For example, one form of consumer protest, the bread riot, played a seminal role in both the French and Russian revolutions.

Seidman concludes his book by arguing that the real importance of May 1968 was as a myth of revolutionary change for an aging generation. This is an interesting idea, but since he does not really address the history of memory or France after 1968 in much detail, it remains underdeveloped. One wonders, for example, how the end of postwar prosperity after the mid-1970s shaped views about May 1968 as a revolt against consumerism and alienated labor. A comparison with subsequent student movements would also be instructive. Seidman's study of the May 1968 movement in France constitutes a thorough reconsideration of this event from an historical perspective. It is a valuable resource for those wishing to learn more about the specific history of the movement, but it leaves open the broader question of its significance for the history of modern France.

TYLER STOVALL
University of California,
Berkeley

MARJO-RIITA ANTIKAINEN. *Sääty, sukupuoli, uskonto: Mathilda Wrede ja yhteiskunnan muutos 1883–1913*. [Social Class, Gender, Religion: Mathilda Wrede and a Changing Society 1883–1913]. (Bibliotheca Historica, number 83.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2003. Pp. 208.

A Finnish noblewoman living at the end of nineteenth century, Mathilda Wrede has often been called an “exemplary Christian” or “Protestant saint.” She worked and evangelized for decades among prisoners in Finland. Later, she was an advocate of the peace movement. This study focuses on Wrede’s many social and cultural activities as well as on her international work. The author widens the approach of gender studies by focusing on an upper-class woman.

Marjo-Riita Antikainen’s book looks how gender, religious faith, and social position led Wrede into contradictory positions and influenced her aims. Wrede’s grew up in the ordered class society that still prevailed in Finland and Europe at the end of the nineteenth century. Her father’s official rank obliged his daughter to assume a share of social responsibility, but instead of the benevolent activities typical of her class, Wrede found new ways of expressing herself. A strong religious awakening and involvement in Free Evangelical circles led her away from the conventional pattern of upper-class Finnish ladies.

Wrede received both appreciation and opposition from local prison officers. She was able to show that released prisoners who joined some religious group were less apt to commit more crimes, but some officers felt that Wrede disrupted the work that inmates were doing. The examples of upper-class charities all over Europe inspired Wrede and her brother Henrik to found a shelter for released prisoners.

Modern ideas of gender and social class were evident in the way Wrede treated female and upper-class prisoners. She did not pity them in the same way she did male prisoners with lower-class backgrounds. Shared experiences of faith became more relevant than class-consciousness. Christian friendship and the experience of being accepted by prisoners caused Wrede to stop using her noble title; she was Miss Wrede, “friend of prisoners.”

Research concerning Scandinavian women of the nineteenth century has highlighted the role of gender in social activity. Women were assumed to be motherly, and they worked in society like sisters for the benefit for other women. Wrede belonged to a new generation. She did not present herself as a motherly figure. Sisterhood was not important to her either. She stood outside the prevailing role models and class attitudes. Her approach to people emphasized friendship and religious equality. She did not want her gender to prevent anyone from receiving her religious message.

By the beginning of 1890s, Wrede had obtained a degree of recognition. She was not given an official position, but she had become so famous and influential

that prison officers invited her to be an honorary member of their newly founded association. The end of Wrede’s activity is closely linked to political changes in Finnish society. At the turn of the century, she was faced with a new type of inmate: political prisoners. Striking socialist inmates caused problems in prisons. Wrede reduced the religious content of her work and started to support the demands of such prisoners. She also began to focus more on the humane treatment of inmates in general and on social services. Her new political activity caused mixed feelings among Wrede’s supporters, and bureaucratic restrictions were enacted.

Wrede was idealized in biographies written by other women. She became a national and international legend, especially in the Christian peace movement. This book is the latest attempt to place Wrede in a broader scholarly context. Antikainen writes with elegance and understanding, basing her analysis on a wide range of source material.

LAURA KOLBE
University of Helsinki

JOHANNA VALENIUS. *Undressing the Maid: Gender, Sexuality and the Body in the Construction of the Finnish Nation*. (Bibliotheca Historica, number 85.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2004. Pp. 222.

Most historians will be familiar with Marianne, Germania, Britannia, and Columbia, the female national symbols of France, Germany, Britain, and the United States, respectively. Mother Svea, the female personification of the Swedish nation, and her Finnish counterpart Suomi-neito (the Finnish Maid) are probably less well known outside of Scandinavia. This study by Johanna Valenius provides a welcome opportunity for an international audience to become familiar with the latter and, more broadly, with the role this female figure played in the process of Finnish nation-building at the turn of the twentieth century.

According to the author, the Maid familiar to Finns today is a young woman with long, blond, braided hair, wearing a national costume consisting of a loose dress with a vertically striped skirt, a decorative wool apron and buckled shoes. In the early twentieth century, however, this particular representation was just one among several competing embodiments of the emerging Finnish nation. Granted the semi-autonomous status of a Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire in 1809 (after 300 years of Swedish rule), Finland witnessed intense political struggles in the decades prior to its national independence in 1917. During these struggles, each political faction promoted its own particular version of the Finnish Maid. While the international-minded socialists promoted a female figure dressed in simple classical drapery without national insignia, those who strove to align an independent Finland with the other Scandinavian counties (and particularly Sweden) favored the image of a maiden dressed in bear skins, connoting ancient Nordic mythology. Not surprisingly, intellectuals bent on creating a distinct Finn-

ish culture and identity as the basis of an independent Finnish nation preferred the maid in national dress. In the most interesting and successful parts of this study, Valenius provides a richly illustrated analysis of these competing images as represented in contemporary satirical drawings, postcards, and paintings.

Valenius's study is informed by insights from a broad range of academic disciplines and intellectual traditions, including history, anthropology, cultural studies, feminist studies, postcolonial studies, film studies, literary studies, and folklore studies. While one can only applaud an author so well read in recent theory and methodology, the intellectual result will probably be frustrating for readers interested in Finnish history in general and the process of Finnish nation-building in particular. Frequently, Valenius's work seems more a theoretical essay than a historical study, and occasionally the historical evidence serves only as illustrations of theoretical points. Given the wealth of fascinating material that Valenius has collected, including the eighty-three illustrations contained in the book, this is disappointing. The images themselves are so intriguing that they deserve more than cursory mention. For readers unfamiliar with early twentieth-century Finnish history, more detailed explanations of the cultural and political references made in the satirical images would have been useful. More systematic translations of the captions accompanying these images would also help non-Finnish readers. Nonetheless, this book offers an interesting, if incomplete, account of some of the discursive battles surrounding Finnish nation-building.

BIRGITTE SØLAND
Ohio State University

MIKKO MAJANDER. *Pohjoismaa vai kansandemokratia? Sosiaalidemokratit, kommunistit ja Suomen kansainvälinen asema 1944–51*. [Nordic Country or People's Democracy? Social Democrats, Communists and Finland's International Position 1944–51]. (Bibliotheca Historica, number 88.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2004. Pp. 505. €29.00.

Mikko Majander's book is the latest in a series of Finnish research publications that take as their starting point the question of how Finland managed to avoid becoming sovietized in the immediate postwar years. Majander poses the question slightly differently and juxtaposes the preferred communist option of a people's democracy against the Nordic model stoutly propagated by their social democratic opponents. He does this in a somewhat unusual fashion: the first hundred-odd pages of his book are in the form of a free-ranging introduction and summary, with the remaining three hundred pages presenting an immensely detailed reworking of the ground for the years 1944–1951. This approach does not work very well. The introduction is too rich and varied for the subject at hand, with the result that the reader is led, as it were, from a large debating chamber in which issues such as

identity, historical legacies, and the contours of the postwar world are discussed into an interrogation room where the words and actions of the two parties, communist and social democrat, are subjected to meticulous scrutiny.

Majander argues that Scandinavism was not a concept deeply rooted in the hearts of the leadership of the Communist Party, which is not surprising, given their devotion to the Soviet Union, and that even Swedish-speaking dissident socialists who allied with the communists in the Finnish People's Democratic Union (SKDL) saw northern Europe more as a bridge to the Soviet Union and the promotion of peace than as a bastion of Western values. The Soviet Union was worried that the Swedish social democrats would seek to form a pro-Western bloc with other northern European social democratic parties. Its anxiety to prevent Finland slipping out of its control, and its long-standing aversion to Finnish social democracy, made the struggle between the two wings of the labor movement in Finland particularly intense and bitter. Under the leadership of a younger generation, the so-called "comrades-in-arms socialists," men who had recently fought against the Russians, the Finnish Social Democratic Party survived the defection of its dissidents and adopted a tough anticommunist stance. Its anticommunism and hostility toward the Soviet Union not only provoked rage in Moscow; it also alarmed the party's Scandinavian comrades, who feared that it might be counterproductive.

One is left with the distinct impression that the Finns always provoked a certain uneasiness in Scandinavian socialist circles. The Swedes in particular felt more sympathy for the peace opposition wing of the party, many of whose members moved into alliance with the communists, than with the "comrades-in-arms" socialists, whom they suspected of being too attached to the German cause. The strongly anti-Swedish sentiments that had permeated Finnish nationalism in the 1920s and 1930s, and which had been given renewed force by Sweden's unwillingness openly to support Finland during the Winter War, also hampered relations. Finnish socialists made a point of emphasizing their Western and Nordic credentials at public meetings and conferences, but this was patently intended as an appeal for support, and the reader might wish for more evidence of what Swedish and other Scandinavian labor leaders thought privately of this campaign. Majander provides extensive, at times exhaustive detail of speeches and resolutions made on official occasions, but he has not delved into correspondence or diaries that might have provided a rather different picture. The Finnish communists for their part dominated their fellow parties in Scandinavia, since they were by far the most powerful, and moreover had close links to Moscow. At the meeting of Nordic communist parties held in Oslo in February 1948, they played the role of masters instructing their pupils, attacking those misguided Scandinavians who were still prepared to support social democracy, and

pointing to the tactics employed by communists in Eastern Europe as the way forward. The Finns were able to win the day, persuading the delegates to denounce neutrality and Scandinavism as covers for imperialism. Their ascendancy was short-lived, however. By 1948, Moscow had come to the conclusion that affairs in Finland could be managed quite satisfactorily by compliant bourgeois politicians. The Russians also noticed that Sweden had remained outside military alliances. This may well have affected the outcome of the negotiations in the spring of 1948 for a treaty of mutual assistance between Finland and the Soviet Union, with Moscow prepared to accommodate the Finns' wishes in order not to push Sweden toward the Western alliance. The Soviet Union had already learned though bitter experience in 1939–1940 that trying to foist a people's democracy on the Finns would provoke vigorous resistance; the Finnish communists failed to appreciate this. In the end, their dream of Finland following the Hungarian path proved more illusory than the social democratic desire to be welcomed unconditionally into the Scandinavian home.

DAVID KIRBY
University College London

JOHN EDWARD TOEWS. *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Berlin*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xxiv, 466. \$85.00.

Berlin in 1840 was alive with heightened expectations of cultural reform and renewal. John Edward Toews's densely packed evocation of this moment, and its immanent collapse, reveals the hopes and ambitions associated with Friedrich Wilhelm IV's coronation. The spirit of the time inspired not only the historians, philosophers, composers, and architects whom Toews studies but also a Russian student then at the University of Berlin, Ivan Turgenev, who later published a modern masterpiece, *Fathers and Sons* (1862). His theme of paternalism and its paradoxically stifling and rejuvenating effects would have provided an apt subtitle for Toews's new book.

As crown prince, Friedrich Wilhelm was tutored by Romantic thinkers and thus early drawn to "the reformers [of 1807–15] by their emphasis on mobilizing individual freedom for communal ends" (p. 45). Toews rightly reminds us that the hopes invested in the Prussian prince by his tutors were both religiously and nationalistically motivated; indeed, these two factors were inextricably linked. The goal of the reform movement, as of the Wars of Liberation veterans, was to found an ethically based community within German national boundaries. Toews emphasizes, quite rightly, how the stress placed on ethical (rather than ethnic) bases was rooted in a revitalized historical consciousness, and this forms his book's major contribution to our growing understanding of the complex origins of German nationalism.

Seeking both an authentic form for Prussian-Ger-

man community and an expression of his religious beliefs, the crown prince drew on conservative Protestant thought as well as German idealism. He understood his authority as patriarchal in the most fundamental sense: his Hohenzollern patrimony expressed in a paternal relationship to his people, moderated by the changing influences of Romanticism (itself not a static group of principles or practitioners). Intending to create an ethical community based on a historically conceived German identity, Friedrich Wilhelm invited like-minded individuals to serve his state. In consultation with his longtime advisor, the antiquarian and diplomat Christian von Bunsen, Friedrich Wilhelm recruited a diverse but subjectively connected group of intellectuals and artists, including composer Felix Bartholdy Mendelssohn; maverick philosopher Friedrich Schelling; pioneering historian Leopold von Ranke; the father of the legal-historical school, Friedrich von Savigny, and his student, Jacob Grimm, creator of the first German dictionary as well as collector of fairy tales; and the architect whose name was to become synonymous with Berlin, Karl Friedrich Schinkel. Toews devotes a chapter or section to each man, correlating their work, both prior to Berlin and upon entering into the historically transformative moment of 1840, with the intentions of the monarch they served. Radically reconceptualizing their relationship to the past, these men formed interlocking conceptions of historical consciousness, religious-ethical principles, and political goals. It is no small trick to locate these similarities in forms as disparate as sonatas, cathedrals and legal thought, but Toews devotes many pages to the illustrations of each. In the end, these similar stories provide fundamentally identical messages: each man strove to "rebel against the world of the fathers of the present and recent past, to displace the present fathers with the recreated fathers from the ancient past" (p. 322).

If the subtitle were to be "Fathers and Sons," it is striking that while Toews presents these personality studies as grounded in historical context, their private family lives appear to be irrelevant. Even Frederick Wilhelm's own father, his son's contrapuntal, is only sketchily present. Biographical details appear only when they are immediately relevant to a publication or decision taken. While Toews clearly aspires to a broader, culturally informed intellectual history, his sources and selection of biographical detail conform more to conventional studies of famous men. Letters form a major source for Toews's study, but the intimate aspect of correspondence—whether its dailiness in the lives of men who wrote for a living, or its homier references to loved ones or the religious fervor experienced within a community—remains unfathomed. The strange cumulative effect is that of a "collective project" presented acontextually: told one life at a time, with the lives not tied together except analogously.

Ultimately, Toews is wrestling with the demons of Romanticism, just as his subjects did. "To grasp and

affirm one's identity within history was to understand the specific acts that produced the reality in which one lived, the acts of human individuals framed by their relationship to transcendent authority" (p. 314). Friedrich Julius Stahl, legal theorist and Prussian appointee, provides Toews with the clearest formulation of the reform project. With 1848 looming, that project's failure looks like an elaborate trainwreck in the making; is it not strange, then, that Ranke, Grimm, Mendelssohn, Schinkel, and their compatriots left such a lasting legacy? The meanings of our multiple pasts, frequently negotiated, were first vigorously explored in this generation's political aspirations for ethical community, and we would do well not to neglect their religious motivations.

SUSAN A. CRANE
University of Arizona

ISABEL V. HULL. *Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 384. \$45.00.

Isabel V. Hull has written a powerful analysis of the Prusso-German military between the founding of the German Empire in 1871 up to the end of World War I. It is a book that takes her back to her first study of the entourage of Kaiser Wilhelm II, in which she demonstrated that among the many power factors around the imperial court the "maison militaire" was increasingly calling the shots during the last years of peace before 1914 and until the fall of the monarchy. Hull's latest book goes well beyond that earlier framework and breaks new ground in historians' never-ending quest to understand the origins and the course of what has been called the "primordial catastrophe" of the twentieth century.

In an introduction that is striking for its concise statement of her purposes and unencumbered by lengthy methodological and historiographical discussions, Hull states straight-forwardly that hers is "a study in institutional extremism." She then defines the specific German military version of this extremism as "the repeated and unlimited application" of violence: "Following necessary-seeming routines, military extremism gravitates toward final, or total, solutions" (p. 1). These "final solutions," she continues, "were in fact expectations and habits that resulted from the means itself, violence, and from the institutional measures taken to wield and control it" (p. 2; also for the following quotes). Her study is thus an attempt to show "how the means overwhelmed the ends, indeed, became the ends." However, her focus is "not on ideology but on *military practices* and the basic assumptions behind them and on how these may be understood in an anthropological and organizational-cultural sense as *military culture*." It was this military culture that is said to have resulted, in the case at hand, in the Prusso-German "tendency toward extreme warfare." Hull appreciates that other modern armies have also inclined toward the use of extreme force. But their

"descents into dysfunctional, pure violence were sooner or later halted by intervention from outside the military, either by civilian government and/or by public opinion." The political and constitutional structures of the Bismarckian empire, by contrast, had no such effective mechanisms of intervention, and this, in turn, buttressed the German armed forces peculiar military culture and its proneness to an ever escalating application of brutal force.

Given these premises, it might be expected that after an examination of the role of the military in the Prusso-German constitutional system, Hull would proceed straight to World War I and the application of military extremism in Belgium and northern France in the fall of 1914, elaborating on John Home's and Alan Kramer's study of German atrocities. Instead she begins with a detailed examination of German military practices in Germany's African colonies and the suppression of the uprisings of the Herero and Nama in German Southwest Africa in 1904–1905 in particular.

Stimulated by the upcoming centenary of this genocide, German scholars have been providing plenty of fresh evidence on its origins and course in recent years. But with her institutionalist perspective and on the basis of further primary material, Hull succeeds in answering a number of crucial questions about whether the extermination of the Herero was planned and based on the deliberate application of extreme force. Her conclusion is that the killing of tens of thousands of men, women, and children developed from Germany's military culture as it "unfolded in a difficult war." It is this dynamic, with its tendency toward extreme violence and "final solutions," that drove the Prusso-German military, conditioned as it was by a unique military culture, to pursue World War I to the bitter end. All the while they were fixated on the notion of "final victory" and unable, due to their cultural-institutional conditioning, to contemplate any alternatives. Marshaling evidence for this from a variety of German archives, Hull's book makes for depressing reading even to students of the horrendous atrocities committed against civilians during World War II.

It is not difficult to predict that Hull's analytical framework will generate debate and further research. Those historians of modern Germany who have proclaimed the demise of the *Sonderweg* argument will have to grapple with its resurrection in this book in the constitutional-political realm. At the same time, Hull's study will be of great interest to students of violence. Some historians of colonialism have maintained that the genocidal practices in Africa and elsewhere before 1914 ricocheted back into Europe and help to explain the use of total warfare in the trenches of the Western front or the even more massive casualties incurred during the years of more mobile warfare in the East. With her institutional approach, Hull is not convinced by this "boomerang" interpretation. Instead she sees a straight parallelism, certainly as far as the German case is concerned.

Accordingly, Hull is also inclined to play down the racist aspects of colonial violence. Although the commander of the German troops in Southwest Africa at one point specifically speaks of the conflict as being a "race war" justifying utmost brutality, Hull discerns the root cause of the atrocities in institutional culture rather than in biologicistic ideologies. Finally, her institutionalism leads her to de-emphasize agency. Lothar von Trotha acted with extremism not because of his particular psychological makeup but because he had imbibed the violent ethos of German military culture.

A good case can no doubt be made in support of this position. It is more difficult to accommodate within this framework those who, although raised and operating within the same institution, did not follow the rigidities of the culture and its routines, advocating instead more peaceful alternatives. Some even resisted those who merely thought in terms of "final solutions." If military culture marks people as deeply as Hull postulates, it may not be enough to argue that these "good apples" are the proverbial exceptions that confirm the rule. Still, this is a rich and thoughtful book that will lead historians of modern Germany to re-examine the decade prior to 1918, and it may also push scholars of the military in other European societies to test again the relationship between military-political institutions and the resort to extreme violence.

V. R. BERGHAHN
Columbia University

TERENCE ZUBER. *Inventing the Schlieffen Plan: German War Planning, 1871–1914*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 340.

Terence Zuber introduces significant new evidence where documentation has been chronically thin in the debate about military strategy and the origins of World War I. He concludes that the German general staff never adopted the scheme, which historians have habitually called the "Schlieffen Plan," for a reckless war of aggression. Instead he reconstructs, in far greater detail than previous scholars, the real contingency plans for mobilization that the general staff revised from year to year between the end of the Franco-Prussian War and 1914. The original texts remained secret until their destruction, along with the majority of the imperial military archives, in World War II. Zuber has deduced much of their substance by meticulously collating references from peripheral sources. Analyzing fragments from German military archives and from the protagonists' voluminous official and private publications in the interwar years, he retraces exercises conducted before 1914 and recriminations exchanged after defeat. Although most of these highly technical accounts of case studies, war games, staff rides, and operations are at best ambiguous about the actual war plans, Zuber's expertise as a former career officer in the U.S. Army is a particular asset in piecing together persuasive evidence from them.

In this context, the single most important document for the historiography of German war planning becomes more of an anomaly than ever. The spectacular manifesto for an offensive against France that Alfred von Schlieffen composed in 1905 was a didactic exercise, Zuber believes, not a war plan. This could explain why a copy survived among Schlieffen's private papers. It would also account for the improbable scenario of an advance across Luxemburg, Belgium, and Holland and into northern France by the entire field army, leaving virtually nothing to defend the common border farther south or the eastern front against Russia. Zuber interprets the document as Schlieffen's brief to his successor, Helmuth von Moltke, illustrating his conviction that in any European war Germany would fight outnumbered, could win swift and conclusive victories only in the west, and must mobilize far more men than planned. To defend against France alone, he warned, the army would need all trained reservists and auxiliary troops, and even substantial new units, to turn the northern flank of a French offensive in sufficient strength to counterattack decisively. None of the general staff's annual mobilization plans, Zuber finds, involved such a gamble, even during Schlieffen's own tenure. They all distributed forces more prudently on the western and eastern frontiers and usually included the option of a limited offensive against Russia. Although they did increasingly assign reserve formations to the initial advance, they designated only those actually available. When the army went to war it followed these more prosaic guidelines, not the 1905 draft from Schlieffen's dead hand.

Zuber dates the "invention" of a hyperbolic "Schlieffen Plan" to the moment the westward offensive failed in 1914. Several of the former chief's subordinates, serving in positions of responsibility, blamed Moltke. They accused him of weakening a crucial thrust toward Paris that they ascribed to Schlieffen, then needlessly hesitating at the climax of the campaign and handing the initiative to the enemy. Several of them ran the army's historical department after 1918, and they perpetuated their allegations by publishing selectively from the archives. Frustrated German nationalists could therefore insist that the army might have won the war in a few months, if only Schlieffen's design had been executed with its author's unflinching resolve. Zuber claims that this thesis has dominated scholarship ever since, reinforced by the Schlieffen draft when it became public after 1945. He charges that the myth of a promethean formula for war, calculated years in advance, has too conveniently suited historians' indictment of reactionary, militaristic elites in Germany for bringing about World War I and ultimately the Third Reich.

Regrettably, this book does not explain how its revelations affect the more sophisticated understanding of German war planning that has evolved in recent decades. Few scholars still read Schlieffen's 1905 draft literally, for example, but Zuber's notes scarcely refer to the historiography since the 1970s. The editors

might have helped by insisting on substantive introductory and concluding sections, instead of abandoning the reader to dense, technical recitation and notes (containing disconcertingly frequent errors in transcribing German and French) with inadequate maps. This important synthesis of neglected sources will have to be incorporated into more accessible works to reach the readership it deserves.

DAVID G. HERRMANN
New York City, New York

WERNER ABELSHAUSER *et al.* *German History and Global Enterprise. BASF: The History of a Company.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 677. \$75.00.

This new, company-sponsored history of one of the world's most important chemical producers deserves the attention of all historians of modern German business. Its authors relied overwhelmingly on the BASF corporate archives, supplemented by an extensive reading of the secondary literature. They did not consult the archives of the companies with which BASF did business, notably Dow, Shell, and Bayer, to the detriment of their account. The only limitation on their research imposed by the company was the application of the usual thirty-year rule. BASF management allowed the authors complete freedom in reaching their conclusions. The authors' approach highlights what one of them, Werner Abelshauser, terms the "social system of production." It supersedes, though does not replace, Peter Hayes's history of IG Farben during the Nazi period.

The book is divided into four sections defined in accordance with the company's development. The first covers the years 1865 to 1900 and was written by the German business historian Wolfgang von Hippel. It suffers from a stiff translation and provides an uncritical chronological account. Hippel describes the origins of the firm in the 1860s. Under its founder Curt Engelhorn, the company concentrated on earning quick returns. In traditional German business fashion, BASF entered into cartels to limit competition, relied on retained earnings to expand, and concealed profits in hidden reserves and in the depreciation account. This strategy relieved it of the necessity of using bank credit or issuing stock. In this early period, the company earned very substantial returns. In 1885, Engelhorn was ousted by the company's directors and was replaced by Heinrich von Brunck, who changed the firm's focus to developing technology, neglecting financial considerations. Symbolic of this approach was BASF's struggle between 1880 and 1894 to develop a viable production method for synthetic indigo. Ironically, it is unclear whether this business ever earned a profit.

The second section, written by Jeffrey Allan Johnson, covers the years 1900 to 1925. It provides a clear account of the relationship between scientific innovations and business strategy. During these two and a

half decades, BASF developed the contact process for manufacturing sulfuric acid and synthesized ammonia. During World War I, it moved increasingly toward inorganic chemistry. It did not produce explosives, though it did manufacture substitutes such as chlorine and phosgene gas, and constituents of mustard gas. The company also made an enormous effort to develop artificial fertilizers. After the war, it synthesized methanol, a chemical with a wide variety of applications. The cost of developing these new products compelled BASF to enter the capital market and to accept government subsidies. These sources enabled it to build the new facilities at Oppau, near Ludwigshafen, and the major new plant at Leuna near Merseburg in central Germany. Throughout this phase, BASF continued to engage in anticompetitive activity. In 1905, it helped organize the Dreibund, a forerunner of IG Farben, with Bayer and Agfa. In 1919, it joined the nitrogen syndicate organized by the Reich government. Finally, in 1925, BASF played a leading role in forming IG Farben, the merger which included all of the major German chemical producers. Interestingly, as Johnson points out, this step was prompted by the promulgation of the Reich cartel law of 1923 that made cartels vulnerable to prosecution.

Raymond G. Stokes wrote the section covering the years 1925 to 1952, the period in which IG Farben controlled the fate of BASF. Unfortunately, his analysis suffers from a questionable use of the autarky concept and an incorrect characterization of IG Farben as a trust. He shows that IG Farben never fully integrated its management and accounting systems, leading to strategic errors. The new firm continued the practices of its predecessors, engaging in anticompetitive behavior, accepting subsidies from the Weimar and Nazi governments and concentrating on technological rather than financial considerations. Stokes provides a sober, unsparing account of BASF's involvement with IG Farben's chemical and synthetic rubber plants at Auschwitz. BASF at Ludwigshafen was not in control of this project, although some of its managers did participate. Stokes makes clear that in spite of the massive use of slave labor, very little was produced by IG Farben at Auschwitz. Nor did the company reap substantial profits from the enterprise. With the end of the war, the Americans seized IG Farben and put its leaders on trial. The facilities in the east, Auschwitz and Leuna, were lost to the Soviets while the Ludwigshafen and Oppau plants were returned to production under French supervision.

Abelshauser wrote the section concerning the restored BASF from 1952 to the present. He delivers a good account of the divestiture of IG Farben and the reconstitution of BASF. Significantly, the firm immediately resumed the anticompetitive behavior of its predecessors. It opposed Ludwig Erhard's free trade policy and avoided competing with its former partners in IG Farben. Abelshauser provides a very revealing description of BASF's efforts to transform itself beginning in 1963. The company attempted to move up the

production chain into the consumer goods market and to shift its emphasis to profits. Consequently, it created foreign subsidiaries and entered cooperative arrangements, notably with the American companies Dow and General Electric, and developed plastics, magnetic tapes, and automotive paints. This strategy failed, primarily due to the inability of the company's social system of production to adapt to new circumstances. In contrast, its conversion from coal to petroleum based chemistry and implementation of the *Verbund* (integrated production) concept were successful.

In conclusion, this comprehensive new history of BASF will serve as the basis for subsequent research on the firm. It offers a cornucopia of information concerning not only the company's internal structure, personalities, and technological initiatives but also the relatively inaccessible area of anticompetitive behavior. It provides the fairest assessment of the company's involvement in criminal activity at Auschwitz that we are likely to receive. It also offers a useful case study of a German firm's difficulties adjusting to the postwar business environment.

ALFRED C. MIERZEJEWSKI
University of North Texas

PETER HAYES. *From Cooperation to Complicity: Degussa in the Third Reich*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 373. \$40.00.

Peter Hayes's fine study of Degussa was commissioned by a German company worried about its role under the Nazis. In the 1990s many similar studies appeared as German and Austrian companies suddenly found commercial reasons, embodied in regulatory threats and class actions in the United States, to publicize their past crimes. Degussa, or Deutsche Gold- und Silber-Scheideanstalt AG (the German Gold and Silver Separation Institute), played a crucial role in the "laundering" of gold looted either from occupied countries or literally ripped from the teeth of concentration camp victims. Another Degussa subsidiary made Zyklon B, the infamous pesticide used in the gas chambers at Auschwitz and Majdanek. Degussa had reason to be nervous.

This book, written for one purpose, appears after the peculiar conjuncture has passed. The German companies have reached collective settlements with claimants. Profits have fallen and extra expenditures, such as historical investigation, have been wound up. Hayes's study now must stand on its own, and it does. In the first place, it constitutes a real contribution to business history. Hayes, who wrote a prize-winning study of IG Farben, knows the chemicals business. He has a capacity to unravel very complicated transactions and show the principles that make a business move in a certain way. These virtues matter more in the case of Degussa, a relatively small company, but one that had niche markets, overlapping holdings, joint ventures, participations, and agreements with literally dozens of different competitors and allies. It refined precious

metal. It marketed liquid gold. It made pesticide. It provided the hydrogen perborate for the most popular German detergent, Persil. It made carbon black, and so on.

With the arrival of the Nazis, Degussa found itself squeezed between its giant competitor, IG Farben, and the demands of the Nazi war machine. Hayes shows that the company prospered mightily under the Nazis, and benefited from the "aryanization" of all sorts of Jewish property, some of which continues to enrich the company today, but he also uncovers the Faustian bargains of wartime production, when a totalitarian state made deals it never honored, rarely paid invoices on time or at all, yet demanded huge investments in plant and machinery that the company could never make profitable in peace time. But Nazism went beyond that. It demanded and got from Degussa an ideological commitment, a Nazi way of behaving, a willingness to mobilize and direct the employees and, of course, to enforce obedience to the party. Degussa had to learn to tack and come about in the shifting winds of Nazi politics. The company had to allow incompetents into the inner circle who had, it was hoped, the confidence of the local Nazi leadership. It needed to compete for contracts and defend market share. Step by step, the company became enmeshed in activities that the directors knew were wrong. Hayes calls the constant Nazi pressure "the malignant creep of its mission" (p. 283). Thus gold refining became tied up with concentration camps. Aryanization became more brutal and less consensual. The extension of the need to fumigate inmates in concentration camps and to keep soldiers' clothes lice-free slipped into the manufacture of a gaseous pesticide that Hayes estimates killed a million people. The story goes literally from cooperation to complicity. The executives of Degussa became willing and knowing accessories to the greatest crimes in history but were, in Christopher Browning's phrase, "ordinary men."

The directors and managers of Degussa, with the exception of Fritz Roessler, the gentlemanly heir of the founding family, never uttered a word of regret or compassion as Jews were hounded from their jobs, nor any sense of outrage at their mass extermination. These guilty men got away with their crimes. The company profited from the wholesale theft of Jewish property and does so today. Hayes believes that the German state and people have done a good job of facing their past. Yet the expropriation without compensation of "communist" Jewish families in the former East Germany and the return of property to the old Nazis goes on today unnoticed. West German judges dispense monstrous injustice with the same pedantic callousness that allowed Degussa directors to do their jobs without remorse or reflection. Hayes writes that even Roessler "was not above certain forms of racist discourse." Jews could never be more than an alien, seditious presence; as Roessler wrote, "Jewry . . . [was] a cultural danger . . . played too large a role in German public life" (p. 25). Hitler could do what he

did because Germans from Roessler down thought what they thought. Now that the Federal Republic of Germany has become *judenrein*, the problem no longer exists.

JONATHAN STEINBERG
University of Pennsylvania

HAROLD JAMES. *The Nazi Dictatorship and the Deutsche Bank*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 286. \$40.00.

This thoroughly researched, closely annotated book is one of several made possible recently by the opening of the voluminous records of Germany's biggest bank to unfettered historical research. It is an augmented version of Harold James's portion of an earlier work commissioned by the bank, which was written by an international team of historians and published in both English and German: Lothar Gall *et al.*, eds., *The Deutsche Bank 1870–1995* (1995). As was the case with that work, the bank records used in the current book are open to all other scholars.

In a new overall assessment of the bank's history during the Third Reich, James notes that German bankers faced the daunting problem of operating under a dictatorial regime unfettered by law that espoused principles "aimed fundamentally at the destruction of the economic system in which and for which they functioned" (p. 19). At the core of Nazi ideology lay a hostility toward finance capitalism encapsulated in the party program's commitment to "breaking the serfdom of interest." As James observes, the party associated bankers "with the allegedly defunct economy of 'liberal individualism' and found them to be at odds with its notions of state-led economic activity" (p. 19). The Nazis therefore periodically subjected banks and bankers to propagandistic attacks throughout the Third Reich. Their hostility was directed with particular vehemence at the handful of nation-wide "Great Banks" with headquarters in Berlin, among which the Deutsche Bank was the largest. James sees the responses of the latter's directors to this adverse political environment as characterized by a clash of two strategies of adaptation: "on the one hand, self-defense against the intrusions of party and state; but accommodation and compromise on the other" (p. 19). As his study makes clear, the latter strategy increasingly prevailed.

Although the Nazis derogated the large banks, they found it convenient to allow them to continue to function. Rather than nationalizing them, as some party radicals proposed, the regime enabled them to repurchase the portions of their stock the republican government had taken over to rescue them at the time of the financial crisis of 1931. But despite the remarkable recovery of the German economy during the peacetime Third Reich, James points out that the banks were slow to benefit. This was in part because of the depression's aftereffects, as bad loans continued to hobble them and the availability of under-utilized

industrial capacity held down the demand for fresh capital. Regime-imposed ceilings on interest and dividends further hobbled banking, as did the mobilization of large-scale state credit. These handicaps were partially offset by the government's reliance on the big Berlin banks to float large state bond issues to finance Adolf Hitler's rearmament program. But as the build-up for war mounted, the government's insistence on ever more bond issues exhausted the capacity of the market to absorb them. Finding itself obliged to retain sizeable portions of the bonds, the Deutsche Bank became a major creditor of the regime. By the late 1930s, some of the bank's directors privately voiced misgivings about government policies that were isolating Germany from world trade and distorting its economy by relentlessly channeling capital into preparations for war. But they lapsed into resignation after protests along similar lines by the central bank, the Reichsbank, resulted in a purge of its leadership by the regime.

Once the war was under way, the Deutsche Bank increasingly served as a kind of automatic teller machine for the Nazi regime and the industrial-military complex it spawned. Large-scale credits were routinely extended to companies that enjoyed the favor of the political authorities. Among the recipients were building firms involved in construction of a concentration camp at Auschwitz and the IG Farben chemical trust, to which the bank extended credits for erection, near that camp, of a synthetic rubber factory to be constructed and operated with slave labor. James's characterization of those credits as "sinister" (p. 161), implies, however, an element of choice in such matters on the bank's part that had by the wartime years been eroded to the vanishing point.

The Deutsche Bank's extensive participation in wartime economic spoliation is one of the focuses of the book. Acting for the most part through foreign banks taken over in the wake of Hitler's conquests, it acquired lucrative holdings in numerous large industrial and commercial firms in occupied territories. These acquisitions took the form of commercial purchases, but under the political circumstances the bank enjoyed bargaining leverage that enabled it to achieve highly advantageous terms.

The book also deals with the bank's acquiescence to Nazi racist policies by dismissing Jewish directors and employees as well as with its implication in the "aryanization" of Jewish property, topics James has covered more extensively in his *The Deutsche Bank and the Nazi Economic War Against the Jews* (2001).

H. A. TURNER
Yale University

GRETCHEN E. SCHAFFT. *From Racism to Genocide: Anthropology in the Third Reich*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 297. \$36.00.

This book comprises at least three projects. At the center is an account, based on original archival sources

from the Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit (Institute for German Work in the East, or IDO), of the central role that anthropologists played in the National Socialists' genocidal population policies. Gretchen E. Schafft contextualizes this research in the history of anthropology and of National Socialism, making the central themes of the book intelligible for the nonspecialist reader. Finally, the book describes the author's own experience with historical research and meditates upon the role of memory and forgetting in anthropology specifically and in professions generally.

By giving prominent place in the book to episodes from her own research and to many of the most fascinating documents she discovered, Schafft highlights both the methods and importance of historical reconstruction. If the descriptions of tracking down archival sources, finding previously unused documents, and even ordering books in the Library of Congress lack the dramatic punch and self-critical edge of Michael Verhoeven's film *Das schreckliche Mädchen* (1990), they do ably convey the thrill of historical research. For Schafft, herself an anthropologist, such research is important to overcome what she calls "professional denial," which "leaves the way clear for a lamentable lack of information, a revisionist historical view, a continuation of misconduct, and a repression of those who would attempt to learn from the past" (pp. 226–27).

Schafft, like many authors self-consciously addressing popular audiences, dismisses academic literature that might in fact have made the book speak more powerfully and accurately to general readers. Her choice to neglect secondary literature relevant to her topic stems, at least in part, from the belief that, as she puts it, "[t]he request among German historians for a more nuanced picture of the Nazi past too often led to rationalizations, a kind of mild rebuke to those who were active Nazis, and an attempt to relativize the past" (p. 242). Yet even the nonspecialist might have profited from, for example, the controversy between Gisela Bock and Claudia Koonz on motherhood in the Third Reich or the discussions by Christopher Browning and others about the role of intention and structure, ideology and practice, in the development of the Holocaust. Similarly, greater engagement with recent academic literature on the history of anthropology and imperialism would not only have helped the author avoid basic errors of fact, such as the assertion that Rudolf Virchow was Jewish. It also would have put her readers in touch with ongoing discussions of the continuities between National Socialism and German imperialism in Africa, especially the Namibian genocide, in which anthropologists also played an important role.

The real center of this book does not suffer directly from these weaknesses. Using National Socialist documents located in Poland, the United States, and Germany, Schafft reconstructs the precise roles played by anthropologists in Nazi population policy in the East, including the murder of Jews, the "Germaniza-

tion" of newly conquered land, and the sorting of subject populations. She shows how Austrian anthropologists rushed to gather bodily measurements and some sociological data from the Jews of Tarnów, Poland, before, as one put it, the SS took "any kind of measures" against them. She considers the research and propaganda role of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institut für Anthropologie and reveals that it received significant funding from the Rockefeller Foundation. Using captured Nazi documents in the Smithsonian Institute, Schafft reconstructs the rise and fall of the IDO, which operated in Krakow from 1940 until the German retreat forced it to close shop. The IDO did propaganda work for the German occupation and supported the German reorganization of the East, including the murder of Jews and Roma. Indeed, Schafft shows, an IDO member, Fritz Arlt, helped set up Auschwitz. Anthropologists also developed a one-to-four scale of "Germanness" to sort residents of occupied Poland. The Nazi government used these numbers to make decisions about marriages, labor and military service, and internment in concentration camps.

Schafft concludes her work by tracing the postwar careers of National Socialist anthropologists, facilitated by the scandalous failure of the Western allies or of the Federal Republic to hold them, and many other professionals, responsible for their roles in the Nazi regime. She also suggests that German anthropologists have yet to give up race as an analytic category. The recent German example she cites, however, a study comparing body fat in "White" and "Pakistani" Britons, seems fairly benign in comparison with both earlier German anthropology and also with the racist pseudoscience carried out by scholars outside of Germany, including such notorious books as Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray's *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life* (1994), as well as the more *salonsfähig* racisms that attribute poverty to "culture." Nonetheless, anthropology committed no greater crimes than it did during its close association with National Socialist Germany, and Schafft does an admirable job of reconstructing this participation in horrific detail.

ANDREW ZIMMERMAN

George Washington University

MATHIAS BEER and GERHARD SEEWANN, editors. *Südostforschung im Schatten des Dritten Reiches: Institutionen, Inhalte, Personen.* (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 119.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2004. Pp. 288. €44.80.

The theme of this collective effort, as suggested by its title, is the link between scholarship on Southeastern Europe and politics. Although the focus is on Nazi Germany, the politicization of scholarship on Southeastern Europe was by no means unique to National Socialism. It may perhaps be dated from the beginning of the twentieth century, when German and Austro-Hungarian ambitions in the region were at their

height. Yet the Nazi period stands out because of the systematic intertwining of scholarship with expansionist and racial policies and the heinous uses to which scholarship was put. Willi Oberkrome emphasizes the ethnocentric character of German studies on South-eastern Europe in his essay on regionalism and research on nationality. While the trend was evident before the 1930s, he points out that under National Socialism it became predominant, as many humanists and social scientists assumed responsibility for supplying those engaged in conquest, occupation, and destruction with relevant data. It was they, he argues, who provided a scholarly justification for racial policies and the Germanization of occupied territories. Christian Töchterle puts the matter in context by surveying the emergence of racial theorists in Germany and Southeastern Europe in his discussion of the "Dinaric race."

Many of the essays deal with institutions. Co-editor Gerhard Seewann makes clear in his history of the Südost-Institut in Munich between 1930 and 1960 how research and state policy were linked, especially after 1935, when Fritz Valjavec entered the institute; he strove to make it a center of "combative scholarship" and to use it to promote National Socialist ethnic policies, all with support from the SS. Two other research institutes were founded precisely to achieve political ends. Christian Promitzer describes how the Südostdeutsche Institut in Graz, established immediately after the Anschluss in 1938, was beholden to National Socialist ideology until its dissolution in 1944. The Institut für Heimatforschung in Käsmark, in Slovakia, Christoph Morrissey points out, also put politics ahead of scholarship, but he notes that in combatting the Slovaks it allowed local interests—those of the Zips district—to prevail over broader National Socialist objectives. An apparent exception to the general pattern was the Forschungsinstitut der Deutschen Volksgruppe in Rumänien established in Sibiu, Transylvania, in 1941. Harald Roth argues that the institute was not politicized and National Socialist ideology was largely absent from its publications, but he needs to go more thoroughly into these matters to be convincing.

The remaining articles describe the activities of individuals. Isabel Heinemann sketches a group portrait of the so-called racial experts who served as both theoreticians and functionaries in the work of "racial homogenizing." The majority, she concludes, had academic training, especially in the arts and sciences and agrarian studies, and many were members of the SS. Michael Fahlbusch also investigates general patterns of behavior, but uses a small sample: four prominent individuals who were engaged in research on Eastern Europe during World War II. He does not find that they participated directly in the forced transfer and destruction of populations, but he argues persuasively that they nonetheless contributed significantly to the decision making of those who did carry out such acts. Fahlbusch is especially critical of Valjavec as one who was deeply involved in party and state activities and

very probably served in an SS task force in south Russia in the latter part of 1941. Valjavec gets lots of attention: from Norbert Spannenburger, who examines his career between 1934 and 1939 and concludes that he crossed the line separating scholarship from politics and used the structures of the Nazi regime to further his own ambitions; from Gerhard Grimm, who compares his career with that of Georg Stadtmüller and points to Valjavec's stronger connections to the power elites; and from Krista Zach, who traces his political activities as recorded in his unpublished diary.

The subject of this volume is by no means new. Co-editor Mathias Beer, in his introduction, points to the growing quantity and increasingly probing nature of the available literature, as he and Edgar Hösch in his concluding essay attempt to place Südostforschung in the broad framework of German historiography. The present work, then, serves as a valuable and critical review of historical research and scholarly debate on a highly sensitive theme and suggests where matters now stand.

KEITH HITCHINS
University of Illinois,
Urbana-Champaign

BEN SHEPHERD. *War in the Wild East: The German Army and Soviet Partisans*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. vi, 300. \$29.95.

This is a book about field officers with intermediate command positions in the German Ostheer, or Eastern Army. Ben Shepherd describes how the 221st Security Division, one of five security divisions in the rear area of the Army Group Center, fought real and suspected partisans near Smolensk and then in the Homel/Gomel and Starodub regions. He builds on earlier studies in German and English and uses documents in Germany's Federal Military Archives as well as American microfilms of captured German documents. German legislation precludes full disclosure in various cases, so that several names in the book appear in pseudonym, including that of the division commander in 1942.

Shepherd calls the 221st division a vital cog in the implementation of the Nazi war of extermination. It has a "damning" (p. 227) track record of deep involvement in war crimes. In the second half of 1941, it did not often kill Jews itself, but it cooperated smoothly with the SS killings of Jews, Red Army commissars, and other "suspects." And even though partisans still posed no grave threat, the division in that year was indiscriminately brutal against civilians.

Shepherd's book carefully describes and explains the thinking and conduct of the division's commanders of the anti-partisan campaign. The ruthlessness of that campaign was virtually inevitable or, as Shepherd calls it, "preordained" (p. 224). Yet this is above all a book about diversity in conditions and in German perceptions; it does not give easy answers. The main reason for the brutality, Shepherd argues, was ideological: the senior officers hated Slavs, and they shared the Nazi

view that the war aim was not just to defeat the Red Army but also to decimate, subject, and exploit the people of the Soviet Union. Shepherd also stresses a long German military tradition of suspicion of citizens in arms and, indeed, of treating insurgents ruthlessly. That tradition began in the Prussian fight against Napoleon Bonaparte in 1813, and it had also found its expression in the beginning of the twentieth century, when the German military took action against the Herero in Africa and against Belgian and French citizens during the Great War.

Shepherd is most original in showing in great detail that in 1942 and early in 1943, a diversity in the treatment of partisans developed. Whereas some divisions (the 286th and 201st) were extremely ruthless, another (the 203rd) was less so, and, most importantly for his argument, the 221st division began to act with restraint. The officers of that division decided to cultivate the population and, more than other officers, gave preferential treatment to deserting partisans. In December 1942, many months before the army high command was to do so, the division commander warned against the killing of captured partisans. Shepherd also concludes tentatively that the division's rank-and-file adopted this more measured approach.

Earlier studies have emphasized that severe German conditions were conducive to German army brutality. Yet Shepherd argues convincingly that the case of the 221st division shows that such severe conditions could have the opposite effect. A change in circumstances rather than in German thinking had "increasingly compelled restraint" (p. 147). The division acted less ruthlessly precisely because it was under greater threat from partisans than other divisions were. It had fewer battalions, whose men often had never fought before. These "shortcomings, imposed by higher-level decree, of its own manpower and administration" produced a "lack of ruthless alternatives" (p. 228).

Shepherd calls crucial as well the perceptiveness of the officers, pointing out that another division in similar conditions (the 203rd) acted less pragmatically. Nevertheless, in his discussion of the year 1942, situational factors stand out as crucial. From April 1943, the 221st division reverted to its earlier, far more brutal stance and indeed surpassed it in its "dead zones" policy. This happened partly out of German despair at the growing prospect of a defeat in the war. Yet here, too, Shepherd deems crucial "the urgent immediacy of the situation" (p. 187) in which the partisan opponent had grown even stronger.

To my mind, this book has only minor weaknesses. One is that sometimes one notices that the book derives from a doctoral dissertation. I find unconvincing the notion of a "propensity for professionalized violence" (p. 224) as something that helps explain army brutality; is such a propensity not what armies are all about? And I secretly wish that the author had been able to use Russian-language sources; it would have made the book more detailed and, perhaps, more original. Nevertheless, in its kind—a study of Wehr-

macht conduct based on German sources—this book meets the high standard the historiography has reached and makes a solid contribution to the debate.

KAREL C. BERKHOFF

*Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies,
Amsterdam*

MICHAEL H. KATER. *Hitler Youth*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2004. Pp. 355. \$27.95.

Hitler Youth (Hitler-Jugend, or HJ), some very young, died as combatants in World War II, a number of them on suicide missions. Some committed war crimes. Was their behavior a product of coercion or of a true willingness to serve the aims of the regime? Was there complicity on their part, or worse, guilt? And if so, to what extent were they complicit or guilty? Such questions are raised in this book, the work of a respected contributor to the social history of Germans under Nazi rule. Michael Kater pulls together anecdotes and quotations that give insight into the minds of those involved. He has consulted archives, diaries, memoirs, and secondary sources. Charges of guilt or complicity would seem to apply only to individuals, but the author applies judgment to groups as well, and that raises questions. For example, Czech atrocities against German girls seem to get off lightly, because Czechs, "as patriots, had moral justice on their side" (p. 236). Apparently much depends on your vantage point.

Kater sees complicity even in extreme situations, where such judgment really does not belong. When women of the Bund Deutscher Mädel in der Hitlerjugend (BDM) became army assistants, they "were surprised, along with the male soldiers they were serving, by the furious onslaught of the Red Army in the East . . . [the women fought] ferociously and undoubtedly [killed] many. This alone made them complicit in Hitler's aggressive warfare since 1939" (p. 234). What were the women supposed to do? Questions of complicity and guilt might be appropriately applied to, say, medical doctors, who have a code of ethics, but I question applying such a criterion to women under attack.

In addition to the author's stated purposes, there are two unstated ones, both warranting consideration. The first is to show that Germans were victims too. "[I]njuries suffered even by blameless young people . . . are often overlooked or downplayed, in light of the towering injustices perpetrated . . . on foreign enemies . . . this suffering must also find its place in the history of youths under Hitler" (p. 240). Here Kater treats the exploitation of HJ and BDM, who were put to war duties at ever younger ages as the war went on. His second unstated objective is to commemorate the "resistance" posed by the martyred White Rose group and the "dissent" expressed by the actions of the Swing groups (jazz fans), even though "the efficacy of their activities was null" (p. 165).

A larger feature of the time was the encroachment of totalitarianism on civil society, an incomplete intru-

sion, as it was hampered by “the everyday dysfunctionality of the Hitler regime,” a condition Adolf Hitler himself fostered for his own purposes (p.114). Nevertheless, the regime could be deadly. Even some members of Swing groups ended up in special concentration camps. Much of the complaint against them was the robust sexual promiscuity that affected German youth from 1936 to 1945, something that took Nazi leaders aback, not what they had in mind when they fostered the slogan “Give a child to the Führer.” In any case, pregnancy among unmarried girls was rampant from the 1936 Nuremberg party rally forward, and eventually venereal disease became endemic, sometimes being contracted from slave laborers as well as from other Germans. What may have occurred is some sort of inversion of values; rather than chastity, license was the way to go. A much more serious inversion of values apparently occurred with SS and some Hitler Youth. In place of a morality that was endowed with mercy, morality for these males became having the “strength” to be merciless.

Important in its own right, this work is also useful for the materials it provides for further research. The book contains seventy-four pages of tightly packed notes, replete with information. That will help, as more remains to be known about the unleashed sexual license and its causes, and about the inversion of values. Group dynamics may one day provide some insights. So, too, may studies of bullying and hazing. Brain research will reveal more about the development of children and adolescents. Psychodynamic thought will lend help, as will sociological studies. To paraphrase a remark by psychoanalyst Erik Erikson, history and psychology (let us here add sociology) travel on parallel tracks. May they continue to enrich one another.

LAWRENCE D. WALKER
Illinois State University

KIMBERLEY A. REDDING, *Growing Up in Hitler's Shadow: Remembering Youth in Postwar Berlin*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2004. Pp. xiv, 193. \$59.95.

Sixty years after the end of World War II, the Nazi regime continues to fascinate audiences the world over. Big-budget cinema films, TV miniseries, exhibits and documentaries of all kinds, plus hundreds of history books and dissertations demand attention. However, interest seems to stop in the year 1945. Aside from a trickle of monographs on the origins of the West German *Wirtschaftswunder* and the beginnings of the German Democratic Republic, relatively few non-German scholars (and virtually no filmmakers, documentary producers, or novelists) have paid serious attention to the fate of ordinary Germans, let alone youth, in the immediate postwar era. Perhaps historians imagine that this hungry, rubble-strewn world, punctuated only by the pathos of the Berlin airlift, lacked the sex appeal of high drama. Kimberley

A. Redding demonstrates that this was simply not the case.

Redding first conceived of her study in the wake of another such turning point, the immediate post-Wende years, one of which she spent as an English instructor in eastern Berlin. For her subsequent dissertation, she interviewed thirty-five Berliners born between 1926 and 1933 from the eastern and western halves of the city, intertwining these oral documents with a discussion of broader developments within the capital and Germany as a whole in order to reconstruct the experiences and outlook of the “lost youth” in the later 1940s and 1950s. As she points out, there was little doubt—both among the victorious Allies and within German society itself—that this generation of traumatized Hitler Youths (and potential “Werewolves”) was indeed corrupted, unreliable, and simply “lost.” But while the slogans and pageantry of the Nazi era are all too familiar to us today, very little is known about the actual experiences and attitudes of this youth cohort. Thus Redding’s book satisfies a genuine need. To be sure, memory plays tricks on people, and on no one so much as the elderly. To her credit, Redding addresses this cognitive problem head on, describing the selective nature of memory and its susceptibility both to our inborn storyteller instinct and false memories acquired long after the fact. Indeed, both this study and oral histories in general are most successful when they stick to concrete everyday experiences and perceptions.

Redding’s discussion partners had much to say about their experiences in the various Nazi youth organizations and the *Kinderlandverschickung* program, and not all of these memories are negative. Like most Germans of their generation, the youths in Redding’s cohort recall “lovely childhood years” within a culture and society that the rest of the world has viewed as not only criminal but downright demonic. Once again, the oral history approach is helpful in contrasting everyday existence with the historical big picture. For young Berliners, life in the Third Reich was not a blood orgy but rather a “normal” routine of school, Hitler Youth drills, and piano lessons, so that “while the German invasion of Poland constitutes a turning point in political analyses and history textbooks, it figured insignificantly in interviewees’ personal recollections” (p. 6).

The book details the interviewees’ personal experience or awareness of other issues of the day: harrowing Allied bombing raids, the rape of tens of thousands of girls and their mothers by Red Army soldiers, the postwar dance craze, the rise of juvenile delinquency, and the alleged epidemic of “female depravity” fueled by the breakdown of public morals and a desperate shortage of eligible males for marriage (which public officials at the time called the *Frauenüberschuss* or woman surplus, as if the women themselves were to blame). Then there are recollections of the “hunger years” and the backbreaking work of the rebuilding phase, the competition between Communist and non-

Communist youth organizations, the everyday reality of the Berlin blockade, the founding of the two republics in 1949, and finally the 1953 workers' uprising. The book closes on a poignant note as the East German interviewees muse on the peaceful implosion of the GDR in 1989—yet another turning point in their lives, and one that, ironically, they are less well equipped to master.

Redding's microhistory is packed with intriguing anecdotes, making it a valuable reference book for Berliners and historians of the city. But it also raises vital questions which other historians may wish to pick up on. At what point did ordinary Germans recognize the war as lost? How did the progressive collapse of public authority and Nazi credibility during the later war years help delegitimize the regime even before May 8, 1945? To what extent did the Hitler Youth experience and the self-reliance fostered by the post-war situation lay the foundation for Germany's later success? These questions are worth pursuing, and Redding's book provides an excellent starting point.

ALAN L. NOTHNAGLE

*TRACES—Center for History and Culture,
Landmark Center, St. Paul*

Y. MICHAL BODEMANN. *A Jewish Family in Germany Today: An Intimate Portrait*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. 280. \$22.95.

TANGLED ROOTS: STRUGGLING WITH A LEGACY OF WAR. Directed and written by Heidi Schmidt Emberling. 2004; color and black and white; 66 minutes. Distributed by New Day Films.

Y. Michal Bodemann's book follows the life and family of the Kalmans: four siblings from a prominent and religious family from Slawkus in Polish Galicia who survived the Holocaust. Their parents, Jacob and Esther Kalman, had eight children, but only Albert, Itzhak, Jurek, and their sister, Gertrud escaped death. Bodemann's book consists of an amalgamation of interviews that he conducted with various members of the Kalman clan from the early 1990s to 2004, organized into four parts, each part devoted to one sibling. The strength of the book lies in the voices of the Kalmans themselves.

Since Albert was deceased when Bodemann began the project, we learn about him from his wife, Eva, and their five children: Berthold, Ronnie, Salek, Esther, and Gabriel. Albert, eldest of eight siblings, was a Zionist who in the 1930s planned to immigrate to Palestine, against his mother's wishes. Albert gave in to his mother and remained in Slawkus. When the war began, he was recruited into the Judenrat but refused and was sent to a concentration camp. In 1941 he was transferred to Buchenwald, where his brothers Itzhak and Jurek had also been sent. His sister Gertrud was liberated from Bergen-Belsen, and at the war's end the British army brought her to Buchenwald. There she

was reunited with her brothers, and they were all sent to the Landsberg Displaced Persons Camp near Munich, Germany. In Landsberg, Gertrud met and married Leon Guterman and subsequently emigrated to the United States.

The brothers remained in Germany and began a business buying and selling used appliances. Kalman Household Appliances grew into a large and successful firm, but the brothers became increasingly unable to manage it. Their arguments eventually led to the company's bankruptcy and the brothers' estrangement. This story is told and retold through the various interviews. Each sibling's children describe the trials and tribulations of growing up Kalman in Germany. Some have made successful lives and careers there; several immigrated to Israel. Those who remained in Germany either married or are living with non-Jewish mates.

Bodemann describes his study as a "biographical portrait of a family in many voices." Unfortunately, there are important voices missing, and some voices are louder than others. Albert, the eldest sibling, died before Bodemann began the project, and Itzhak, the second eldest, refused to be interviewed. Itzhak's wife Fela is also absent. Itzhak's story is told by his daughter Dina and includes a brief interview she conducted with her father. In addition, Bodemann interviews Dina's first and second husbands. Since Gertrud's health was deteriorating and her memory poor, her story is told solely through her son, Jerry, from New Jersey. Gertrud's husband, Leon, is also missing. Jurek's son Jonny reluctantly agreed to a thirty-minute telephone interview, described in another short chapter.

Bodemann fused together interviews he conducted at different times, and the research is sloppy. He interviewed some family members repeatedly, others not at all. Both the interviews and chapters vary in length and quality, the writing and translations are clumsy, and there are many typographical errors. The book is lopsided. Half the book is devoted to Albert's story, while the stories of his three surviving siblings comprise the second half.

This is not a scholarly book of Jewish life in Germany, nor a portrait of a "typical Jewish family" in postwar Germany. While Bodemann provides a brief introductory chapter contextualizing the situation of Jews in Germany after the war, he fails to show how the Kalmans fit in. The Kalmans do, however, have a fascinating story that is as much about the problems of running a family business, the difficulties Holocaust survivors face in trusting others, and dysfunctional family relations as it is about Jews living in Germany.

In *Tangled Roots*, Heidi Schmidt Emberling also investigates family history: her own. In this documentary film, Emberling tries to make sense of what it means to be the daughter of a German Lutheran, Wolf Schmidt, and a Jewish American mother, Janet Sherman. Growing up in Freiburg, Germany, her father came to Los Angeles in the 1960s to work in the

entertainment industry. He met Emberling's mother, Janet, who eloped with Wolf against her parents' wishes. Emberling identifies and feels comfortable as Jewish; the film explores her journey into her German heritage.

"I never talked openly about the war and its aftermath with the Jewish or the German sides of my family," Emberling reveals. When she first learned about the Holocaust in high school, she felt ashamed of being German. She never equated being German with Nazism, and does not see her German family as Nazis. Through interviews with her father's family in Germany and her mother's family in the United States, interspersed with actual film footage from World War II, the film explores the meaning of her mixed background.

Emberling's journey begins with a trip back to Freiburg with her father. Only seven years old when his hometown was destroyed, Wolf describes the November 22, 1944, British bombing attacks. Emberling includes documentary footage of bombs released from planes and shots of Freiburg's devastation, and these are underscored by her father's words and her aunt Gabi's description of the toll the war took on the family. Emberling's grandfather, Fritz, who was fighting on the Russian front, was taken to France as a prisoner of war and not released until 1947. He subsequently suffered from depression and mental illness.

Emberling gets into trouble in the first half of the film, as her focus on German "suffering" is described without the larger context of World War II, or the Holocaust. By focusing on German "victimization," she presents a distorted view of history, blurring the boundaries between perpetrator and victim. If the Germans are victims, then who is responsible for the war and the Holocaust? This becomes even more problematic as Emberling appears to portray sympathy for the victimization of Germans as well as apparent Jewish indifference toward the Holocaust. This comes across in an interview with her mother, who knows nothing and seems to care little about her Jewish relatives killed in Europe. "The family didn't dwell on these things; they didn't talk about them," Emberling's mother reveals. Unfortunately, neither does Emberling. Emberling addresses difficult issues only late in the film when she probes into the actual military history of her German grandfather and discovers, to her and her family's dismay, that he was a member of the Nazi Party. She seems shocked by this information. The most interesting part of the film is when she confronts her German family about this, visits Dachau, and then asks them how they feel about her being Jewish. We find out that her German relatives do not see Emberling as a "real Jew," since she is not Orthodox, even though she identifies as Jewish and her Jewish relatives see her as such.

The film is low-key, just scratching the surface regarding Holocaust memory, Jewish and German identity, and contemporary German-Jewish relations.

The film also notes American Jewish indifference to the suffering of European Jewry through the example of Emberling's family and, regrettably, her own inattention to this. The film is more about the legacy of guilt that Germans bear and some of their responses to it: Emberling's aunt Corola thinks Germans have paid enough and wants to move on, whereas her father accepts this legacy as part of postwar German identity. Emberling ends her film by mentioning that her parents divorced. Her mother remarried an American Jewish man; her father remarried a German Lutheran woman. She does not ask if the German-Jewish narrative affected their marriage, although we suspect it did.

LYNN RAPAPORT
Pomona College

F. W. KENT. *Lorenzo de' Medici and the Art of Magnificence*. (Johns Hopkins Symposia in Comparative History, number 24.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 230. \$36.95.

This suggestive book on Lorenzo de' Medici as patron, which grew from a series of lectures, looks for its audience to art historians whom F. W. Kent feels might benefit from a historian's discussion of the fragmentary information surrounding Lorenzo's various activities. Caught chronologically between two great family patrons, his grandfather Cosimo and Cosimo I, sixteenth-century Grand Duke of Tuscany, whose patronage programs dramatically altered the artistic and urbanistic landscape of Florence, the extent to which Lorenzo fostered the arts has long been debated. The obvious factor complicating the comparison concerns his death in 1492; he was still in his forties, not young by fifteenth-century standards but still young enough for speculation about what he might have done for art had he lived longer. A further vexing issue concerns finances and whether Medici fortunes had diminished such that, notwithstanding his political prominence, Lorenzo could ill afford to divert shrinking funds toward expensive public projects, especially at a time when he was scrambling to finance dynastic ambitions for his children. Yet monies seem to have been readily available to feed his voracious appetite for fine antiquities, notably gems, coins, and hardstone vases. Kent gives a passing nod to these scholarly concerns without, however, weighing the evidence. Rather, he aims to convey an overview in the heroic vein of Lorenzo as a committed if remote patron and promoter of the arts. Kent devotes chapter essays to Lorenzo's aesthetic education, what he calls "the temptation to be Magnificent," Florentine building activities in the late 1480s until his death, and Lorenzo as proprietor of country villa estates.

In any discussion of Lorenzo's patronage, the temptation is overwhelming to speculate what might have been, whether regarding support for various churches and civic projects, his library of Greek and Latin manuscripts, or those Tuscan villa projects. For example, in the chapter on Lorenzo's aesthetic preparation,

Kent suggests Lorenzo was a firm friend of leading artists and architects such as Francione, Giuliano da San Gallo, and the composer Heinrich Isaac. He muses about how Lorenzo might have learned about drawing: "It is particularly easy to believe what one cannot prove, that Lorenzo frequented Andrea del Verrocchio's workshop, so fertile of talent and much favored by his family" (p. 20). Kent consciously casts aside Ockham's razor to create out of intriguing bits of information gleaned from a variety of sources, a kaleidoscope of Lorenzo's activities, whether as a member of the committee of overseers for the Florence cathedral, or as one who may have taken an interest in a new fortress being constructed ("Lorenzo was, I shall argue, at the very least a close observer of the process by which the new fortress of Volterra was designed in 1472" [p. 27]).

In his enthusiasm, however, Kent catches himself in a historiography that views patronage from the top down and uses reports of an association or a Lorenzo sighting in a document to argue for his substantial involvement in major projects in and around late fifteenth-century Florence. But the disturbing fact remains that Lorenzo did not commission or finance all the works he might have. Plagued by illness and declining finances towards the end, "his favorite schemes were unfinished" (pp. 149–50). He did not live to see the frescoes completed at Spedelatto or the terracotta frieze at his classicizing villa at Poggio a Caiano. But in the unfinished nature of his oeuvre lies its richness, for, as Kent elegantly summarizes quoting from T. S. Eliot's *The Hollow Men*, "Between the idea And the reality/ Between the notion And the act/ Falls the shadow" (p. 149). That shadowland becomes the author's canvas. Although this reviewer prefers to evaluate Lorenzo's patronage more cautiously on the basis of what he actually achieved during his truncated life, Kents argues suggestively by affinity and sometimes persuasively for his magnificence as a patron. It will be up to future scholars to figure out where Lorenzo's hand was guiding, where merely present, and where present only by association. With a slight turn of the kaleidoscope to dispose the fragments in a different pattern, one might conceivably argue that Lorenzo's posthumous reputation for magnificence in the arts derived in good measure from his association with the rich artistic culture of late fifteenth-century Florence more than the other way around.

MELISSA MERIAM BULLARD
University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill

GEORGE W. MCCLURE. *The Culture of Profession in Late Renaissance Italy*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 373. \$65.00.

In this intellectual tour de force George W. McClure forges an analytic category not found in standard library subject classifications. Using the word "profession" from his title as an entry point, I turned up no

premodern subject heading on the theme of professions, careers, trades, or occupations. Yet, a visit to any popular bookstore will reveal rows of titles on choosing a career, along with joke books about lawyers, doctors, and politicians. The high visibility and broad variety of books on professions undoubtedly result from conscious marketing strategies that nurture a desire for this sort of information and entertainment, perhaps a feature of mature capitalist consumerism. But might it be that authors and publishers similarly enticed Renaissance Italians to want to read about professions?

The edifice McClure constructs rests on more traditional foundations than market analysis alone. He surveys humanist and theological underpinnings of the genre, focusing especially on Sant'Antonino of Florence's *Summa theologica*; chapter two introduces readers to collections of dirty jokes and to a variety of Renaissance parlor games. McClure carefully teases out relationships between highbrow scholarly pre-print treatises and scruffy popular humor as they fuse in the centerpiece of his study, Tomaso Garzoni's *La piazza universale di tutte le professioni del mondo* (1585), one of sixteenth-century Venice's great marketing triumphs. The massive tome, running to nearly 1,000 pages in the original and divided into 154 discourses, proclaimed itself to be an encyclopedia describing all the world's professions. Doctors, lawyers, prostitutes, pimps, cooks, printers, and hundreds more come in for their share of description, erudite rumination, and biting satire. The result is a leveling of the professions, finding merit and honor even in the humblest while poking at the foibles of the loftiest. Scholars generally agree that Garzoni aimed to show that good and bad reside in the individual, not in any profession as a whole.

Whether the book, which sold about 100,000 copies in the first century of its existence—with translations into German, Castilian, and Latin—contains any other consistent intellectual themes may be doubted. McClure finds meaning in the ordering of at least some professions, for example the treatment of surgeons before physicians, and the inclusion of humanists in the second and subsequent editions certainly has significance, but any conclusions, whether about Garzoni's intentions or his early modern readers' responses, must remain tentative. The book plagiarizes extensively, notably from Leonardo Fioravanti and from Ludovico Domenichi's translation of Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim's work. McClure treats Fioravanti as a serious physician whom Garzoni may have admired, but he does not displace entirely the earlier view that Fioravanti was a snake-oil-peddling quack whose highly successful recipes for selling books inspired Garzoni to go one better and capture a giant share of the market for chaotic, useful, funny, popular books.

Who bought this amazing compendium? There were not enough Venetians to account for 100,000 copies, and so we must look to the tourists. What a wonderful

souvenir of the high life in Venice, an encyclopedia with a wickedly humorous collection of jokes and insider revelations on tricks of the trade sure to arm the hapless consumer in dealing with street vendors, notaries, masons, merchants, courtesans, laundresses, tavern keepers, and hairdressers. Book-hawkers in Piazza San Marco had a field day, with copies rolling off the presses as fast as the demand required. Moreover, the insatiable collector of popular, highly readable books not likely to be found back home might also buy Garzoni's other bestseller, *L'Hospitale de' pazzi incurabili*, thereby acquiring a dose of pop psychology centuries ahead of its time.

Other authors also sniffed the market and cashed in, none more creatively and successfully than Cesare Vecellio, with his volume of 500 woodcuts portraying the costumes appropriate to professions plied in Venice over the centuries. McClure insightfully contextualizes Vecellio in Garzoni's aftermath and links this visual delight to earlier work on ritual by Francesco Sansovino and to later books embedded in the culture of profession, especially to Fabio Glisenti's monumental treatise on the art of dying. But whether, in the end, McClure's authors and readers consciously developed a "culture of profession" seems problematic, at least to this reviewer. What can be said is that they wrote and consumed books on the subject in massive quantities.

RUDOLPH M. BELL
Rutgers University,
New Brunswick

DAVID B. RUDERMAN and GIUSEPPE VELTRI, editors. *Cultural Intermediaries: Jewish Intellectuals in Early Modern Italy*. (Jewish Culture and Contexts.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. 293. \$55.00.

This cohesive and useful collection of eleven essays is devoted to Jewish cultural and intellectual history during the Renaissance and Baroque eras. Except for the introduction by the editor, David B. Ruderman, and the concluding essay by Moshe Idel, each essay focuses on an individual figure whose life and works illustrate a certain dimension of Judeo-Italian culture. Although the essays do not break new conceptual grounds, they offer more nuanced and detailed portrayals of select Jewish luminaries who excelled not in Jewish legal scholarship but in rhetoric, historiography, philosophy, kabbalah, music, magic, medicine, and the sciences. These portraits illuminate the relationship between Jews and Christians in Italy and the distinctiveness of Judeo-Italian culture.

The introduction delineates the various factors that shaped Jewish intellectual life in Italy: the new technology of printing, the enrollment of Jews in the medical faculties of Italian universities, the return of conversos to the Jewish fold, and the rise of Christian Hebraism and Christian kabbalah. Ruderman highlights the new social contacts between Jews and Chris-

tians that blurred previous cultural and religious boundaries and provided new social opportunities for the exchange of ideas. In Renaissance Italy, Jews not only translated philosophical and scientific texts from Hebrew or Arabic into Latin (as they had done in medieval Spain) but also absorbed from their Christian neighbors the literary forms and cultural ideals of humanism. Conversely, several Christian humanists not only mastered Hebrew and rabbinic lore under the tutelage of Jewish teachers but also appropriated kabbalah to Christianity.

Judeo-Italian culture is difficult to interpret because of its seemingly contradictory features. Cultural cross-fertilization went hand in hand with affirmation of Jewish spiritual superiority; close social contacts between individuals coexisted with forced ghettoization, economic restrictions, and local expulsions of Jews; admission of select Jews to universities took place while Jewish culture faced repression by the papacy and the Inquisition. Emphasizing the positive or the negative aspects of this multifaceted story thus results in diverse and even conflicting interpretations. If the introduction highlights the possibilities and novelty in Jewish-Christian relations, the essays offer a more sober picture of this complex past. For example, Jews in the employ of Christian patrons not only had to resist conversionary pressures, but they were also limited in what they could say about religious matters, hence resorting to intentional dissimulation. Thus Harvey Hames notes that Elijah del Medigo (1440–ca. 1490), the teacher of Pico della Mirandola and a much sought-after translator of Averroes's works into Latin, composed his theological treatise only after he returned to his native Crete where he could more freely critique the rise of Christian kabbalah and the blending of Neoplatonism, Christianity, and magic he encountered in Florence.

Familiarity with the literary genres, conventions, and sensibilities of Renaissance humanism characterized these Jewish intellectuals, giving rise to a distinctive Jewish version of humanism. Yet the appropriation of prevailing literary sensibilities did not diminish the emphasis on Jewish spiritual superiority and the salvific efficacy of Jewish law. Thus, Giuseppe Veltri notes that Leone Ebreo (ca. 1460–ca. 1535), the author of the best seller *Dialoghi di amore* and a well-respected physician, was not only proud of his Judaism, "his consciousness of Jewish identity is the essence of the philosophy" (p. 55). Veltri argues, not entirely convincingly, that Leone's success was due primarily to his eloquence capturing the discourse on love in the genre of courtly literature most successfully. Since Leone's Judaism was "too pale to be noticed by contemporary Christian audience," the book became a bestseller despite its author's religious identity.

The opposite dynamic is evident in the case of Joseph ha-Kohen of Genoa (1496–ca. 1577) who wrote a history of the wars between the Christian West and the Muslim East utilizing historical narratives by An-

drew Cambini (1455/60–1527) and Paolo Giovio (1483–1552). Despite the reliance on non-Jewish sources, as Martin Jacobs shows, the Jewish historian offered his Jewish readers “the traditional view of history based on concepts such as prophecy and fulfillment, sin and punishments which is completely different from his sources” (p. 75). A more controversial contemporary of Jacob ha-Kohen, Azariah de’ Rossi (ca. 1511–ca. 1577), not only mastered current historiography and its new recovery of the classical past but also subjected the New Testament Vulgate to close textual analysis, which he published in Italian for a Christian audience. Joanna Weinberg’s subtle portrayal demonstrates that Azariah’s textual studies expressed his deep commitment to the pursuit of truth for the purpose of attaining the perfection of the soul. In this regard, Azariah was inspired by the philosophy of Maimonides and his followers, even though Azaria’s approach to history differed markedly from that of Maimonides, capturing the divide between medieval and Renaissance mentalities.

The relationship between Judeo-Italian culture and its medieval antecedents in Spain and Provence is a theme that concerns several essays. Did Jewish intellectuals in Renaissance Italy depart from medieval paradigms or perpetuate them? Alessandro Gueta’s study of Yehiel Nissim of Pisa (ca. 1493–1572) presents a Jewish intellectual who criticized medieval rationalist philosophy even though he was also indebted to the scholastic philosophy of Augustino Nifo. Familiar with medieval Judeo-Arabic philosophy and with Christian scholasticism, Yehiel da Pisa also endorsed the views of Judah Halevi (d. ca. 1140) and the interpretative stance of the kabbalist Nahmanides (d. 1270) leading him to champion the ontological superiority of Jews, the salvific merit of Jewish law, and the epistemic superiority of the Torah over the natural sciences.

Interest in Judah Halevi’s *Kuzari* was shared by other Jewish scholars at the time who found in the text an answer to the deterioration of Jewish political status. Thus Judah Moscato (1535–1590) composed a commentary on Halevi’s *Kuzari*, which Adam Shears insightfully suggests functioned as a kind of encyclopedia, offering Jews wide-ranging knowledge on music, rhetoric, natural philosophy, rabbinics, and kabbalah. Eclectically combining humanist, Aristotelian, and Neoplatonic orientations, this encyclopedic commentary satisfied the quest for “universal knowledge,” a central Renaissance impulse, while giving it a particularistic Jewish orientation.

Spiritual pride did not prevent Jewish intellectuals from recognizing their relative cultural weakness and precariousness. In 1564, David and Abraham Provenzali, a father and son, proposed the creation of an academy for young Jewish males to provide broad knowledge of Judaism along with the secular sciences. Gianfranco Miletto analyzes the proposal and shows how this Jewish educational institution was actually designed to limit the exposure of Jewish youth to the

general culture, on the one hand, while, on the other hand, it resembled the curriculum of Jesuit colleges and the educational goals and mentality of the Catholic Counter Reformation. Jewish awareness of the turmoil in the Christian world was in part enhanced by conversos who returned to the Jewish fold, intensifying the involvement of the Inquisition in Jewish affairs. Eleazar Gutwirt’s study of the most famous of them, Amatus Lusitanus, explores the impact of conversos on Jewish life, especially the flourishing of humanism in the Ottoman Jewish community, and provides a novel exposition of Lusitanus’s creative fusion of history, medicine, and natural sciences.

The paradoxes of Jewish life in Italy is most poignantly captured in the study of Salomone de’ Rossi (ca. 1570–1628) by Don Harrán. Here is a Jewish virtuoso (a violinist, composer, and conductor of musical ensembles) who was employed by the Mantuan court of Duke Vincenzo I and his son Francesco. As a privileged Jew, de’ Rossi was exempt from various restrictions imposed on Jews, but he decided not to convert and did not sever his ties with the Jewish community in Mantua. His musical legacy included art music for the court as well as music for the synagogue and for special occasions in Jewish life (e.g. weddings, circumcisions, inauguration of Torah scrolls, Purim festivities, and celebrations of confraternities). Introducing Christian style music to Jewish communal life was not easy, and de’ Rossi needed the support of Jewish patrons and of rabbinic leaders. Conversely, de’ Rossi’s uniquely Jewish sensitivity to textuality shaped his court music, analyzed beautifully by Harrán. It was only in his instrumental music that the Jewish virtuoso could freely express himself, since it was not part of the Jewish synagogue tradition and was not practiced within the confines of the Jewish space.

The creative tension between universalism and particularism in Judeo-Italian culture comes to the fore in the interplay between philosophy and kabbalah. The theme weaves through various essays in the volume, albeit with relatively little innovation in analysis. The concluding essay by Idel provides an overview of Italian kabbalah, adding further support to his already well-documented arguments about its philosophical orientation. This matrix was in place already at the end of the fifteenth century, and into it Italian kabbalists absorbed and reinterpreted the mythic/theurgic kabbalah of Moses Cordovero and Isaac Luria imported into Italy from Safed. Through the analysis of the dialectical relations between Italian kabbalah and the kabbalah of Safed, Idel dismantles the traditional conception articulated by Gershom Scholem and assesses the creativity of Jewish culture in the early modern period. Idel concludes that “Jews absorbed elements of the culture and responded to new spiritual challenges” in their own distinctive way (p. 258) and that Jewish participation in Renaissance culture changed over time. In the first phase of the Renaissance (1470–1550) Jews were part of the Florentine group that contributed so much to the emergence of

the speculative aspects of the Italian Renaissance, but after the mid-sixteenth century, Italian Jews became “consumers of culture and intellectual views rather than significant contributors.”

To specialists in Italian Jewish culture this volume does not offer many surprises, but they can definitely benefit from its excellent scholarship. To Jewish historians who do not specialize in Italy, the volume offers more nuanced and subtle ways to think about the relations between Jews and non-Jews in the production of Jewish culture. To Europeanists who are not familiar with the history of the Jewish minority, this volume (and especially the bibliography) could open a new window into the richness of Renaissance culture, which cannot be understood without the Jews.

HAVA TIROSH-SAMUELSON
Arizona State University

DANIELA RANDO, *Dai margini la memoria: Johannes Hinderbach (1418–1486)*. (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento; Monografie, number 37.) Bologna: Mulino. 2003. Pp. 575. €33.00.

Daniela Rando offers here an account of the life, work, and thought of Johannes Hinderbach—jurist, counselor, diplomat, and cleric. Hinderbach was educated in arts and law at the universities of Vienna and Padua. Before becoming bishop of Trent in 1465, he was in service to the Habsburg Holy Roman Emperor and German King Frederick III. Hinderbach is best known for his participation in the affair of Simon of Trent, a boy believed to have been ritually murdered by members of Trent's Jewish community in 1475. The reprisals—after torture, forced confessions, and obligatory conversions—were brutal, as members of the Jewish community were beheaded, burned, or disposed. Rando does not focus on this episode, offering instead a two-part study of Hinderbach in context, a practice that allows her, when she does arrive at Hinderbach's perceptions of Jews, to explain his participation in the Simon episode in a way that is intuitively satisfying, blending as it does structure and individual agency. Rando's study is enriched by her use of a distinctive source base, Hinderbach's library of over a hundred manuscripts and forty incunabula. He annotated them richly, and Rando has used these marginalia to reconstruct the fears, joys, and machinations of a fifteenth-century individual. In so doing, she also makes a contribution to the history of pre-Cartesian subjectivity.

First the author provides a narrative of Hinderbach's life and times up until his election as bishop of Trent. Here we learn, in addition to much about the give and take of transalpine church politics, that while at Padua Hinderbach was interested in the supposed tomb of Antenor and that he knew the work of the earliest Renaissance historian of Latin literature, Sicco Polenton. Given his proximity to Frederick III, Hinderbach's acquaintance with Enea Silvio Piccolomini (the future Pope Pius II) is unsurprising but

noteworthy in character. Hinderbach says that he was present when Piccolomini first encountered Tacitus's *Germania*. He laments that, even though he helped Piccolomini become a cardinal, Piccolomini was less generous than he might have been after becoming pope; and in one of his annotations, Hinderbach goes so far as to take credit for impelling Piccolomini to write his celebrated work *On the Education of the Young* (p. 196).

It is in the book's second half that Rando's method comes into its own. Here she is less concerned with the flow of events and more with Hinderbach's subjective experience as it finds reflection in his annotations. The creation of memory, the exegetical, repetitive nature of premodern reading, the constitution of the “self”: these concerns form the background to discussions of Hinderbach's perception of the role of the bishop, his opinions on relics, and his understanding of prayer. Hinderbach emerges as an exemplar of a certain kind of reading practice and mindset: when Hinderbach encounters Job's lament about God's anger (Job 16:9), he writes in the margin that “this was verified in the person of Christ, in His passion.” Tellingly for what is to come, when he comes across the passage in Isaiah (Isaiah 6:10) averring that the people of Israel “see but do not perceive,” Hinderbach writes that “this has been verified among the stubborn Jews” (p. 373). Hinderbach's “fears and frenzies” included women, Turks, and Jews. Rando argues that Hinderbach, who lost his mother (as well as his father) by the age of eleven, was shaped by the essentializing perception of women (as flesh opposed to reason, desire as opposed to discipline) available to Christian elites from late antiquity. From his annotations at least, Hinderbach emerges as a person whose mindset was shaped by books.

The Turks were a different matter, as many Westerners were shaken by Constantinople's fall in 1453 and the seeming implacability of the Turkish advance. Yet here, too, Hinderbach's opinions emerge out of the written culture in which he was enmeshed. For him as for many of his contemporaries, the Turks were “bloodthirsty,” “perverse,” “rabid dogs,” or “the scourge of God” on contemporary leaders grown lax. A deeper problem stemmed from what they shared with the Jews: both groups were characterized by *perfidia*, “faithlessness.” Hinderbach's annotations regarding Jews make his beliefs clear. Often in the margins to scriptural passages (referring, say, to God's anger), he will write simply, “contra Judaeos” (“against the Jews”). Thus an Old Testament passage about a specific instance of God's wrath comes to seem, when highlighted and annotated, part of a general anti-Jewish message permeating scripture. Hinderbach's reading is inflected by the common notion that the New Testament was a fulfilment and vindication of the promises adumbrated in the Old. Reading Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* and encountering a passage in which it was suggested that Jews needed the blood of Christians to cover up their own odor,

Hinderbach annotated: "here he is treating the foulness and filthiness of Jews and Jewesses" (p. 476). Hinderbach's consultation of texts furthered his assumptions about the world even as his assumptions colored the way he read. Rando has allowed us to enter into the mindset of a fifteenth-century individual, familiar to us from his intellectual habits, distinctive in his use of annotation as a form of self-portraiture, and alien in his assumptions.

CHRISTOPHER S. CELENZA
Johns Hopkins University

JANE BURBANK. *Russian Peasants Go to Court: Legal Culture in the Countryside, 1905–1917*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2004. Pp. xxi, 374. \$49.95.

This impressive work by Jane Burbank examines the operation of Russian township (*volost'*) courts during the final years of the *ancien regime*. The courts themselves constituted the lowest instance in the judicial system erected in 1864; operated by the peasants, they were to resolve petty civil matters and misdemeanors among peasants themselves (and, occasionally, petty townspeople and, rarely, individuals from the more privileged social estates). This study focuses on ten township courts, seven in Moscow province, two in St. Petersburg province, and one in Novgorod province; it combines a close reading of individual cases with a statistical data set based on 907 files. The overarching purpose is to challenge the view (widely held by liberal jurists and educated Russian society) that the Russian peasantry lacked a rudimentary understanding of formal law and that the courts themselves only attest to this lawlessness and barbarity in the countryside.

Burbank, eschewing traditional stereotypes and assumptions about the "peasantry" as some homogeneous collectivity, seeks to provide an entirely new perspective on individual peasants and their courts. By devoting considerable attention to the paper records (*deloproizvodstvo*) and the operation of these courts, she concludes that the courts provided an efficient mechanism for resolving conflicts, that Russian peasants shaped the legal culture of imperial Russia, and that the courts served to promote civility and legality. As the records of these ten township courts and official statistics demonstrate, these courts recorded a seventy-eight percent increase in caseload between 1905 and 1913 yet remained a model of "efficient, regulated, effective, and recorded justice" (p. 75). The analysis includes the critical war years and, among other things, reveals a remarkable increase in the participation of women. This study, along with other research, provides fresh insight into the petty civil and criminal issues of everyday concern for peasants.

Even so massively researched and carefully crafted a volume cannot answer all the questions it has raised. As the author notes, these ten courts were hardly "typical"; indeed, operating in the shadows of the two capitals, they could hardly be more atypical, especially when compared with courts and peasants in remote,

outlying provinces. Burbank does show some change within the years 1905–1917, but a broader longitudinal study from the court's founding in 1864 could give a more graphic picture of the processes and patterns of change in the village. Moreover, township courts—while dominant as the first instance—comprised part of a larger system; it would be desirable to complement the picture offered here with a similar study of the peasants' interaction with courts of higher instances to ascertain how they perceived the judicial system as a whole. Even if peasants appropriated (and prized) the township courts for their own purposes, that constitutes only part of their interaction with the imperial judiciary. But perhaps it is even misleading to generalize too hastily about the experience of litigants in township courts, given that these involved less than two percent of the rural population; whether the rest had no conflicts (hardly imaginable) or turned elsewhere for conflict resolution remains an unknown. No doubt further inquiry into the gender dimension would also be fruitful; after all, the township courts were essentially male courts, with men constituting eighty-six percent of the plaintiffs, ninety percent of the defendants, ninety-eight percent of the witnesses, and 100 percent of the judges. Whether women could not, or would not, bother with such institutionalized patriarchy remains an open question. And, however seductive and rewarding the focus on a single source might be, it will be important to explore other documentation, especially if one is to judge the fairness, scale of corruption, and sheer efficiency of such courts. Not only the press but litigation in higher instances and the peasants' own testimony (in collective resolutions, for example) can offer complementary—and perhaps contravening—evidence on how the majority of peasants actually regarded these courts and the tsarist judiciary. One can also quibble about methodology: while it is cumbersome to construct statistically valid samples (whether random or proportionate samples), it is essential if the numbers are to be meaningful. And interpretation of numbers, even if statistically valid, requires care. Thus, while Burbank praises the township courts for handling cases promptly (despite the sharp rise in volume), one might instead conclude that this system was turning into a conveyor belt that afforded hasty, not necessarily fair, verdicts.

Such comments can help shape future studies. In the interim, this volume represents a significant contribution to the field and, it is to be hoped, will spawn studies that explore other regions and sources and thereby shed still more light on the complex, changing world of the village.

GREGORY L. FREEZE
Brandeis University

KEES BOTERBLOEM. *The Life and Times of Andrei Zhdanov, 1896–1948*. Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2004. Pp. xxiv, 593. \$44.95.

Kees Boterbloem's book traces Andrei Zhdanov's rise to one of Joseph Stalin's most trusted deputies by the late 1930s, carefully examining Zhdanov's role in the great purges, in the 1939 war with Finland, and the Nazi-Soviet Pact. In addition to tracing Zhdanov's life and role, the book provides a detailed history of government decision making during much of the Soviet period, based on impressive study of post-Soviet Russian histories, Western writings, and Soviet archives now available. Boterbloem particularly analyzes records of visits to Stalin's office and leadership meetings. The book has about 350 pages of text and almost 200 pages of footnotes, with about forty pages of bibliography.

While going into great detail on political decision making, Boterbloem's approach differs from that of other historians in downplaying the importance of rivalries among Stalin's deputies. Although often pointing out the importance of ties between leaders and their associates, he repeatedly criticizes scholars who stress the struggles between groups of leaders. In particular, he complains that the importance of the rivalry between Zhdanov and Stalin's deputy Georgiy Malenkov, and of independent initiatives by Zhdanov or others, has been exaggerated (p. 9). Boterbloem admits that Malenkov and Zhdanov were hardly close friends, but he insists that no leader dared to be close to any other for fear of arousing Stalin's suspicion. He states that until 1950 (when Stalin became sick), Stalin "left little room" for "personal vendettas" among lieutenants, and competition among deputies "was far less pronounced" than other historians make out. He also argues that it is wrong to attribute initiatives to Zhdanov or other Soviet leaders, since most such initiatives came from Stalin.

Of course, the Communist Party banned factionalism and Stalin was sensitive to any hints of collusion among his deputies, and historians can sometimes force untidy events into artificial patterns. But Boterbloem's avoidance of factional interpretation—breaking down developments into patterns that suggest struggle between rival groupings over power and policy—makes it hard to make sense of the flow of events and the mass of detail. Clashes between leaders seem like random actions, not explainable by differing viewpoints or continuing patterns of personal or policy conflict, and events appear to lack political meaning. For example, the author explains the 1948 Central Committee apparatus reorganization—from basically two big directorates (for propaganda and cadres) to numerous departments for industrial branches—as the result of expansion of the party's central staff. "By 1948 it had become evident that the Central Committee Secretaries heading the directorates could not cope with supervising the thousands of bureaucrats of their vast apparatuses" (p. 329). He seems to accept the official explanation of the 1948 appointment of Malenkov and his "ally" P. K. Ponomarenko as Central Committee secretaries as necessitated by the "increase in the Central Committee's work" (p. 330). He ne-

glects the political explanation: that the drastic reversal of Zhdanov's 1939 reorganization and introduction of Malenkov's preference for industrial branches and the promotion of Zhdanov's foes Malenkov and Ponomarenko can be read as signs of Zhdanov's political decline.

Reading this book brings to mind the question of how much political motivation should be read into politicians' actions. Memoirs and official records often downplay the political subtext of discussions or actions. In reacting against political overinterpretation, Boterbloem may go too far in ignoring political motivations. Nevertheless, his detailed examination of archival material brings up much new material on important questions, such as Zhdanov's relationship to Stalin in his last months.

WERNER G. HAHN

Foreign Broadcast Information Service

SERHY YEKELCHYK. *Stalin's Empire of Memory: Russian-Ukrainian Relations in the Soviet Historical Imagination*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 231. \$50.00.

The Soviet Union was designed as a nominal federation of nationally named republics, in significant measure to gain the loyalty of Ukrainians to an entity governed from Moscow. During the 1920s, Moscow pursued a policy of "ukrainization," subsidizing Ukrainian culture and promoting ethnic Ukrainians within Soviet Ukraine. This experience marked the generation of writers who are the subjects of Serhy Yekelchuk's subtle and convincing narrative. By 1930, the endorsement of Ukrainian culture was called into question. Some Ukrainian writers were purged for nationalism, others for an overweening Marxism that failed to acknowledge the leading role of Russia. Ironically, Yekelchuk argues, the rise of Russia as the leading nation of the Soviet Union allowed, even required, the creation of a parallel official history for Ukraine.

In 1937, as the Great Terror began, Russia was characterized as "the great Russian nation." The rhetoric of class struggle, Yekelchuk argues, was replaced by that of national struggle. Certain groups became "enemy nations." Ukraine was rather a necessary ally. As Poles and Germans were executed in the anticipation of a European war, Soviet Ukrainian intellectuals created a timely Soviet Ukrainian national myth. The Cossack Uprisings of the seventeenth century, the most important event in this myth, revealed the resistance of the Ukrainian masses to Polish gentry and their German hirelings.

Yekelchuk emphasizes the interaction between central authorities and Ukrainian writers. Guidelines from Moscow allowed, he maintains, room for creativity. Thus the rehabilitation of the seventeenth-century Cossack hetman Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi in 1938 allowed him to become a hero of Soviet Ukrainian drama, but it did not determine how books, films, and

operas were to be plotted and produced. It is nevertheless remarkable how closely such creative work matched the demands of the moment. As Poles were purged, Khmel'nyts'kyi was an anti-Polish figure. During World War II, he stood for feats of arms. Afterward, he became a symbol of the shared fate of Russia and Ukraine.

Between war's end and Joseph Stalin's death (in 1953), Ukrainian writers found an uneasy truce with their official minders. The writers, interestingly, fell out of favor, issued self-criticism, returned to favor, and then produced the major texts of official memory. They denounced each other, edited each other's works, and yet somehow seemed to be engaged in a common project. One wishes to know more about their motives. Yekelchuk claims to resolve tensions between centralizing and centripetal interpretations of Soviet history by focusing on the interaction between officials and intellectuals, but this move simply poses the same question of center versus periphery at a different level. Where did writers' commitment to Ukraine come from? Is it to be explained by (centrally directed) policies of ukrainization? By a continuous Ukrainian history? Or perhaps—a possibility which Yekelchuk outlines but does not elucidate—ambitions within a colonial apparatus?

After the war, Ukrainian writers reached a durable truce with Moscow. Ukraine was to be seen as a distinct but fraternal nation, which in the seventeenth century had freely bound itself to its elder Russian brother: Russia and Ukraine were, so to speak, together but unequal. As Yekelchuk notes, such compromises contained the seeds of contradiction. If Ukraine freely joined Russia, it must have a history of its own. Even if Russia (after the war) was the only "great" nation, Ukraine was still a nation, and Ukrainians could codify a national past. This process took the familiar forms of historical novels and national opera. These genres smacked of classicist stability in the Soviet Union, but here as in other empires (suggests Yekelchuk) they were vehicles of post-Romantic nationalism.

Yekelchuk's account is a model of archival research and clear exposition. Along with recent work by David Brandenberger and others, it exemplifies a fruitful trend: the institutionalization of the intellectual history of the Soviet Union. Before 1991 one could know, roughly at least, which ideas were at stake, but available sources overemphasized the perspectives of defeated factions and dissidents. Recent archivally based studies reveal that the tensions between ideas were real enough in institutional practice. Yekelchuk chooses to emphasize a certain kind of career, one perhaps unglamorous and often ignored, of the creative intellectual who compromises, leaving behind works that are flawed as universal art but important as national pedagogy.

TIMOTHY SNYDER
Yale University

LEONA TOKER. *Return from the Archipelago: Narratives of Gulag Survivors*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 333. \$39.95.

Leona Toker has embarked upon an ambitious project in terms of both the volume of literature that she covers and the theoretical questions that she poses. Her purpose in giving us this interpretive reading of the Gulag literature is to establish it as a distinctive literary genre and to identify the distinguishing features of this genre. In the process of realizing her aims, she poses important questions about the relationship between fiction and ethics and between artistic and ethical truth, about the nature of testimony and the relationship between individual experience and collective suffering, and about the uncomfortable role of the reader as both a victim and perpetrator of crime.

Her introductory chapter has a distinctively ethical tone. She writes: "Opting for a study of atrocities is not a reason for self-congratulation, yet it is an ethically positive act, if only because the victims usually want the world at large to know of their plight" (p. 2). In the context of discussing the overreliance on statistics, she makes the point that for a victim to drop out of statistics altogether is far worse than the transmutation of personal experience into statistics.

Most Western readers will be familiar with the writings of Varlam Shalamov and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, but Toker outlines for us the contours of a vast corpus of literature from the 1920s onwards. As such, the book provides an invaluable reference work for scholars from many disciplines. Toker provides us with a historical background to the Soviet concentration camps. However, her main focus is on the literary shape of testimonial writing. She is, of course, aware of the prevailing hesitancy about focusing on the formal aesthetic aspects of Gulag literature: the idea that form is trivial and detracts from substance. There is a general feeling that just as there is something morally repulsive about concentrating on the table manners of a starving person, so, too, there is something morally wrong in concentrating on the literary form of accounts of extreme experience. But Toker contends that "It is now ethically possible and, I believe, necessary to consider the writings of former prisoners as *artistic works* and to analyze not just the testimony that they represent but also their formal features" (p. 8). And this is where the book excels.

Toker's skill lies in identifying for us the recurring literary strategies that contribute to the artistic cohesiveness and moral power of Gulag narratives. She refers to these as the semiotics of Gulag literature. The structuring features of this literature include a description of the arrest where the cruelty of the act is offset by the kindness of an individual. Physical hardships are experienced as moral indignities: "The demands of the moral self are almost naturally stronger than one's biological needs" (p. 95). It is for such reasons that fasting becomes the paradoxical response to hunger. The separation of the text into chapters mirrors move-

ment across the Gulag landscape. The several meanings of the Russian word *etap* promote this kind of slippage between context and text. The shock of acute suffering is often mitigated, or sometimes accentuated, by focusing on incidental features of the situation. Too much emphasis on relentless suffering might weaken the reader's engagement with the text. Thus torture and interrogation are represented as a battle of wits between the torturer and his victim. There a fusion of individual and collective concerns often reflected in a meditation upon the relationship between the zone as a microcosm of the larger zone. Chance in the ancient Greek sense always plays a part.

A challenge for all Gulag narratives is the negotiation of a compromise between the artistic demands for unity and coherence and the testimonial or witnessing demands for all-inclusiveness and comprehensiveness. Shalamov insists that "the smallest and the weakest" must be allowed to leave a record (p. 5). The tension in finding this balance surfaces in Toker's own study. If she errs, it is toward the ethical rather than the artistic: toward all-inclusiveness at the cost of structural simplicity and clarity. Throughout the discussions of fictional and documentary accounts, we are given a feeling of the inseparability of life and literature. But this approach raises many questions that are not answered. Since the Wilkomirski affair, the relationship among text, experience, and authority has become more troubled. Where do we draw the line between fiction and fact? Who has the authority to speak for whom? And does the commonality of literary structure tell us anything about fundamental human ways of coping with extreme experience? These are questions that will be easier to debate since the appearance of Toker's book.

VIDEA SKULTANS
University of Bristol

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

FRANÇOISE DUNAND and CHRISTIANE ZIVIE-COCHE.
Gods and Men in Egypt: 3000 BCE 395 CE. Translated by
DAVID LORTON. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004.
Pp. xv, 378. \$45.00.

With Françoise Dunand and Christiane Zivie-Coche's book, originally published in French in 1991, Cornell University Press has cornered the market in high-level introductions to ancient Egyptian religion, along with Byron E. Shafer, ed., *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myths, and Personal Practice* (1991), Jan Assmann's *Search for God in Ancient Egypt* (2001), and books by Siegfried Morenz, Erik Hornung, Claude Traunecker, and Dimitri Meeks. All take seriously Egyptian theology, cosmology, and iconography on their own terms, not simply as precursors or counterpoints to Christianity; all are sensitive to the different ideologies and texts of different temples; and particularly Shafer and Dunand/Zivie-Coche convey the central importance of

practice and ritual, lest Egyptian religion appear no more than the thought-experiments of ancient sages.

In Dunand and Zivie-Coche's book one gets the best in French Egyptology, exhaustive in coverage, with brilliantly sweeping insights that are informed as much by comparison and ethnography as by archaeology and epigraphy. Quoting Marguerite Yourcenar and Claude Lévi-Strauss, it represents Egyptology as a real intellectual pursuit, not just a source for History Channel sensationalism. Of course, for the American reader seeking efficient, historically-grounded prose and specific examples, there can be a downside to the more abstract French style of Zivie-Coche's segment, even in David Lorton's excellent translation. And unlike Assmann and Shafer, Dunand and Zivie-Coche do not document the innumerable sources they cite (apart from those they quote), making the student's pursuit of primary materials difficult. Major references are gathered in bibliographies at the end; but Dunand has not updated hers from the 1991 French edition, thus leaving aside a considerable body of recent scholarship on Greco-Roman Egyptian religion.

Yet it is for Dunand's half of the book, "Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt," that the volume stands out among these other introductions; for neither Shafer nor Assmann offer systematic discussion of the fascinating changes in Egyptian religion that took place under Hellenism, nor do books on Greco-Roman Egypt offer proper explanations of classical Egyptian religion. Dunand is herself among the most important and insightful scholars today of Egyptian religion of the Greco-Roman period. With her overview of religious developments through the rise of Christianity, this book successfully captures both Pharaonic and Hellenistic periods of Egyptian religion as distinct phases.

Zivie-Coche, an eminent archaeologist, approaches classical Egyptian religion as a complex thought system with its own subtle structures, none of which can be reduced to the caricatures of idolatry, animal worship, and intellectual mind games that have been applied to Egypt since the ancient Greeks. She devotes chapters to the significance of Egyptian gods, their verbal and iconographic representations, and to the uses of and variations in pantheons, the mythology of creation, and time itself, before turning to temples and rituals. In a particularly interesting chapter on Egyptian temples and the "grammar" of their iconographic and ritual arrangement, Zivie-Coche proposes that through these physical features "the temple was capable of functioning on its own, without priests, for the combination of images and texts on the walls were in and of themselves performative, even when no one came to animate it" (p. 95). Another excellent chapter on religious practices and attitudes outside the temple priesthood—what is often called "popular religion"—covers festivals, magic, domestic cult, and the language of entreaty or prayer, yet makes clear their essential connections to the world of the temple.

Dunand's section of the book, which covers Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt through the rise of Christian-

ity, is more historically grounded, opening with chapters on the nature of Ptolemaic and Roman rulership and priestly responses to these foreign rulers. While priests had traditionally promoted rulership, some began to lead revolts in the Ptolemaic period; and so with Roman rule the priesthoods were supervised closely. Subsequent chapters address the invention and popularization of the hybrid god Sarapis; the popularization of the royal goddess Isis and mortuary god Osiris across Egypt; and the expansion of some major temple complexes like Esna and their traditional literatures. Dunand has always been particularly sensitive to the dynamics of Hellenism—the use of Greek language, images, and ideas to reframe regional traditions—and thus devotes two chapters to examining Greek colonists' incorporation of Egyptian traditions and Egyptian villages' incorporation of Greek traditions (especially iconographic). Astute discussions of Judaism and Christianity in Egypt make full use of papyri and archaeology as well as literary texts. The last chapters cover examples of continuing temple festivals and processions; various forms of extra-temple religion (pilgrimage, domestic shrines, oracles); and, in a particularly important chapter, the continuity of mortuary tradition through the Roman period, alternately appropriated by Greeks and Romans and maintained by Christians.

Overall, the two authors have produced an authoritative and accessible text for a course on religions of the Greco-Roman world or on Greco-Roman Egypt—if the instructor can compensate for the lack of citations.

DAVID FRANKFURTER
University of New Hampshire

JOHN T. CHALCRAFT. *The Striking Cabbies of Cairo and Other Stories: Crafts and Guilds in Egypt, 1863–1914*. (SUNY Series in the Social and Economic History of the Middle East.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2004. Pp. xvi, 285. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$25.95.

This engaging book describes how Egypt's artisans and small entrepreneurs coped with the changes brought about by Westernization and British imperialism from the middle of the nineteenth century up to the outbreak of World War I. It departs from the assumption that history written "from below" should be restricted to farmers in their fields and workers in their factories. It also refutes the widespread belief—one to which this reviewer would have subscribed—that the Industrial Revolution in Europe wiped out the industries of Egypt and other Third World countries. Small-scale manufacturing and various service industries persisted in Egypt, adapted to changing consumer needs and environmental conditions, and even grew stronger in some instances. The traditional artisan and merchant guilds did indeed atrophy and disappear, partly because the Egyptian government stopped using them as agents of taxation. The needs that had been met by

those guilds persisted, however, and new forms of organization and methods of mobilization enabled workers to articulate them. By the end of the period under consideration, Egypt's petit bourgeoisie and workers were starting to ally themselves with the burgeoning movement of resistance to foreign domination.

Based on John T. Chalcraft's prize-winning dissertation, this work draws on documents in Egypt's Dar al-Watha'iq al-Qawmiyya, court proceedings, Cairo governorate records, British consular correspondence, yearbooks, contemporary accounts in books and periodicals, and previous historical studies. To be sure, the rise of the Egyptian government under Muhammad Ali and his heirs, the imposition of a "temporary" British military occupation in 1882, the influx of European manufactured goods, and the immigration of European (and Asian) workers all affected—and generally for the worse—the conditions under which Egyptian artisans and merchants labored. Nevertheless, the operative assumption of contemporary observers and subsequent historians that Egypt's workers were a group that was acted upon is refuted by the evidence that Chalcraft presents. They were, in fact, actors. They adapted to changing conditions, adopted techniques of production, and refined their methods of organization. Although the government did not promote—and indeed actively discouraged—Egyptian factories, there were still growing numbers of Egyptians who spun and wove woolen and cotton cloth, cobbled shoes, built houses, prepared food and drink for consumption, and transported goods and people. As the guild system atrophied, they lost some of the traditional protections that had helped them to earn their livelihood. In some instances they effectively exploited themselves, their families, apprentices, and employees to compete with foreign-made products, reducing real wages, working longer hours, and forgoing better quality tools and working conditions.

The cab drivers' strike of April 1907 was a brief episode that erupted as a reaction to efforts by the Egyptian authorities, pressed by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, to enforce existing regulations against abuse of horses and other draft animals by carters and coachmen. It was also a reaction against the appearance of the first automotive taxis in the streets of Cairo and the willingness of the authorities to license them. As traffic ground to a halt and violence erupted in the city, the government made important concessions to the drivers, relaxing the inspection of draft animals, and the strike came to an end. It soon was followed by similar job actions by fishermen, butchers, matweavers, and tramdrivers. The Nationalists, mainly middle-class professionals, began to espouse the strikers' demands and to provide educational and other services to workers. What had begun as a protest movement of coach drivers began to evolve into a general workers' movement with long-term implications for Egyptian nationalism, but the failure of the National Party to become a mass move-

ment delayed this process. The imposition of martial law following the outbreak of World War I and the subsequent proclamation of the British protectorate silenced the Nationalists and, indeed, the workers. The subsequent development of organized labor in Egypt has been related by Raouf Abbas, Joel Beinin and Zachary Lockman, and Ellis Goldberg, among others, but Chalcraft's book makes a valuable contribution to our general knowledge of Egypt's economic history before World War I and our specific understanding of how Egyptian workers organized themselves within a challenging political and economic environment. The book is written in an engaging style and is graced by some contemporary photographs that also help to convey the author's message.

ARTHUR GOLDSCHMIDT, JR.
Penn State University

S. ILAN TROEN. *Imagining Zion: Dreams, Designs, and Realities in a Century of Jewish Settlement*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. xv, 341. \$35.00.

Zionism's success in establishing a Jewish state ultimately lies in its historical ability to control land, settle it with immigrants, and create a new Jewish demographic and spatial reality in largely Arab Palestine. This process was accomplished through two interconnected processes. The first consisted of the visions and efforts of Zionist planners, while the second was the turbulence and demographic fallout of the 1948 and 1967 Arab-Israeli wars. S. Ilan Troen offers a detailed history of the first process: how Zionist "colonizers" (p. xiv) employed dreams and designs to plan new, European-style rural and urban landscapes for Jewish immigrants to Palestine and, after 1948, Israel. Unfortunately, however, he avoids any meaningful analysis of the second: the disappearance of much of the Arab spatial and demographic reality that resulted from these processes. Nor does he shed much light on the intertwined relationship between the two, and thus he avoids the interconnection between Zionist planning and shrinking Palestinian demographic and geographic realities. Admittedly, the book's purpose is to study the internal workings of Jewish settlement in Palestine/Israel. It does so, however, in a strangely detached way that fails to situate this discussion adequately within the wider context of the Zionist-Palestinian Arab struggle over the land.

Troen argues that Zionist settlement planning was conditioned historically by three factors: social and political ideologies, productivity and economic self-sufficiency, and security. Of these, he argues that security has played the biggest role in shaping, or misshaping, settlement strategies and tactics. He studies Jewish settlement in Palestine/Israel chronologically from the first *aliya* (wave of Jewish immigration) of the 1880s through settlement building in the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem after 1967. The book focuses on three themes, each of which is detailed in one of its three parts. In part one, Troen analyzes "The

Zionist Village," noting the pre-1948 evolution of the concept of the rural Jewish community from the individualistic moshava, to the collective kevtza and kibbutz models, and finally to the cooperative moshav farms. The kibbutz model was better suited for defense, he argues, which explains the predominance of this type of settlement after the 1929 disturbances.

Part two centers around urban planning. The author devotes an entire chapter to the development of Tel Aviv as a "Vienna on the Mediterranean," replete with Viennese models for development and Bauhaus architecture. Troen discusses the importation of European models of garden cities and urban planning and contrasts the collectivism of rural settlement designs with the individualistic, bourgeois spirit that stirred the urban Zionist imaginations of men like Theodor Herzl and Meir Dizengoff.

The third and final part of the book examines the fallout of the Jewish victory in the 1948 war. Here Troen focuses on the massive drive to settle hundreds of thousands of new Jewish immigrants in Israel after the war, which forced Zionist settlement patterns into yet another phase. Finally, part three discusses the "rurban" model of village community found in post-1967 Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, and details the special case of planning in and around Jerusalem.

Troen's inattention to the full ramifications of the 1948 war for the contours of the predominantly Arab landscape in the country is most evident in section three. Despite its title ("Post-Independence Opportunities and Necessities"), he devotes precious little attention here to one of the most important keys to Zionism's success in Judaizing Palestine: the massive Palestinian refugee exodus and the abandonment of a huge amount of Palestinian land, during and after the 1948 war. The book sheds little light on the dynamics by which the new Israeli state confiscated the refugees' properties, destroyed their villages, and transformed their spatial geography. One therefore comes away with an incomplete understanding of how Zionist "imagined communities" were created out of the pre-existing Arab landscape. This is not a call for politicizing the book, or giving a "Palestinian perspective." One simply cannot discuss the long history of Zionist settlement without taking into account its encounters with a different (Arab) demographic and geographic reality. Nor can one ignore Zionism's transformative power over the landscape. Zionist policy literally was articulated as the "conquest of the land," both on a macro-level scale (*kibush ha-arets*) and micro-level scale (*kibush ha-adama*). The speed, ease, and cost of this conquest were assisted dramatically after 1948 by the confiscation of massive amounts of Palestinian refugee land and, later, the land of resident Palestinians in Israel and the West Bank.

This is nonetheless a useful book that details the ideals and practical details of a century of Zionist settlement, despite largely ignoring the historical geo-

graphical context that made much of this settlement possible.

MICHAEL R. FISCHBACH
Randolph-Macon College

MICHAEL R. FISCHBACH. *Records of Dispossession: Palestinian Refugee Property and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. (The Institute for Palestine Studies Series.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2003. Pp. xxviii, 467. \$39.50.

Since Camp David II in July 2000, the claim for a right of return by Palestinian refugees has become the most visible evidence of irreconcilable differences between Israeli government positions and those of the Palestinian leadership. Michael R. Fischbach links the unresolved conflict about how to achieve a just resolution of refugee claims to the more specific question of defining and compensating for refugee property lost in the war of 1947–1948. He notes in his introduction that this “is one of the few aspects of the refugee property dilemma on which many parties have agreed over the decades since 1948: The refugees should be compensated for their abandoned property” (p. xxiii). Why, despite substantial work done over the years to develop plans for compensation, none has succeeded poses a central question for his research. How attempts to resolve the losses of refugees became immediately intrinsic to the unresolved political issues of the Arab-Israeli conflict constitutes an important dimension in the effort to explain this failure.

This book is particularly valuable for the author’s careful and detailed research, which gives us concrete evidence of the ways in which the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine (UNCCP) attempted to satisfy its mandate with regard to facilitating “the repatriation, resettlement and economic and social rehabilitation of the refugees and the payment of compensation” (Article 11, UN General Assembly Resolution 194, Dec. 11, 1948). Fischbach’s study of materials and his description of various efforts to arrive at evaluations of refugee property are an important resource for anyone seeking to understand the intractability of the “refugee problem” and the ongoing complexity of negotiating solutions. Throughout the book he is keenly aware of the ways in which broader aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict undermined success. Adopting to some extent a perspective which views this history through UN documents, he sees officials working for the UNCCP as idealists, hampered by state policies and, in particular, by what he describes as a substantial identification of U.S. positions with those of the Israeli government. While it is not entirely clear what Fischbach sees as constituting possible resolution, it is clear that he believes various alternatives could not be implemented in large measure “because the United States and its allies, France and Turkey, were unwilling to pressure the parties, especially Israel” (p. 367).

From the first, as Fischbach shows, the frameworks

utilized by different actors led to competing conceptualizations of compensation schemes and their implications for Israelis and Palestinians. Thus, despite the broad agreement on the legitimacy of compensation, translating this agreement into action was impossible and has remained a source of contention. The situation was rendered additionally complicated by the interests of other parties including the U.S. and various Arab states, as well as by class and other internal divisions among Palestinian refugees. More recently, revived emphasis by some on the case for compensation due Jews who had to leave Arab countries under duress has extended the ongoing tension between efforts to separate Palestinian refugee claims from other aspects of the conflict and the position that they are inherently embedded in it, with no possibility of satisfying this aspect without a comprehensive peace.

Implicit in this analysis of Palestinian refugee property and compensation is a definition that presumes the possibility of arriving at concrete solutions, and thus failure is something to be explained by examining specific historical efforts. What is lacking, however, is any consideration of the ways in which this set of failures in itself has played and continues to play a role in structuring the conflict as one that, while undoubtedly tragic in its human dimensions, must also be recognized as formative for all the nations and states involved. Throughout we see evidence of internal contradictions historically inhibiting definitive resolutions that might put an end to that process. For example, Fischbach says that: “The increased involvement of the United States and the USSR in the conflict by virtue of their massive arms sales to the region only deepened the international focus on preventing further wars between Israel and the front-line Arab states” (p. 314). The author does not elaborate on this statement, thus failing to examine the relationship between providing the means for war and insisting on the need for prevention. Throughout his extensive consideration of projects devoted to studying property and compensation, as well as related policies, there is material suggestive of complexities that are not analyzed and of the need for a comparative framework that would put these particularities in context. This book is valuable and important in covering ground not investigated with such thoroughness before and in offering readers access to materials largely unstudied. It is to be hoped that it will contribute as well to the development of work that will elaborate on its findings and perhaps place them in broader perspective.

YLANA N. MILLER
Duke University

HERVÉ PENNEC. *Des Jésuites au Royaume du Prêtre Jean (Éthiopie): Stratégies, rencontres et tentatives d'implantation; 1495–1633*. Paris and Lisbon: Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian. 2003. Pp. 373.

This is by no means the first book on the Jesuits in Ethiopia, and one might assume that the story was well

enough known not to require a detailed monograph. After all, the Jesuits themselves, as was their custom, recorded the history of their mission in great detail. However, Hervé Pennec performs for the Jesuit mission the sort of analysis to which art historians subject great paintings. Minute and almost invisible detail is highlighted and analyzed, and a sort of X-ray process is applied to discover the underlying strategies of the Jesuit superiors and the structures of the story that are more or less invisible in the narrative. Moreover, one can detect a strong *Annaliste* influence in the profusion of explanatory tables, plans, and maps.

So what does this book tell us? The story of the mission (which lasted from 1556 to 1632) was shaped from the start by political considerations. The struggle between Rome and Goa for control was played out in the selection of personnel for the mission, which in the 1550s was seen as the most important in the East. Fascinating new light is thrown on the decision to send a mission to eastern Africa in 1560 under Gonçalo da Silveira rather than to reinforce the Jesuits in Ethiopia. Silveira was viewed by his superiors as unsuitable for a senior posting in Asia, and there were plans to recall him to Europe. The compromise of placing him in charge of a new mission to East Africa revealed the flaws in his personality, which provided the Jesuits with one of their first martyrs.

Pennec also suggests a new interpretation for the controversial conversion to Roman Catholicism of the ruler Susenyos in 1621, which has been seen as one of the greatest, if one of the most short-lived, triumphs of the Jesuit missions. Pennec suggests that the adoption of Catholicism and the founding of nine Jesuit churches during the period 1624–1628 has to be seen in light of the struggle of the Ethiopian rulers to control the church. In the fifteenth century, kings and queens frequently founded “royal” monasteries to provide ecclesiastical centers under their control, and the founding of the Jesuit churches and residences under royal patronage in the seventeenth century has to be understood as part of this process. This interpretation of the conversion of the Ethiopian ruler, of course, mirrors the most recent interpretations of the conversion of the king of the Kongo, although this comparison is not made by the author.

The detail that emerges about the missions is not the least interesting part of this book. There is detailed textual analysis to show the sources used by Ignatius Loyola to elaborate the plans for the mission. The first Jesuit mission was allocated an expert printer at a time when there was no printing press in Goa itself. Most of the early missionaries who were sent were between thirty and forty years old, but when the mission expanded rapidly after 1620 the new recruits tended to be much younger (pp. 132–33). The role played by secular Indian priests at various points is a surprising addition to the story. There is also a learned discussion about whether it was the Jesuits who introduced the use of lime mortar into Ethiopia, as they themselves claimed, or whether it was a technique already known

there (pp. 175–78). The author has not only combed the surviving texts to compile his statistical analyses, but he has conducted an important exercise in historical geography. While admitting that he has not done any true archaeological work, he describes a field expedition, undertaken in 1998, to identify the various sites of the different Jesuit residences. The text is richly illustrated with thumbnail pictures of ruins, architectural detail, ground plans, and locations, which are all carefully plotted on maps. The finances of the mission are also explored. Money received from the Ethiopian king to support the mission was at least twice that which came from the king of Spain, which was always “longue à venir [et] toujours insuffisante” (p. 170).

Is there a new view of the Jesuits? This study certainly reminds the reader that the flexible approach to conversion, which marked the missions to Japan and China, was not universal Jesuit practice. The first missionaries to arrive in 1557 placed Ethiopia in the category of “chrétiens ‘dissidentes’” (p. 307). They simply demanded the submission of the Negus to Rome and made no attempt to enter into any sort of dialogue. Not surprisingly, they failed, and they were marginalized for the next forty years.

This is a book that grows on you as you read. The scholarship is worn lightly, and intricate arguments are treated with clarity and brevity. The reader becomes grateful that what is, after all, a well-known story is being illuminated not by opinion and wordy interpretation but by clearly presented factual information that has not hitherto been available.

MALYN NEWITT
King's College London

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

JOHN ILIFFE. *Honour in African History*. New York: University of Cambridge Press. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 404. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$28.99.

This book has a charming thesis: African behavior, relating to actions and events in the past as often as today, can best be understood through the concept of honor. “Whatever you are seeking,” says one popular Yoruba proverb, which I am quoting to endorse John Iliffe’s perceptive claim, even if it is money, “take a retreat once you obtain honor.” The proverb poses a question: “What do you do with the money you tirelessly seek if not to attain honor?” The brilliance of this book lies in turning this philosophical concept into a powerful organizing principle to explain history in the *longue durée*. Iliffe demonstrates genius in the way he shows erudition, clearly articulated logic, insightful remarks, and encyclopedic knowledge. To enjoy the book, one has to accept that honor motivates behavior and, consequently, actions and events. Many of the examples offered by Iliffe may be alien to some readers, but honor is about specific value systems and not necessarily an embodiment of a universal code.

For a concept as ambiguous and elastic as "honor," it is to be expected that Iliffe's uses and applications may generate heated arguments, more so as he sees honor as a major theme linking African history over a period of ten centuries. The book settles for a definition of honor as "a right to respect"—the expectation that an individual wants respect, the need to treat others with respect, and the ability and resources of an individual to enforce respect. Iliffe is aware that honor is a contested term, and its application has to be cultural and temporal. As the narratives show, we confront multiple manifestations of honor as prestige, virtues, moral values, rank, behavior, who a person was, what a person did, application of law, and ability to fight. In breaking down honor as a concept, Iliffe presents rich data on bravery, physical courage, prowess, ability to endure pain and suffering, strength, loyalty to a cause, and leadership. He also identifies the routes to honor: generosity, martial prowess, leadership, gifts of diplomacy, and acquisition of wealth.

Iliffe presents an extensive but disciplined historical survey. In the first part of the book, comprising nine chapters, the focus is on both heroes and ordinary citizens. Discussion of heroes covers the well-beaten tracks of wars, courage in battles, valor, and political leadership, with examples drawn from pre-Islamic West African aristocratic horsemen of the savanna, the Yoruba military systems and warriors, and the warrior ethos of the Zulu in South Africa. Far more refreshing is Iliffe's treatment of the day-to-day displays of honor exhibited by how men managed their households and demonstrated values of honesty, generosity, integrity and prudence. Similarly, the gender dimension is nuanced, as Iliffe refuses to limit himself to the male characterization of women's honor based on chastity. The argument is clear that sexual shame does not fully explain the honor that women seek, and Iliffe emphasizes the importance of fertility, support for children, endurance, and household management. As he elaborates on the lives of the ordinary, we see the importance of heroic Christianity (as in Ethiopia), and of mature and respected householders.

In the second part of the book, nine chapters explore the ideas and manifestations of honor in Africa during the twentieth century. Colonial conquest created "the crisis of honor." Iliffe reveals a clear picture of how Africans reimagined notions of honor and incorporated new ethics in response to new challenges. Massive amounts of data are presented on military codes in colonial armies, ideals of responsibility and respectability, professionalism derived from Western education, and changing gender roles. Honor was expressed in resistance to colonial conquest and the nationalism that created modern African nation-states.

This book will surely command serious and sustained attention, in part because it is the first to delineate clear historical dimensions of a subject that has been recognized but unexplored. It offers a way to bridge the disciplinary divides among historians, sociologists, and anthropologists who have examined this

concept without any chronological framework. It broadens the literature on honor beyond the existing body of ideas drawn mainly from North Africa. As Iliffe admirably explains African ideas of manhood and womanhood, he complicates the subject by establishing that honor was not limited to a class of elite and warriors but to ordinary citizens as well. The book is successful in presenting, for the first time in many instances, honor cultures in Africa. Iliffe opens various new areas for investigation, especially the linkages that he establishes between honor and contemporary political corruption, democracy, and even responses to epidemics such as AIDS. Those who have pathologized violence, authoritarianism, religious fundamentalism, and other so-called African excesses will find alternative explanations that deal with the centrality of honor in what people do and cherish. To those who condemn peoples and values they hardly understand, Iliffe responds with wise words: "Human beings seldom do things they believe to be wrong. They do wrong things because they believe them to be right." Iliffe is right to have written this outstanding book with the maturity and integrity of a venerable scholar.

TOYIN FALOLA
University of Texas,
Austin

TOYIN FALOLA. *The Power of African Cultures*. Rochester, N.Y. University of Rochester Press. 2003. Pp. xiii. 354. \$75.00.

Toyin Falola's newest book focuses on an increasingly important field in African history and in African studies—that of cultural history. Derived from lectures and intended partly for the general reader, his book consists of eleven chapters, beginning with Africans' encounter with the West and ending with the diaspora of African cultures in the Americas and more recently, in Europe.

Falola's goal is "to present the relevance of culture to Africans in the modern era" (p. 1). An important subtext to his argument is that although Africa is presently seen as impoverished and victimized, Africans are resiliently pursuing cultural creativity, are "active in seeking alternative solutions to . . . problems" and incorporating "imported ideas and objects" (p. 2). In this respect, Falola echoes the coda of Anthony Appiah's *In My Father's House* (1992), which delivers an often-cited paean to African cultural inventiveness in times of crisis.

In his recent works, Falola has chosen large subjects, yet that of African cultures' claim on public life is arguably even more immense. It is also complicated. In the last few years, much probing African cultural history has been published. For East Africa alone, there are the works of Laura Fair on Zanzibar, E. S. Atieno-Odhiambo and David Cohen on various modalities of western Kenyan societies, and Jean-Pierre Chrétien on the Great Lakes region. The questions raised in these new histories have to do not only with

the influence of African culture and its power but with how culture works in making its power felt.

Falola faces these issues in a straightforward fashion, and he delivers a number of impressive chapters. Particularly exceptional are the chapters on "Political Economy and the Culture of Underdevelopment," where he addresses the charged question of whether African culture is at fault for underdevelopment; "Ethnic Nationalism," in which he details the attempts at "manufacturing" the Yoruba (p. 149) into a Nigerian ethnic political force; and "Islam, Religious Identity, and Politics," where he looks at Nigerian Islam in all its heterogeneity, and places it in regional and supranational Islamic networks.

The most fascinating chapter is "English or Englishes? The Politics of Language and the Language of Politics." Here Falola goes beyond the standard proposition about "the Africanization of the English language" (p. 229). He follows the breakout of English from use by elite Nigerians into mass usage and the impact that the cross-class diffusion of English had on the desire to consolidate indigenous languages. Once diffusion occurred, he argues, Nigerians began to impose "multilingualism and pluralism on a foreign language" (p. 230). A very competitive language sphere has been the result. So-called standard English competes with local languages containing English borrowings and with a very vibrant pidgin. Rivalry among the Englishes has questioned the possibility of a Nigerian lingua franca. In addition, Falola notes that one major future issue has emerged, that of "linguistic democracy." For many, the insistence on standard English has subverted a sense of national inclusiveness, making serious discussions of national policy the province of the language elite. Falola provides what has been long needed: a succinct case study on the outcomes of colonial language.

This commodious book offers much to readers looking for an orientation to African cultures' claims. But it has drawbacks. It is mostly about West Africa, and more particularly about Nigeria. Nigeria has a lot to offer analysts in terms of culture being intertwined with public processes. Yet the book would have been enhanced by, say, presenting Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o on the decolonization of culture, the Zulu and their construction of identity in apartheid's declining years, and African governments' 1960s-1970s manipulation of cultural traditions. Chapters on popular culture and the intellectual cultures of contemporary art, music, and writing also would have been salutary. Falola is capable of any of these additions, given his eclectic knowledge.

As it is, this book will still attract a lot of readers and start many thinking about African culture as a shaper of public affairs.

KENNEL A. JACKSON, JR.
Stanford University

WILLIAM BEINART and JOANN MCGREGOR, editors.
Social History and African Environments. Oxford:

James Currey. Athens: Ohio University Press. Cape Town: David Philip. 2003. Pp. xii, 275. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$27.95.

Editors William Beinart and JoAnn McGregor have collected a set of essays whose genesis reaches back to a 1999 conference on environmental history held at St. Anthony's College, Oxford. The meeting brought together Africa specialists from multiple academic disciplines and resulted in a number of excellent presentations and invigorating discussions. Some of the conference papers have already been published, and this book brings to print more of the larger whole. Like other collections of the sort, the volume presents in microcosm both the problems inherent in academic conferences as well as the possibilities for insight that can move a field forward.

The editors' geographical bias runs toward southern Africa, although two contributions do come from the continent's eastern reaches. In terms of method and approach, the collection is far more diverse, and the editors have deftly organized their contributions into three useful rubrics: "African Environmental Ideas and Practices," "Colonial Science, the State, and African Responses" and "Settlers and Africans: Culture and Nature." These thematic threads represent the editors' vision of Africanist environmental history, which they argue must move beyond blanket critiques of colonial conservation, political economy, environmental determinism, demography, and disease and into the realm of cultural and intellectual history. This new direction includes the relationship between landscape and identity, cultural studies and literary criticism, and the critical reevaluation of sources.

Tellingly, the first section's strongest essays emerge from the field's more established trajectories. Emmanuel Kreike's treatise on fruit trees in Namibia and Karen Middleton's discussion of Prickly Pear Cactus in Madagascar view landscapes as very real entities shaped by the intended and unintended consequences of interaction of natural and human forces. Middleton's contribution, perhaps the book's best, recalls Alfred Crosby's work on pioneer species in *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (1986) but reverses the direction of plant exchange to examine the expansion of an American plant, albeit one planted by Europeans, in the Old World. This well-told story of the cactus's dramatic invasion highlights the spatial differentials in the plant's developing ecological role in particular places on Madagascar, as well as the various local social responses among the Malagasy. Kreike's thesis that north central Namibia's landscapes were shaped by extensive human action, in this case the propagation of two species of fruit trees, will sound familiar to readers of *Misreading the African Landscape: Society and Ecology in a Forest-Savanna Mosaic* (1996), James Fairhead and Melissa Leach's important work on West Africa's savanna/forest transition zone, where farmers actively propagated forest species around their homesteads in

a process that flew in the face of colonial claims about regional deforestation.

The section's other contributions from Innocent Pikirayi (the intersection of drought, political violence, and environmental degradation), Terence Ranger (women's environmental roles in Zimbabwean religious practice), and JoAnn McGregor (memory and landscape in Zambezi Valley) prove less satisfactory as environmental histories because they focus on ideas to the exclusion of ecological change. Unfortunately, Ranger's sources allow only a series of static vignettes of female cult participation. And while McGregor's focus on water demonstrates the ideological transformation from animism to pragmatism that accompanied the construction of the Kariba Dam, readers will learn little about the dam's regional ecological consequences.

Part two links environmental history to colonialism, especially the understanding and application of colonial science. The two most compelling pieces in this section belong to Grace Carswell and Helen Tilley. Both seek to rehabilitate colonial conservation from the hypercriticism of Africanist environmental history. Tilley's effort focuses on *Science in Africa: A Review of Scientific Research Relating to Tropical and Southern Africa*, E. B. Worthington's compendium of scholarly work on Africa published in the late 1930s. Tilley argues correctly that the experts who contributed to this truly multidisciplinary effort drew attention to the heterogeneity of Africa's environments, the local knowledge that created them and the failure of early colonial interventions in the realm of conservation. However, Tilley's perspective, which nonetheless emanates from the upper echelons of colonialism, fails to demonstrate the efficacious integration of research and policy on the ground. By taking the argument even further to claim that the African Survey had "liberalizing" and "progressive" effects, Tilley overgeneralizes. On a continental scale, context matters.

Carswell's local study of colonial conservation in Kigezi, Uganda, admirably fills the lacunae in Tilley's analysis. The Ugandan case demonstrates the necessity of a diachronic understanding of environmental, ecological, and social context when assessing the effects of colonial conservation. Up to the end of World War II, it seems that colonial officials managed to tailor their soil conservation program to Kigezi's tradition of innovative and stable food production. In addition to the importance of historical continuity, Carswell argues that administrative stability contributed to the success of colonial conservation initiatives; the colonial district agricultural officer remained in the area for fourteen years and, significantly, spoke Rukiga. What remains unknown is whether or not the Kigezi system simply survived colonial intrusion or benefited from it.

The final section offers a set of impressionistic studies of culture and nature. With the exception of Jane Carruthers's exploration of San ethnicity and "landscape ideology" in the Gemsbok National Park,

these essays for the most part present white perspectives. David Bunn's essay on Pump Willis's wildlife photography and Sandra Swart's discussion of Eugene Marais's Afrikaans publications on termites link settler nationalism, the South African state, and select pieces of the natural world. Bunn's and Carruthers's essays, in particular, demonstrate the myopic view of South Africa's white community, whose racism removed Africans from their vision of the nation's iconic landscapes.

Although several essays deserve careful scrutiny, as a whole, the collection, like many of this genre, is very uneven. What will disappoint environmental historians, however, is the editors' failure to include any historical perspectives from the natural scientists who attended the conference. Environmental history without an accounting of physical and biological change has limited appeal.

CHRISTOPHER CONTE
Utah State University

RUTH WATSON. *Civil Disorder is the Disease of Ibadan: Chieftaincy and Civic Culture in a Yoruba City*. (Western African Studies.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. Oxford: James Currey. 2003. Pp. xii, 180. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$22.95.

This book is a riveting story of Ibadan, the largest city in Nigeria, which was founded as a refugee camp in 1829 following the collapse of the Yoruba Oyo Empire. Its precolonial history centered on militarism and violence. Ibadan grew into an impressive and sprawling urban center and, by the 1840s, politically and economically dominated most of the Yoruba region until the British intervention of 1893, which ended the internecine Yoruba wars and Ibadan imperialism as well. Ruth Watson explores both the precolonial and colonial history of Ibadan, starting from its founding in 1829 and ending with its hosting of the 1939 Conference of Yoruba Chiefs.

The early chapters (one through three) focus attention on the precolonial period, characterized by civil disorder—hence the book's apt title, which derives from the Yoruba *oriki* (praise-song) "No-one comes to earth without some disease; disorder is the disease of Ibadan" (p. 34). Watson recounts Ibadan's history, in which military prowess formed the basis of political power, the acquisition of wealth, and social status (chieftaincy titles). "In Ibadan," she writes, "those who held chieftaincy posts were usually affluent, deriving income from war booty, tribute, tolls and the sale of agricultural produce from their farms" (p. 47). The quest for power and status unavoidably fostered intrigues and rivalries, also characteristic features of Ibadan's social and political history. Consequently, "civil disorder" persisted even in the colonial period (p. 162).

The succeeding chapters (four through six) deal with the era of British rule and the introduction of a new political and socioeconomic culture. The relationships

between chieftaincy and city politics are discussed. But Watson calls attention to how colonial rule provided a new paradigm of social mobility, whereby "common men" with money could now buy chieftaincy titles, which hitherto privileged military warriors. "Surely," the Yoruba say, "money is the God of the world" (p. 115). The British indirect rule system, derisively dubbed the "great blot," also dealt a blow to Ibadan political and chieftaincy systems. As the author discusses in chapter five, traditional chieftaincy politics became the casualty of colonial rule. Contrary to "ancient custom," chiefs were now deposed or exiled by British fiat. Ashamed, many chiefs committed suicide.

On the economic side, too, colonial rule deprived chiefs of their precolonial sources of material wealth, resulting in unanticipated consequences. "Since the livelihood of war could no longer be depended upon, some warrior chiefs turned to brigandage in the city as an economically rewarding venture" (p. 61). Although offending chiefs were punished, "burglaries remained frequent in Ibadan" (p. 63). Chiefs' complaints and protests also remained frequent. On the whole, British intervention in city politics, superbly discussed in some detail, again engendered intrigues and competition, as chiefs vied for British recognition for purposes of enhancing chiefly honor and social status.

The two concluding chapters (seven and eight) deal largely with material culture and civic power. First, the transformation of Ibadan landscape receives attention—notably the construction of the imposing Mapo Hall, the Ibadan City Council, and Bower Memorial. According to Watson, "Mapo Hall was first used to represent a colonial Ibadan citizenship. As far as [Resident] Ward Price was concerned, the role of the building was to 'breed civic pride,'" and that it certainly did. "Chieftaincy installations also came to be characterized by more openly lavish pageantry" (p. 130). Discussions of politics and pageantry (chapter six) emphasize "the importance of cloth for the assertion of political status," a longstanding Yoruba cultural tradition.

Social and political leaders used cloth (e.g. velvet, silk, damask) as a marker of social position/distinction. Thus men of wealth often "endeavoured to outdo each other in the garment they wore" (p. 152). In Ibadan, specifically, the "opening ceremonies of Mapo Hall and Bower Memorial demonstrated that material display was also part of the politics of imperial rule. This display, especially in colours, embodied colonial hierarchies" (p. 153). Interestingly, the Alaafin of Oyo appropriated the colorful damask, and protested vehemently against its being worn by any of the chiefs to the 1939 Yoruba Chiefs Conference. The British administration apparently obliged by issuing the "Restriction of the use of certain kinds of cloth Order" (p. 154).

Overall, this relatively thin book is a major contribution to the growing literature on local (urban) history. The numerous photographs enhance the quality of the book, solidly based on archival and fieldwork

research. The life histories are particularly valuable and commendable.

FELIX K. EKECHI
Kent State University

DAVID ANDERSON. *Histories of the Hanged: The Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2005. Pp. viii, 406. \$25.95.

CAROLINE ELKINS. *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya*. New York: Henry Holt. 2005. Pp. xvi, 475. \$27.50.

Mau Mau, the colloquial term for the 1950s armed uprising by poor and landless Kikuyu against the British settler regime in Kenya and its more prosperous Kikuyu allies, has captivated the imagination of Westerners and Kenyans alike for the last fifty years. The naked brutality of the Mau Mau war, known at the time as the Mau Mau emergency, and the British crackdown that followed produced a shock to Western sensibilities that still reverberates. The fratricidal nature of the conflict, which pitted Kikuyu against Kikuyu, also continues to influence contemporary Kenyan politics and culture profoundly. Although precise figures are not available, Mau Mau is almost certainly one of the most written-about events in twentieth-century African history.

These works by David Anderson and Caroline Elkins are the most recent contributions to the substantial historiography of Mau Mau. A non-Africanist, or even a non-Kenyanist, might reasonably enquire why we need more Mau Mau books. Simply put, we still do not fully understand the origins, nature, trajectory, and legacy of the Emergency. The British administration and the postcolonial Kenyan government willfully destroyed or locked away sensitive Mau Mau-related records to cover up the most brutal and embarrassing aspects of the war. Colonial officials burned pages and pages of documents on the eve of independence in 1963 and sent three hundred boxes of material (which measured over one hundred feet long when stacked end to end) covering intelligence reports, collective punishments, and detentions back to London, where they remain sealed. Files in Britain's Public Records Office show that the Foreign and Commonwealth Office pretended not to know the location of these vital documents when the Kenyan government asked for them back in 1967. Historians have therefore had to work with frustratingly limited and fragmentary evidence in trying to understand the Emergency. The slow dribble of new information over the last fifty years has necessarily required revisions in the history of Mau Mau.

Anderson's book is based on new evidence consisting of court records of the capital trials of roughly three thousand alleged Mau Mau supporters. Chillingly, 1,090 of these men went to the gallows, which was twice the number of rebels that the French

executed in Algeria. This rich legal trove, which sat largely unnoticed in the Kenya National Archives, consists of court transcripts, witness statements, confessions, and pleas for clemency. Anderson's stated goal is to use the new legal evidence as the nucleus of a new "informed and candid general history of the survey of the Mau Mau war" (p. 395). In an unflinching indictment of the colonial legal system, he documents how the Kenyan authorities perverted British standards of justice by changing the rules of evidence, coaching witnesses, rigging trials, and broadening the range of capital offenses to include mere association with the Mau Mau. Although the book is centered on the courtroom, Anderson skillfully broadens his narrative analysis to provide new and important perspectives on the entire war. His is the arresting story of a "dirty war" where the true allegiances of the combatants were fuzzy and ill defined and where people on both sides committed atrocities.

Mau Mau scholars and general readers do indeed have a great deal to learn from Anderson's book. The brilliant chapter on the infamous "Lari massacre" is its high point. This chapter masterfully complicates the conventional explanation of Mau Mau as a straightforward anticolonial struggle by illustrating how one half of the Lari community turned on the other over intensely bitter conflicts around land and authority. Anderson also provides a much-needed corrective to popular accounts of the Emergency, which focus on the numerous Mau Mau "generals" and "field marshals" who claimed leadership of the revolt. These men are largely remembered as heroes in contemporary Kenya, but our fixation on them makes the Mau Mau forces appear like a comic opera army with more colonels than corporals. Anderson uses legal records to recover the role of Mau Mau subalterns, most of whom died at the end of a rope, who were "ordinary foot soldiers," food carriers, couriers, recruiters, oathers, fundraisers, assassins, and enforcers. Conversely, he also shows that some of the men who went to the gallows were intimidated or even press-ganged into taking up arms.

Where court records underpin Anderson's study, Caroline Elkins's book is based primarily on six hundred hours of interviews with three hundred Kenyans who were detained and brutalized by the colonial government for their alleged association with Mau Mau. Faced with the impossible task of determining which Kikuyu they could trust, colonial authorities used the State of Emergency to justify the wholesale extralegal imprisonment of over one hundred thousand men, women, and children. Elkins balances her first-person accounts with a thorough reading of the available colonial archives and an impressive survey of the established literature. Although she opens with the curious statement that she intended to write a history of the "success of Britain's civilizing mission in the detention camps" (p. xii), her book charges British settlers, policemen, soldiers, and administrators with

creating a colonial gulag that was intended to punish, if not wipe out, the entire Kikuyu population.

This charge is sensational, but Elkins's book does indeed make a significant contribution to our understanding of Mau Mau. That the Kenyan security forces and prison staff were guilty of atrocities is well known, but Elkins is the first to tell the personal stories of their victims. Chillingly, she also has interviews with surviving European settlers and policemen, most of whom are not cited by name, who acknowledge, in one case cheerfully, that they tortured and murdered Mau Mau suspects. The almost unimaginable catalogue of horrors endured by Elkins's African informants included beating, burning, electric shock, rape, castration, facial disfigurement, and sexual violation. These accounts are difficult to get through, but the book commands the attention of the new generation of imperial apologists who have sought to rehabilitate imperialism by painting the British Empire in rosy colors.

Unfortunately, there are places where this book's conclusions are not as impressive as the depth and breadth of its evidence. Elkins charges that the settlers and colonial regime had a hidden agenda that inspired "a murderous campaign to eliminate Kikuyu people" (p. xvi). She tries to substantiate this in part by using 1948 and 1962 census figures to show that the Kikuyu population grew more slowly than neighboring ethnic groups. She suggests that the "missing" 130,000 to 300,000 people were either killed during Mau Mau or were not born because of the wholesale devastation of the Kikuyu heartland. Elkins explicitly equates this to the Holocaust by comparing Mau Mau supporters to Jews, Armenians, and Tutsis, a link she defends with quotes from contemporary anticolonial critics in Britain and Kenya who likened the Mau Mau detention camps to concentration camps. But the use of Nazi comparisons by British politicians, missionaries, and journalists to criticize the colonial regime does not prove that Kenyan officials and settlers were seeking to emulate the Nazis. After all, many of the rootless Kikuyu young men in Nairobi who became the backbone of the Mau Mau called themselves "young Hitlers" to demonstrate their toughness. Elkins is right to try to explain how citizens of a liberal nation could behave so brutally, but if there was a British Sonderweg or peculiar path that led to the horrors of the Mau Mau detention system, surely it ran through the Boer War concentration camps (which Elkins barely mentions) and the Malaya strategic villages rather than the Nazi death camps or Stalin's gulags?

To her credit, Elkins is a passionate advocate for her informants, but her failure to fully contextualize their testimonies paints an often simplistic view of Kikuyu society that glosses over Mau Mau's intensely internecine nature. For Elkins, Mau Mau was a war between the heroic Kikuyu majority and a small clique of self-interested, chiefly collaborators known as the "loyalists." In reality, many, if not most, Kikuyu faced execution or detention if they sided with Mau Mau or intimidation and murder by the guerillas if they did

not. Some were loyalists by day and Mau Mau by night. Elkins refers to these people as “double agents” and accepts their story that they were true supporters of the rebellion all along. Yet in modern Kenya, where the Mau Mau are now largely remembered as nationalist heroes, very few survivors of the era will admit to being loyalists. Even more troubling, Elkins does not fully discuss her supporting role in the BBC documentary “White Terror” (2002), which contributed to a London law firm’s efforts to win reparations for the victims of the British security services. It is not difficult to imagine how the prospect of financial compensation which, according to the BBC, could amount to hundreds of thousands of pounds, might influence the memories of Elkins’s informants.

Both of these books broaden our understanding of the Mau Mau war significantly, and it is inevitable that they will be read together and compared. Although Anderson and Elkins clearly have different agendas, their vastly different conclusions stem primarily from the strengths and limitations of their evidence. Elkins’s open embrace of the Mau Mau cause appears to come from her genuine compassion for her informants, but this empathy has brought her perilously close to advocacy. Anderson, conversely, seems to have intentionally steered clear of oral history in favor of the more fixed legal records, despite the fact his epilogue shows that he spoke with some of the Lari survivors. His book may well replace Carl Rosberg and John Nottingham’s classic *The Myth of “Mau Mau”: Nationalism in Kenya* (1966) as the seminal history of Mau Mau.

TIMOTHY PARSONS
Washington University in St. Louis

AMY KALER. *Running After Pills: Politics, Gender, and Contraception in Colonial Zimbabwe*. (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth: Heinemann. 2003. Pp. x, 247. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$27.95.

Using contraception as the lens through which to study gender, power, and resistance in colonial Zimbabwe, Amy Kaler has written a compelling and insightful book that explores new terrain in African historiography. With African women’s fertility as their object, conflicts flared between African elders and juniors, men and women, women and their in-laws, and Africans and the colonial state. Based on archival research and interviews with former family planning workers as well as ordinary Zimbabweans, the book focuses on the Shona population during the period 1957–1980. African voices and views, highlighted through interview excerpts, shape the book’s contours. The radical social transformations sparked by the colonial wage economy, migratory labor, and particularly, the liberation war of the 1970s provide the highly politicized context.

Conflicts over African fertility were intrinsically political. Kaler explores the ways in which right-wing whites warned of the menace of an uncontrolled and growing African population, while “modernizing” lib-

erals decried African reproductive practices as primitive, obsolete, and in need of transformation. The collaboration of the liberal Family Planning Association of Rhodesia with the white minority government provided fuel for the agents of African cultural nationalism, who decried Western family planning techniques as government-induced genocide.

European beliefs about the meaning of African fertility—and who should control it—were vastly different from those embedded in Shona society. Kaler argues that according to Shona norms, to use or not use birth control was not a personal decision to be taken by a woman and her husband—let alone by a woman herself. The payment of bridewealth had transferred control over a woman’s fertility from her own family to that of her husband. It was her fundamental marital duty to provide children for her husband’s lineage. Since a woman’s fertility affected the physical and spiritual well-being of the whole lineage, a wide range of people claimed control over her reproductive capacity, most importantly, her husband, mother-in-law, and sisters-in-law.

The introduction of the contraceptive pill and Depo-Provera injection dramatically altered the playing field. Through secret use of these new technologies, women could take charge of their own fertility, “stealing” this power from their husbands and in-laws. While indigenous family planning methods had enhanced the power of husbands, in-laws, and traditional healers over women, pills and injections empowered women, dispensing with husbands as intermediaries between their wives and the outside world. They brought to women greater sexual freedom and increased male fears of women’s unfettered sexuality.

The new technologies also brought the colonial state into African bedrooms, promoting a population control agenda vehemently opposed by African nationalists. This new intrusion compounded losses suffered by men in other areas. Transformations brought about by colonialism had decreased the ability of male elders to regulate the movements of women and junior men. Male elders increasingly lost control over young men’s earnings and marriages. Now European interests championed technologies that threatened men’s ability to oversee their wives’ reproductive capacities, which ensured the growth and well-being of their lineages.

Despite the nationalist movement’s official condemnation of new birth control technologies, actions on the ground were far more ambivalent. Kaler shows how guerrillas promoted prevailing gender and generational hierarchies in their effort to win the hearts and minds of local elders and traditional authorities. However, because they also relied on local women for food, shelter, and intelligence, they needed to be sensitive to women’s concerns. Thus, some guerrillas criticized—and punished—men who beat their wives or abandoned them for younger women. Privately, some were more tolerant of birth control measures than publicly they could afford to be.

Independence and majority rule resulted in a dra-

matic reversal to the nationalist position. Once family planning was no longer a tool of the white minority government and its allies, the new birth control technologies were redefined. After 1980, Kaler argues, foreign birth control devices were promoted as aids to African development and welfare. Uncontrolled population growth was described as a problem to be rectified through government-supported family planning programs. Severe economic pressures in the 1990s induced some men to reassess their opposition to limiting family size. Others continued to resent their loss of control over female sexuality and their ability, as family heads, to shape their future families.

Kaler's book is a dynamic, textured account that considers complex issues of power, resistance, and gender identity in a nuanced and insightful way. Although the interviews can be a tad repetitious, and the index might be more comprehensive, the book is an excellent resource for college and university libraries, scholars, and advanced students.

ELIZABETH SCHMIDT

Loyola College in Maryland

ANNIE E. COOMBES. *History After Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xviii, 366. \$27.95.

The fall of apartheid, the institution of a democratic government, and the liberalization of the media in South Africa have produced lively debates in the public sphere about the how to represent the past and what those representations mean for national belonging. It is this topic that Annie E. Coombes takes up in her nuanced, well-documented analysis of the visual and material ways of representing history in contemporary postapartheid South Africa.

Coombes argues that "visual and material forms of the new public history are both produced by and effectively inform changing definitions of 'community' and 'nation' during periods of political transition where such concepts become crucial stakes in the resolution or management of social conflict and/or renewal" (p. 1). She develops this thesis by examining the differing invocations of community in specific cases of visual, material representations of the past, including monuments, museums, and fine art displays.

The first chapter examines struggles around the Voortrekker monument, that commemorates Afrikaners' trek away from British-controlled South Africa and their founding of independent republics in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. Centrally implicated in the Afrikaner nationalism that was foundational to apartheid, the debates around the monument allow Coombes to examine how it is possible to re-narrativize an image that carries such a heavy, and seemingly monolithic, semantic load. She shows how, in several different contexts—the visit to the monu-

ment by the charismatic political leader, Tokyo Sexwale, and then later a photo spread that appeared in the porn magazine *Loslyf*—new meanings have been given to the monument through a process of creative juxtaposition and reframing. In a second chapter, Coombes analyzes debates over how to commemorate Robben Island, the infamous island prison where political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, were held during apartheid. Ex-prisoners' desires to resist commodification, organizers' attempts to represent the sociality of prisoner life, and the demands of international tourism existed in tension with one another, but all were limited by the physical nature of the site and the limits of visual representation. Another chapter examines artists' efforts to engage with the apartheid past, including Pippa Skotnes's installation *Miscast*, which used experimental techniques to explore the historical constitution of knowledge about Khoisan peoples. Although the artist intended the installation as a critique of the ways Khoisan peoples had been objectified and subject to real and symbolic violence in the context of colonialism and apartheid, the exhibit failed in its objective, coming under heavy fire from Khoisan activists and the wider public. Coombes argues that the failure of the exhibit to make its point was partly due to the extensive historical knowledge required to interpret it.

Coombes's analysis is sharpest when using her art historian's eye to tease out how diverse monuments speak intertextually to each other, and when analyzing how different visual media and specific material locales associated with particular events enable or constrain the possibilities of commemoration. Her analysis of the intertextuality of different sites enables a felicitous emphasis on the elisions that take place as South Africans struggle to represent the apartheid past in publicly accessible visual terms. The book is less successful, however, in its efforts to develop an analytic vocabulary for theorizing the processes she so carefully describes. For example, the concept of "memory," which plays a central role, is never adequately theorized, beyond the trite statement that memory is simultaneously individual and shared. Similarly, Coombes's efforts to use the concept of "translation," or how people interpret monuments, to get at the notion of "agency," appear simply to imply the truism that different people see the world differently.

More generally, the book would have benefited by locating the visual practices that are the subject of analysis in the broader context of South African history making in the postapartheid period. Many of the efforts to come to terms with the apartheid past have been characterized by the commodification of history and an accompanying sanitization and privatization of the past, processes that are clearly a part of the neoliberal moment in South Africa, as elsewhere. Yet the various visual forms that Coombes discusses tend to resist any simplistic relationship to the past;

why is this so, and what might it tell us about the effects of representing the past in visual, material terms, as opposed to narrative? Is there anything specific about the use of a visual medium and how it enables viewers to relate to the past? Unfortunately,

the reader is left to speculate; addressing these questions would have made the value of the book extend well beyond the South African context.

JENNIFER COLE
University of Chicago

Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHODS/THEORY

DOLORES JANIEWSKI and LOIS W. BANNER, editors. *Reading Benedict/Reading Mead: Feminism, Race, and Imperial Visions*. (New Studies in American Intellectual and Cultural History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 289. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$24.95.

DOLORES JANIEWSKI and LOIS W. BANNER, *Being and Becoming Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead*. DOLORES JANIEWSKI, *Woven Lives, Raveled Texts: Benedict, Mead, and Representational Doubtfulness*. LOIS W. BANNER, "The Bo-Cu Plant": Ruth Benedict and Gender. MAUREEN MOLLOY, Margaret Mead, the Samoan Girl and the Flapper: Geographies of Selfhood in *Coming of Age in Samoa*. LOUISE M. NEWMAN, *Coming of Age, but Not in Samoa: Reflections on Margaret Mead's Legacy for Western Liberal Feminism*. CHRISTOPHER SHANNON, "A World Made Safe for Differences": Ruth Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*. JEAN WALTON, *White Maternity, Rape Dreams, and the Sexual Exile in A Rap on Race*. GERALD SULLIVAN, *Of Feys and Culture Planners: Margaret Mead and Purposive Activity as Value*. NANAKO FUKUI, *The Lady of the Chrysanthemum: Ruth Benedict and the Origins of The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*. DOUGLAS LUMMIS, *Ruth Benedict's Obituary for Japanese Culture*. MARGARET M. CAFFEY, *The Parable of Manus: Utopian Change, American Influence, and the Worth of Women*. SHARON TIFFANY, *Imagining the South Seas: Margaret Mead's Coming of Age in Samoa and the Sexual Politics of Paradise*. ANGELA GILLIAM, *Symbolic Subordination and the Representation of Power in "Margaret Mead and Samoa"*. PAULINE KENT, *Misconceived Configurations of Ruth Benedict*. NANCY LUTKEHAUS, *Margaret Mead: Anthropology's Liminal Figure*. JUDITH MODELL, "It is besides a pleasant English word"—Ruth Benedict's Concept of Patterns Revisited. VIRGINIA YANS, *On the Political Anatomy of Mead-bashing, or Rethinking Margaret Mead*.

JULIA ADAMS, ELIZABETH S. CLEMENS, and ANN SHOLA ORLOFF, editors. *Remaking Modernity: Politics, History, and Sociology*. (Politics, History, and Culture.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 612. Cloth \$99.95, paper \$34.95.

JULIE ADAMS, ELIZABETH S. CLEMENS, and ANN SHOLA ORLOFF, *Social Theory, Modernity, and the Three Waves of Historical Sociology*. RICHARD BIERNACKI, *The Action Turn? Comparative-Historical Inquiry beyond the Classical Models of Conduct*. ZINE MAGUBANE, *Overlapping Territories and Intertwined Histories: Historical Sociology's Global Imagination*. GEORGE STEINMETZ, *The Epistemological Unconscious of U.S. Sociology and the Transition to Post-Fordism: The Case of Historical Sociology*. PHILIP S. GORSKI, *The Return of the Repressed: Religion and the Political Unconscious of Historical Sociology*. ANN SHOLA ORLOFF, *Social Provision and Regulation: Theories of States, Social Policies, and Modernity*. EDGAR KISER and JUSTIN BAER, *The Bureaucratization of States: Toward an Analytical Weberianism*. MEYER KESTENBAUM, *Mars Revealed: The Entry of Ordinary People into War among States*. ROGER V. GOULD, *Historical Sociology and Collective Action*. NADER SOHRABI, *Revolutions as Pathways to Modernity*. BRUCE G. CARRUTHERS, *Historical Sociology and the Economy: Actors, Networks, and Context*. REBECCA JEAN EMIGH, *The Great Debates: Transitions to Capitalism*. MING-CHENG M. LO, *The Professions: Prodigal Daughters of Modernity*. LYN SPILLMAN and RUSSELL FAEGES, *Nations*. MARGARET R. SOMERS, *Citizenship Troubles: Genealogies of Struggle for the Soul of the Social*. ROGERS BRUBAKER, *Ethnicity without Groups*. ELIZABETH S. CLEMENS, *Logics of History? Agency, Multiplicity, and Incoherence in the Explanation of Change*.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

DOUGLAS HAY and PAUL CRAVEN, editors. *Masters, Servants, and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562–1955*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 592. \$65.00.

DOUGLAS HAY, *England, 1562–1875: The Law and Its Uses*. CHRISTOPHER TOMLINS, *Early British America, 1585–1830: Freedom Bound*. JERRY BANNISTER, *Law and Labor in Eighteenth-Century Newfoundland*. PAUL CRAVEN, *Canada, 1670–1935: Symbolic and Instrumental Enforcement in Loyalist North America*. MICHAEL QUINLAN, *Australia, 1788–1902: A Workingman's Paradise?*. M. K. BANTON, *The Colonial Office, 1820–1955: Constantly the Subject of Small Struggles*. MARY TURNER, *The British Caribbean, 1823–1838: The Transition from Slave to Free Legal Status*. JUANITA DE BARROS, *Urban British Guiana, 1838–1924: Wharf Rats, Centipedes, and Pork Knockers*. MARTIN CHANOCK, *South Africa, 1841–1924: Race, Contract, and Coercion*. CHRISTOPHER MUNN, *Hong Kong, 1841–1870: All the Servants in Prison and Nobody to Take*.

Care of the House. CHRISTOPHER FRANK, Britain: The Defeat of the 1844 Master and Servants Bill. MICHAEL ANDERSON, India, 1858–1930: The Illusion of Free Labor. PRABHU P. MOHAPATRA, Assam and the West Indies, 1860–1920: Immobilizing Plantation Labor. RICHARD RATHBONE, West Africa, 1874–1948: Employment Legislation in a Nonsettler Peasant Economy. DAVID M. ANDERSON, Kenya, 1895–1939: Registration and Rough Justice.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

DENNIS B. BLANTON and JULIA A. KING, editors. *Indian and European Contact in Context: The Mid-Atlantic Region*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida in cooperation with the Society for Historical Archaeology. 2004. Pp. ix, 365. \$65.00.

DENNIS B. BLANTON, The Climate Factor in Late Prehistoric and Post-Contact Human Affairs. MARTIN D. GALLIVAN, Reconnecting the Contact Period and Late Prehistory: Household and Community Dynamics in the James River Basin. MICHAEL J. KLEIN and DOUGLAS W. SANFORD, Analytical Scale and Archaeological Perspectives on the Contact Era in the Northern Neck of Virginia. ROBERT D. WALL, The Chesapeake Hinterlands: Contact-Period Archaeology in the Upper Potomac Valley. JOHN E. BYRD and CHARLES L. HEATH, "The Country here is very thick of Indian Towns and Plantations . . .": Tuscarora Settlement Patterns as Revealed by the Contentnea Creek Survey. SETH W. MALLIOS, Exchange and Violence at Ajacan, Roanoke, and Jamestown. CLIFFORD BOYD, Evolutionary Archaeology and the Contact Period: A Case Study from Virginia and North Carolina. HEATHER A. LAPHAM, "Their Complement of Deer-Skins and Furs": Changing Patterns of White-Tailed Deer Exploitation in the Seventeenth-Century Southern Chesapeake and Virginia Hinterlands. JULIA A. KING and EDWARD E. CHANEY, Did the Chesapeake English Have a Contact Period? MARTHA W. MCCARTNEY, Last Refuge: Tribal Preserves in Eastern Virginia. THOMAS E. DAVIDSON, The Colonoware Question and the Indian Bowl Trade in Colonial Somerset County, Maryland. PHILIP LEVY, "The Foundation of All Other Greater Works": The Strange Career of the 1634 Middle Plantation Palisade.

CORNELIS A. VAN MINNEN and SYLVIA L. HILTON, editors. *Frontiers and Boundaries in U.S. History*. Amsterdam: VU University Press. 2004. Pp. 250. €32.90.

SYLVIA L. HILTON and CORNELIS A. VAN MINNEN, Frontiers and Boundaries in U.S. History. PAUL OTTO, Reassessing American Frontier Theory: culture, Cultural Relativism, and the Middle Ground in Early America. MICHAEL BOYDEN, Foregrounding the Boundaries of American Literary History. CARMEN DE LA GUARDIA HERRERO, Republicanism, Federalism and Territorial Expansion in the United States. MARCO SIOLI, Breaking into the Trans-Mississippian Frontiers: Thomas Jefferson's Expeditions to the West. GRAHAM DAVIS, Myths and Legends of the Irish Pioneers in Texas. LOUIS BILLINGTON and DAVID BROWN, Yoemen and Yankees across the Mason-Dixon Line: A Different Perspective on the Antebellum North/South Divide? JOSEPH SMITH, The Special Message of Rutherford B. Hayes, 8 March 1880, and the "American" Canal Policy. FRANK SCHUMACKER, On the Frontier of Civilization: Deliberations of Exceptionalism and Environ-

mental Determinism in the Creation of America's Tropical Empire, 1890–1910. ROBERT M. LEWIS, Cajun Louisiana: A "French" Borderland in the Twentieth Century. DAVID K. ADAMS, New Deal, New Frontiers and Borderlands. MELVYN STOKES, Frontiers and Boundaries in Hollywood Film: The Case of *The Grapes of Wrath*. JAMES G. RYAN, Along the Ideological Frontier: The Limits of American Democracy, the Communist Party, and the Need for Historiographical Synthesis. DAVID BRIAN HOWARD, Between Avant-Garde and Kitsch: Pragmatic Liberalism, Public Arts Funding, and the Cold War in the United States. GILES SCOTT-SMITH, Hawaii, Statehood, and the East-West Center: Opening Up the Pacific Frontier. INGRID EUMANN, The "New" American Frontier in Real and Fictional Las Vegas. TITY DE VRIES, Frontier and Identity: The Case of Alaska.

J. EMMETT WINN and SUSAN L. BRINSON, editors. *Transmitting the Past: Historical and Cultural Perspectives in Broadcasting*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 252. Cloth \$46.00, paper \$22.95.

SUSAN L. BRINSON, From Marconi to *Cop Rock*: An Introduction to Broadcasting History. MICHAEL BROWN, Radio Mars: The Transformation of Marconi's Popular Image, 1919–1922. FRITZ MESSERE, The Davis Amendment and the Federal Radio Act of 1927: Evaluating External Pressures in Policy Making. CHAD DELL, Wrestling with Corporate Identity: Defining Television Programming Strategy at NBC, 1945–1950. DOUGLAS FERGUSON, The Importance of Colorization of Motion Pictures and Syndicated Television Programs to Broadcasting, 1985–1990. SAMUEL J. BRUMBELOE and J. EMMETT WINN, WAPI: Entertainment and Sports Broadcasting at an Educational Radio Station in the 1920s. MICHELE HILMES, Femmes Boff Program Toppers: Women Break into Prime Time, 1943–1948. MATTHEW A. KILLMEIER, Space and the Speed of Sound: Mobile Media, 1950s Broadcasting, and Suburbia. GEORGE PLASKETES, *Cop Rock* Reconsidered: Formula, Fragments, Failure, and Foreshadowing in Genre Evolution. HEATHER HUNDLEY, Sex, Society, and Double Standards in *Cheers*.

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

GÁBOR KLANICZAY, editor. *Procès de canonization au Moyen Âge: Aspects juridiques et religieux/Medieval Canonization Processes: Legal and Religious Aspects*. (Collection de L'École française de Rome, number 340.) Rome: École française de Rome. 2004. Pp 392.

AVIAD KLEINBERG, Canonisation without a Canon. THOMAS HEAD, The Genesis of the Ordeal of Relics by Fire in Ottonian Germany: An Alternative Form of "Canonization." DICK HARRISON, *Quod mango nobis fuit horrore*: Horror, Power and Holiness within the Context of Canonization. MICHAEL RICHTER, Procedural Aspects of the Canonization of Lorcán Ua Tuathail. TORE NYBERG, The Canonization Process of St. Birgitta of Sweden. ANDERS FROJMARK, The Canonization Process of Brynolf Algotsson. GÖRAN BÄÄRNHJELM and JANKEN MYRDAL, Miracles and Medieval Life: Canonization Proceedings as a Source for Medieval Social History. GÁBOR KLANICZAY, Proving Sanctity in the Canonization Processes (Saint Elizabeth and Saint Margaret of Hungary). ALEXANDRA WITKOWSKA, The Thirteenth-century *miracula* of St. Stanislaus, Bishop of Krakow. PAOLO

GOLINELLI, Social Aspects in Some Italian Canonization Trials: the Choice of Witnesses. MICHAEL GOODICH, Reason or Revelation? The Criteria for the Proof and Credibility of Miracles in Canonization Processes. ALAIN BOUREAU, Saints et démons dans les procès de canonisation du début du XIV^e siècle. CHRISTIAN KRÖTZL, *Fama sanctitatis*: Die Akten der spätmittelalterlichen Kanonisationsprozesse als Quelle zu Kommunikation und Informationsvermittlung in der mittelalterlichen Gesellschaft. BERNHARD SCHIMMELPFENNIG, Die Berücksichtigung von Kanonisationen in den kurialen Zeremonienbüchern des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts. THOMAS WETZSTEIN, *Iura novit curia*: Zur Verfahrensnormierung der Kanonisationsprozesse des späten Mittelalters. LAURA ACKERMANN SMOLLER, Northern and Southern Sanctity in the Canonization of Vincent Ferrer: The Effects of Procedural Differences on the Image of the Saint. LETIZIA PELLEGRINI, La sainteté au XV^e siècle entre procès et droit canonique: Avant et après Bernardin de Sienne. MARTINE BOITEUX, Le rituel romain de canonization et ses représentations à l'époque moderne.

L. J. ANDREW VILLALON and DONALD J. KAGAY, editors. *The Hundred Years War: A Wider Focus*. (History of Warfare, number 25.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. lv, 520.

L. J. ANDREW VILLALON, Spanish Involvement in the Hundred Years War and the Battle of Nájera. MARÍA TERESA FERRER I MALLOL, The Southern Valencian Frontier during the War of the Two Pedros. DONALD J. KAGAY, A Government Besieged by Conflict: The Parliament of Monzón (1362–1363) as Military Financier. CLARA ESTOW, War and Peace in Medieval Iberia: Castilian-Granadan Relations in the Mid-Fourteenth Century. WILLIAM P. CAFERRO, "The Fox and the Lion": The White Company and the Hundred Years War in Italy. SERGIO BOFFA, The Duchy of Brabant Caught Between France and England: Geopolitics and Diplomacy during the First Half of the Hundred Years War. PETER M. KONIECZNY, London's War Effort during the Early Years of the Reign of Edward III. PAUL SOLON, *Tholosanna Fides*: Toulouse as a Military Actor in Late Medieval France. MANUEL SÁNCHEZ MARTÍNEZ, The Invocation of *Princeps namque* in 1368 and its Repercussions for the City of Barcelona. JAMES E. GILBERT, A Medieval "Rosie the Riveter"? Women in France and Southern England during the Hundred Years War. JANE MARIE PINZINO, Just War, Joan of Arc, and the Politics of Salvation. CLIFFORD J. ROGERS, Henry V's Military Strategy in 1415. KELLY DEVRIES, "The Walls Come Tumbling Down": The Campaigns of Philip the Good and the Myth of Fortification Vulnerability to Early Gunpowder Weapons. JOHN CLEMENTS, Wielding the Weapons of War: Arms, Armor, and Training Manuals During the Later Middle Ages.

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

MICHAEL COLE and MARY PARDO, editors. *Inventions of the Studio: Renaissance to Romanticism*. (Bettie Allison Rand Lectures in Art History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. 241. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$22.50.

MICHAEL COLE and MARY PARDO, Origins of the Studio. CHRISTOPHER S. WOOD, Indoor-Outdoor: The Studio around 1500. WALTER S. MELION, Benedictus Arias Montanus and the Virtual Studio as a Meditative Place. H. PERRY CHAPMAN, The

Imagined Studios of Rembrandt and Vermeer. MARC GOTTLIEB, Creation and Death in the Romantic Studio.

MARY JO MAYNES, BIRGITTE SØLAND, and CHRISTINA BENNINGHAUS, editors. *Secret Gardens, Satanic Mills: Placing Girls in European History, 1750–1960*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 312. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.

DEBORAH SIMONTON, Bringing Up Girls: Work in Preindustrial Europe. MARY JO MAYNES, In Search of Arachne's Daughters: European Girls, Economic Development, and the Textile Trade, 1750–1880. ANDREAS GESTRICH, After Dark: Girls' Leisure, Work, and Sexuality in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Rural Southwest Germany. CLARE CROWSTON, An Industrious Revolution in Late Seventeenth-Century Paris: New Vocational Training for Adolescent Girls and the Creation of Female Labor Markets. CAROL E. MORGAN, Work for Girls? The Small Metal Industries in England. IRENE HARDACH-PINKE, Managing Girls' Sexuality among the German Upper Classes. REBECCA ROGERS, Porous Walls and Prying Eyes: Control, Discipline, and Morality in Boarding Schools for Girls in Mid-Nineteenth-Century France. CÉLINE GRASSER, Good Girls versus Blooming Maidens: The Building of Female Middle- and Upper-Class Identities in the Garden, England and France, 1820–1870. KATHLEEN ALAIMO, The Authority of Experts: The Crisis of Female Adolescence in France and England, 1880–1920. MARY LYNN STEWART, Sex Education and Sexual Initiation of Bourgeois French Girls, 1880–1930. CHRISTINA BENNINGHAUS, In Their Own Words: Girls' Representations of Growing Up in Germany in the 1920s. PAMELA COX, Girls in Trouble: Defining Female Delinquency, Britain, 1900–1950. ANNA DAVIN, City Girls: Young Women, New Employment, and the City, London, 1880–1910. ELIZABETH BRIGHT JONES, Girls in Court: *Mägde* versus Their Employers in Saxony, 1880–1914. TAMMY M. PROCTOR, "Something for the Girls": Organized Leisure in Europe, 1890–1939. BIRGITTE SØLAND, Employment and enjoyment: Female Coming-of-Age Experiences in Denmark, 1880s–1930s. CLAIRE LANGHAMER, Leisure, Pleasure, and Courtship: Young Women in England, 1920–1960. KARIN SCHMIDLECHNER, The Emergence of the Modern Teenage Girl in Postwar Austria.

JEFFREY M. DIEFENDORF, editor. *Lessons and Legacies VI: New Currents in Holocaust Research*. Foreword by JEFFREY M. DIEFENDORF. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press. 2004. Pp. xxxiv, 547. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$34.95.

PAUL B. JASKOT, Concentration Camps and Cultural Policy: Rethinking the Development of the Camp System, 1936–41. SYBILLE STEINBACHER, The Relationship of the Auschwitz Camp to the Outside Environment, Economy, and Society. RICHARD BREITMAN, The Nazis and the Jews of Italy: New Sources on The Responsibility for the Holocaust in Italy. YEHUDA BAUER, The Problem of Non-Armed Jewish Reactions to Nazi Rule in Eastern Europe. JONATHAN GOLDSTEIN, Motivation in Holocaust Rescue: The Case of Jan Zwartendijk in Lithuania, 1940. YEHUDI LINDERMAN, Against All Odds: Successes and Failures of the Dutch Palestine Pioneers. LENORE J. WEITZMAN, Women of Courage: *The Kashariyot* (Couriers) in the Jewish Resistance During the Holocaust.

PATRICIA VON PAPEN-BODEK, Anti-Jewish Research of the Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage in Frankfurt am Main between 1939 and 1945. KONRAD JARAUSCH, Unasked Questions: The Controversy about Nazi Collaboration among German Historians. DEVIN PENDAS, The Historiography of Horror: The Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial and the German Historical Imagination. DAN MICHMAN, "Euphoria of Victory" as the Key: Situating Christopher Browning on the Map of Research on the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question." GERHARD WEINBERG, Browning and the Big Picture. DARIUSZ STOLA, New Research on the Holocaust in Poland. CHRISTIAN GERLACH, Some Recent Trends in German Holocaust Research. SUSANNAH HESCHEL, Does Atrocity Have a Gender? Feminist Interpretations of Women in the SS. HILARY EARL, Scales of Justice: History, Testimony, and the Einsatzgruppen Trial at Nuremberg. REBECCA WITTMANN, Legitimizing the Criminal State: Former Nazi Judges and the Distortion of Justice at the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial, 1963–65. CONSTANTIN GOSCHLER, German Compensation to Jewish Nazi Victims. JONATHAN STEINBERG, Compensation Cases and the Nazi Past: Deutsche Bank and Its Historical Legacy. HELEN JUNZ, Holocaust-Era Assets: Globalization of the Issue. IAN BURUMA, The Innocent Eye: Childlike, Childish, and Children's Perspectives on the Holocaust. JEFFREY HERF, How and Why Did Holocaust Memory Come to the United States? A Response to Peter Novick's Challenge. PIETER LAGROU, Facing the Holocaust in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. SUZANNE BROWN-FLEMING, Excusing the Holocaust: German Catholics and the Sensation of Cardinal Aloisius Muench's "One World in Charity," 1946–59. JAMES E. YOUNG, Germany's Holocaust Memorial Problem—and Mine.

DAVID EDWARDS, editor. *Regions and Rulers in Ireland, 1100–1650: Essays for Kenneth Nicholls*. (Cork Studies in Irish History, number 4.) Portland, Ore.: Four Courts Press. 2004. Pp. 288. \$65.00.

DONNCHADH Ó. CORRÁIN, The Synod of Cashel, 1101: Conservative or Innovative? CONLETH MANNING, Fighin MacCarthaigh, King of Desmond, and the Mystery of the Second Nunnery at Clonmacnoise. KATHARINE SIMMS, The MacMahon Pedigree: A Medieval Forgery. SEÁN DUFFY, The Lords of Galloway, Earls of Carrick, and the Bissets of the Glens: Scottish Settlement in Thirteenth-century Ulster. DAVID SELLAR, Forflissa/Forbflaith/Hvarflöð. PAUL MACCOTTER, The Geraldine Clerical Lineages of Imokilly and Sir John fitz Edmund of Cloyne. FIONA FITZSIMONS, Cardinal Wolsey, the Native Affinities, and the Failure of Reform in Hibernian Ireland. DAVID EDWARDS and ADRIAN EMPEY, Tipperary Liberty Ordinances of the "Black" Earl of Ormond. JERROLD CASWAY, Identifying "Arte McBaron's chief house his hould." BERNADETTE CUNNINGHAM, A Scholar's Notebook: NLI MS G 1 and the Cultural World of a Sixteenth-century Irish Chronicler. CIARAN BRADY, The End of the O'Reilly Lordship, 1584–1610. ELIZABETH FITZPATRICK, Parly Sites of Ó Néill and Ó Domhnaill in Late Sixteenth-century Ireland. BRÍD MCGRATH, Ireland and the Third University: Attendance at the Inns of Court, 1603–1649. DAVID EDWARDS, Two Fools and a Martial Law Commissioner: Cultural Conflict at the Limerick Assize of 1606.

CIARAN BRADY and JANE OHLMEYER, editors. *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 371. \$80.00.

CIARAN BRADY and JANE OHLMEYER, Making Good: New Perspectives on the English in Early Modern Ireland. CIARAN BRADY, The Attainder of Shane O'Neill, Sir Henry Sidney and the Problems of Tudor State-building in Ireland. HAROLD O'SULLIVAN, Dynamics of Regional Development: Processes of Assimilation and Division in the Marchland of South-east Ulster in Late Medieval and Early Modern Ireland. HELGA ROBINSON-HAMMERSTEIN, The "Common Good" and the University in an Age of Confessional Conflict. BRIAN JACKSON, The Construction of Argument: Henry Fitzsimon, John Rider and Religious Controversy in Dublin, 1599–1614. R. J. HUNTER, The Bible and the Bawn: An Ulster Planter Inventorised. ALAN FORD, "That Bugbear Arminianism": Archbishop Laud and Trinity College, Dublin. JANE OHLMEYER, The Irish Peers, Political Power and Parliament, 1640–1641. BRÍD MCGRATH, The Irish Elections of 1640–1641. MICHEÁL Ó. SIOCHRÚ, Catholic Confederates and the Constitutional Relationship between Ireland and England, 1641–1649. ROBERT ARMSTRONG, Protestant Churchmen and the Confederate Wars. GEOFFREY PARKER, The Crisis of the Spanish and the Stuart Monarchies in the Mid-Seventeenth Century: Local Problems or Global Problems? SARAH BARBER, Settlement, Transplantation and Expulsion: A Comparative Study of the Placement of Peoples. TOBY BARNARD, Interests in Ireland: The "Fanatic Zeal and Irregular Ambition" of Richard Lawrence. RAYMOND GILLESPIE, Temple's Fate: Reading *The Irish Rebellion* in Late Seventeenth-century Ireland. PATRICK KELLY, Conquest versus Consent as the Basis of the English Title to Ireland in William Molyneux's *Case of Ireland . . . Stated* (1698).

LOUISE RYAN and MARGARET WARD, editors. *Irish Women and Nationalism: Soldiers, New Women and Wicked Hags*. Dublin: Irish Academic. 2004. Pp. viii, 239. Cloth \$69.50, paper \$30.00.

ANDREA KNOX, Testimonies to History: Reassessing Women's Involvement in the 1641 Rising. JAN CANNAVAN, Revolution in Ireland, Evolution in Women's Rights: Irish Women in 1798 and 1848. LOUISE RYAN, "In the line of fire": Representations of Women and War (1919–1923) through the Writings of Republican Men. KAREN STEELE, Constance Markievicz and the Politics of Memory. DANAE O'REGAN, Representations and Attitudes of Republican Women in the Novels of Annie M. P. Smithson (1873–1948) and Rosamond Jacob (1888–1960). JAYNE STEEL, "And behind him a wicked hag did stalk": From Maiden to Mother, Ireland as Woman through the Male Psyche. MARY CORCORAN, "We had to be stronger": The Political Imprisonment of Women in Northern Ireland, 1972–1999. RHIANNON TALBOT, Female Combatants, Paramilitary Prisoners and the Development of Feminism in the Republican Movement. CLAIRE HACKETT, Narratives of Political Activism from Women in West Belfast. CALLIE PERSIC, The Emergence of a Gender Consciousness: Women and Community Work in West Belfast. MARGARET WARD, Times of Transition: Republican Women, Feminism and Political Representation.

JOACHIM KUROPKA, editor. *Geistliche und Gestapo: Klerus zwischen Staatsallmacht und kirchlicher Hierarchie*. (Anpassung, Selbstbehauptung, Widerstand, number 23.) Munster: Lit. 2004. Pp. 303. €24.90.

JOACHIM KUROPKA, Religion oder Politik? Zur Stellung der katholischen Kirche unter dem NS-Regime. JOACHIM KUROPKA, Zur Frage der Gefährdung der NS-Herrschaft durch die Katholische Kirche. WOLFGANG DIERKER, Zur Kirchen- und Religionspolitik des NS-Regimes am Beispiel des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS. THOMAS FANDEL, Katholische und evangelische Pfarrer in der Pfalz im "Dritten Reich." KLEMENS-AUGUST RECKER, Bischof, Geistlichkeit und Gestapo im Bistum Osnabrück Beispiele und Probleme.

REINHARD RITTNER, Zivilcourage und Purgatorium: Kirchenrat Hermann Buck im Nationalsozialismus. MARIA ANNA ZUMHOLZ, Ein Kämpfer in einer problematischen Gemeinde: Gottfried Engels in Peheim. RUDOLF WILLENBORG, "Ich bin die Kirche"—Pfarrer Franz Sommer. JOACHIM KUROPKA, Widerspruch—gegen Nationalsozialismus und "Restauration" Dr. Johannes Göken. RAINER-MARIA GROOTHUIS OP, Pater Aurelius Arkenau OP: Einsatz für Verfolgte.

Documents and Bibliographies

Books listed were recently received in the *AHR* office. Works of these types cannot normally be reviewed by the *AHR*.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

- ALDRICH, RICHARD J. *Witness to War: Diaries of the Second World War in Europe and the Middle East*. New York: Doubleday. 2004. Pp. xi, 720. £18.99.
- CLINTON, CATHERINE, and CHRISTINE LUNARDINI. *The Columbia Guide to American Women in the Nineteenth Century*. Paperback edition. New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 331. \$22.00.
- HACKER, BARTON C. *World Military History Annotated Bibliography: Premodern and Nonwestern Military Institutions (Works Published before 1967)*. Boston: Brill. 2005. \$250.00.

ASIA

- AMIN, SHAHID, editor. *A Concise Encyclopaedia of North Indian Peasant Life*. Being a Compilation from the Writings of WILLIAM CROOKE, J. R. REID, and G. A. GRIERSON. Foreword by SHAHID AMIN. (South Asian Colonial Archives, number 1.) New Delhi: Manohar. 2005. Pp. 596. Rs. 2250.00.
- DE BARY, WM. THEODORE, CAROL GLUCK, and ARTHUR E. TIEDEMANN, editors. *Sources of Japanese Tradition*. Volume 2, 1600–2000 (Introduction to Asian Civilizations.) 2d. Ed. New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xlii, 1399. \$49.50.
- HASAN, MUSHIRUL, and MARGRIT PERNAU, editors. *Regionalizing Pan-Islamism: Documents on the Khilafat Movement*. New Delhi: Manohar. 2005. Pp. xv, 467. Rs. 1095.00.
- PRASAD, BIMAL, editor. *Jayaprakash Narayan: Selected Works*. Volume 5, 1948–1950. New Delhi: Manohar. 2005. Pp. xxix, 528. Rs. 950.00.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

- BARRY, WM. F., H. J. HUNT, and WM. H. FRENCH. *The 1864 Field Artillery Tactics*. Reprint. Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 2005. Pp. xxi, 404. \$21.95.
- BENNITT, JOHN. "I Hope to Do My Country Service": *The Civil War Letters of John Bennitt, M.D., Surgeon, 19th Michigan Infantry*. Edited by ROBERT BEASECKER. Foreword by WILLIAM M. ANDERSON. (Great Lakes Books.) Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 2005. Pp. xxv, 409. \$54.95.
- BLIGHT, JAMES G. and JANET M. LANG. *The Fog of War: Lessons from the Life of Robert S. McNamara*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2005. Pp. xiii, 307. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$17.95.
- DELANO, ALONZO. *On the Trail to the California Gold Rush*.

Foreword by J. S. HOLLIDAY. (Bison Books.) Reprint. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2005. Pp. xxi, 384. \$16.95.

- DEVOTO, BERNARD. *DeVoto's West: History, Conservation, and the Public Good*. Edited by EDWARD K. MULLER. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2005. Pp. xxxv, 275. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$18.95.
- DITTENHOEFER, ABRAM J. *How We Elected Lincoln: Personal Recollections*. Foreword by KATHLEEN HALL JAMIESON. Reprint. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 99. \$15.95.
- DIXON, THOMAS. *The Flaming Sword*. Foreword by JOHN DAVID SMITH. Reprint. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2005. Pp. xxix, 453. \$24.95.
- DUNCAN, EVAN M., editor. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976*. Volume V: United Nations, 1969–1972. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 2004. Pp. xxxvii, 940. \$66.00.
- FIELD, FRANCES W. *World War II: Letters from Home, 1942–1944*. Pittsburgh: Dorrance Publishing. 2004. Pp. 96. \$14.00.
- FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN. *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin: Penn Reading Project Edition*. Edited by PETER CONN. Foreword by AMY GUTMANN. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 180. \$14.95.
- FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN. *A Benjamin Franklin Reader*. Edited by WALTER ISAACSON. Paperback edition. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2003. Pp. xv, 551. \$15.00.
- GREENBERG, KAREN J., and JOSHUA L. DRATEL, editors. *The Torture Papers: The Road to Abu Ghraib*. Foreword by ANTHONY LEWIS. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xxxiv, 1249. \$50.00.
- GUERRANT, EDWARD O. *The Galax Gatherers: The Gospel among the Highlanders*. Foreword by MARK HUDDLE. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 2005. Pp. xlii, 220. \$19.95.
- HARVEY, PAUL, and PHILIP GOFF, editors. *The Columbia Documentary History of Religion in America Since 1945*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xxi, 554. \$75.00.
- JEFFERSON, THOMAS. *Autobiography of Thomas Jefferson*. Abridged edition. Mineola, N.Y.: Dover. 2005. Pp. 101. \$6.95.
- KELLER, HELEN. *Helen Keller: Selected Writings*. Edited by KIM E. NIELSEN. (The History of Disability.) New York: New York University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 317. \$35.00.
- LAWLER, DANIEL, and CAROLYN YEE, editors. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968*. Volume XXXII: Dominican Republic; Cuba; Haiti; Guyana. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 2005. Pp. xxxv, 992.
- LAWSON, STEVEN F., editor. *To Secure These Rights: The Report of President Harry S. Truman's Committee on Civil Rights*. (The Bedford Series in History and Culture.) Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's. 2004. Pp. viii, 200. \$13.95.

- MILLER, WILLIAM BLUFFTON. *Fighting for Liberty and Right: The Civil War Diary of William Bluffton Miller, First Sergeant, Company K, Seventy-Fifth Indiana Volunteer Infantry*. Edited by JEFFREY L. PATRICK and ROBERT J. WILLEY. (Voices of the Civil War.) Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 422. \$42.00.
- NAPTON, WILLIAM BARCLAY. *The Union on Trial: The Political Journals of Judge William Barclay Napton 1829–1883*. Edited by CHRISTOPHER PHILLIPS and JASON L. PENDLETON. Introduction by CHRISTOPHER PHILLIPS. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 631. \$49.95.
- PICKENS, WILLIAM. *Bursting Bonds: The Autobiography of a "New Negro"*. Edited by WILLIAM L. ANDREWS. (African American Intellectual Heritage Series.) Reprint. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1991. Pp. xxviii, 76. \$15.00.
- ROBBINS, RUFUS. *Through Ordinary Eyes: The Civil War Correspondence of Rufus Robbins, Private, 7th Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteers*. Edited and Foreword by ELLA JANE BRUEN and BRIAN M. FITZGIBBONS. Assisted by JON WAKELYN. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 220. \$19.95.
- SUID, LAWRENCE H., and DOLORES A. HAVERSTICK. *Stars and Stripes on Screen: A Comprehensive Guide to Portrayals of American Military on Film*. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow. 2005. Pp. xxi, 419. \$45.00.
- SUTTON, ROBERT P. *Modern American Communes: A Dictionary*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 2005. Pp. xxv, 209. \$65.00.
- THOULET, JULIEN. *A Voyage to Newfoundland*. Edited and translated by SCOTT JAMIESON. Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2005. Pp. xxxiv, 195. \$44.95.
- WALTON, IVAN H. *Songquest: The Journals of Great Lakes Folklorist Ivan H. Walton*. Edited by JOE GRIMM. Foreword by LAURIE KAY SOMMERS. (Great Lakes Books.) Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 255. \$27.95.
- WHITTLE, JR., WILLIAM C. *The Voyage of the CSS Shenandoah: A Memorable Cruise*. Introduction by D. ALAN HARRIS and ANNE B. HARRIS. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 255. \$45.00.
- WILSON, WOODROW. *Woodrow Wilson: The Essential Political Writings*. Edited by RONALD J. PESTRITTO. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2005. Pp. x, 279. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$24.95.
- (1848 la români, number 3.) Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică. 2005. Pp. xxix, 737.
- CLAPPERTON, HUGH. *Hugh Clapperton into the Interior of Africa: Records of the Second Expedition 1825–1827*. Edited by JAMIE BRUCE LOCKHART and PAUL E. LOVEJOY. (Sources for African History, number 2.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. xiii, 544. \$53.00.
- CRUSE, MARK, and HILDE HOOGENBOOM, translators. *The Memoirs of Catherine the Great*. New York: Random House. 2005. Pp. xc, 247. \$26.95.
- DUFOUR, JEAN, editor. *Recueil des rouleaux des morts (VIII^e siècle-vers 1536)*. Volume 1, VIII^e siècle-1180. Paris: De Bocard. 2005. Pp. xlviii, 725. €120.00.
- FRY, ELIZABETH. *Elizabeth Fry: A Quaker Life*. Selected Letters and Writings. Edited, with a foreword by GIL SKIDMORE. (The Sacred Literature Series.) Lanham, Md.: AltaMira, with the International Sacred Literature Trust. 2005. Pp. 238. Cloth \$69.00, paper \$24.95.
- Fuehrer Conferences on Naval Affairs 1939–1945*. Foreword by Jak P. Mallmann Showell. Paperback edition. London: Chatham Publishing. 2005. Pp. 496. \$19.95.
- HARTMANNSGRUBER, FRIEDRICH, editor. *Akten der Reichskanzlei: Regierung Hitler 1933–1945*. Die Regierung Hitler, volume 4: 1937. Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2005. Pp. lxxii, 895. €94.80.
- HEITZENRATER, RICHARD P, editor. *The Works of John Wesley: The Bicentennial Edition*. CD-ROM. Nashville: Abingdon Press. 2005. \$79.00.
- Historical Sources for Medieval and Early Modern Britain*. (TannerRitchie Series 2004.) CD-ROM. Burlington, Ontario: TannerRitchie Publishing. 2005. \$985.00.
- MASTNY, VOJTECH, and MALCOLM BYRNE, editors. *A Card-board Castle? An Inside History of the Warsaw Pact, 1955–1991*. (National Security Archive Cold War Readers.) Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2005. Pp. xlix, 726. \$75.00.
- PEDEN, G. C., editor. *Keynes and His Critics: Treasury Responses to the Keynesian Revolution 1925–1946*. (Records of Social and Economic History, New Series, number 36.) New York: Oxford University Press for the British Academy. 2004. Pp. xv, 372.
- POTTER, DAVID, editor. *Foreign Intelligence and Information in Elizabethan England: Two English Treatises on the State of France, 1580–1584*. (Camden Fifth Series, number 25.) New York: Cambridge University Press for The Royal Historical Society. 2004. Pp. ix, 261. \$75.00.
- SCHMID, ARMIN, and RENATE SCHMID. *Im Labyrinth der Paragraphen: Die Geschichte einer gescheiterten Emigration*. Foreword by WOLFGANG BENZ. (Lebensbilder: Jüdische Erinnerungen und Zeugnisse; Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus.) Rev. ed. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 2005. Pp. 171. €7.90.
- WOLFENHAUT, JULIUS. *Nach Sibirien verbannt: Als Jude von Czernowitz nach Stalinka 1941–1994*. (Lebensbilder: Jüdische Erinnerungen und Zeugnisse; Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus.) Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 2005. Pp. 185. €9.90.

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

- BUCHENAU, JURGEN, editor. *Mexico OtherWise: Modern Mexico in the Eyes of Foreign Observers*. (Dialogos.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 285. \$22.95.

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

- AHLGREN, GILLIAN T. W., editor. *The Inquisition of Francisca: A Sixteenth-Century Visionary on Trial*. Translated by GILLIAN T. W. AHLGREN. (The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xxviii, 195. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.00.
- BODEA, CORNELIA, editor. *Revoluția în Viziunea Contemporanilor*. [The Revolution as Seen by its Contemporaries].

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

- DIAWARA, MANTHIA. *We Won't Budge: An African Exile in the World*. Paperback edition. New York: Basic Books. 2004. Pp. xvi, 271. \$16.00.

Other Books Received

The following books were recently received in the *AHR* office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

METHODS/THEORY

- ANDERSON, LISA. *Pursuing Truth, Exercising Power: Social Science and Public Policy in the twenty-first Century*. (The Leonard Hastings Schoff Memorial Lectures.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2003. Pp. xi, 158. \$22.00.
- DAVIS, M. ELAINE. *How Students Understand the Past: From Theory to Practice*. Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira. 2005. Pp. x, 189. Cloth \$72.00, paper \$29.95.
- KAISER, DAVID. *Drawing Theories Apart: The Dispersion of Feynman Diagrams in Postwar Physics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xix, 469.
- MEIER, CHRISTIAN. *From Athens to Auschwitz: The Uses of History*. Translated by DEBORAH LUCAS SCHNEIDER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 239. \$27.95.
- STINCHCOMBE, ARTHUR L. *The Logic of Social Research*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 354. \$20.00.
- YOW, VALERIE RALEIGH. *Recording Oral History: A Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences*. 2d. ed. Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira. 2005. Pp. xvi, 398. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$29.95.

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

- ADELSON, BETTY M. *The Lives of Dwarfs: Their Journey from Public Curiosity toward Social Liberation*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 431. \$34.95.
- ANDERSON, WANNI W. and ROBERT G. LEE, editors. *Displacements and Diasporas: Asians in the Americas*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2005. Pp. vii, 301. \$24.95.
- APIIAH, KWAME ANTHONY and HENRY LOUIS GATES, JR. *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience*. In five volumes. 2d ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xxvii, 775; 799; 812; 811; 703. \$500.00 the set.
- ARFI, BADREDINE. *International Change and the Stability of Multiethnic States: Yugoslavia, Lebanon, and Crises of Governance*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 305. \$49.95.
- BENSON, MICHAEL. *Inside Secret Societies: What They Don't Want You to Know*. New York: Citadel Press. 2005. Pp. vii, 262. \$14.95.
- BERNHARD, MICHAEL. *Institutions and the Fate of Democracy: Germany and Poland in the Twentieth Century*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 310. \$29.95.
- BLOOM, MIA. *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror*. New

- York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 251. \$19.95.
- BURRELL, ROBERT, and ALLISON COLEMAN. *Copyright Exceptions: The Digital Impact*. (Cambridge Studies in Intellectual Property Rights.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xxix, 426. \$100.00.
- CHANDLER, ALFRED D., JR., and BRUCE MAZLISH, editors. *Leviathans: Multinational Corporations and the New Global History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 249. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$22.99.
- ERDMANN, KARL DIETRICH. *Toward a Global Community of Historians: The International Historical Congress and the International Committee of Historical Sciences*. Assisted by JÜRGEN KOCKA, WOLFGANG J. MOMMSEN and AGNES BLÄNSDORF. Translated by ALAN NOTHNAGLE. New York: Berghahn Books. 2005. Pp. xvi, 430. \$90.00.
- FARQUHAR, MICHAEL. *A Treasury of Deception: Liars, Mislead-ers, Hoodwinkers, and the Extraordinary True Stories of History's Greatest Hoaxes, Fakes, and Frauds*. New York: Penguin. 2005. Pp. xiii, 287. \$14.00.
- FONER, NANCY. *In a New Land: A Comparative View of Immigration*. New York: New York University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 325. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$22.00.
- HOLTON, GERALD. *Victory and Vexation in Science: Einstein, Bohr, Heisenberg, and Others*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 229. \$35.00.
- ITZKOTT, SEYMOUR W. *Rebuilding Western Civilization: Beyond the Twenty-First-Century Collapse*. (The Human Prospect, number 4.) Ashfield, Mass.: Paideia Publishers. 2005. Pp. x, 223. \$22.00.
- JEFFERS, H. PAUL. *Freemasons: A History and Exploration of the World's Oldest Secret Society*. New York: Citadel Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 237. \$14.95.
- LANE, PETER B., and RONALD E. MARCELLO, editors. *Warriors and Scholars: A Modern War Reader*. Foreword by ALFRED F. HURLEY. Denton: University of North Texas Press. 2005. Pp. vi, 288. Cloth \$24.95.
- LOOMBA, ANIA, SUVIR KAUL, MATTI BUNZL, et al., editors. *Postcolonial Studies and Beyond*. Durham: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 499. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$24.95.
- MAZLISH, BRUCE, and AKIRA IRIYE, editors. *The Global History Reader*. New York: Routledge. 2005. Pp. x, 302. Cloth, \$105.00, paper \$31.95.
- MENDELSON, EZRA, editor. *Jews and the State: Dangerous Alliances and the Perils of Privilege*. (Studies in Contemporary Jewry, number 19.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 322. \$55.00.
- MILLER, HILDY, and LILLIAN BRIDWELL-BOWLES, editors. *Rhetorical Women: Roles and Representations*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 261. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$25.00.
- NEIBERG, MICHAEL S. *Fighting the Great War: A Global History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 395. \$27.95.

- NORLING, BERNARD. *The Intrepid Guerrillas of North Luzon*. Paperback edition. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2005. Pp. xiv, 284. \$19.95.
- NYE, JOSEPH S., JR. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: PublicAffairs. 2004. Pp. xvi, 191. \$14.00.
- OSTERHAMMEL, JÜRGEN and NIELS P. PETERSSON. *Globalization: A Short History*. Translated by DONA GEYER. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 182. \$22.95.
- PARMAR, INDERJEET. *Think Tanks and Power in Foreign Policy: A Comparative Study of the Role and Influence of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1939–1945*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2004. Pp. vii, 267. \$69.95.
- PARRISH, THOMAS. *The Submarine: A History*. New York: Penguin. 2005. Pp. x, 576. \$17.00.
- RAWLEY, JAMES A. *The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A History*. Assisted by STEPHEN D. BEHRENDT. Rev. ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 441. \$60.00.
- SAMUELS, RICHARD J. *Machiavelli's Children: Leaders and Their Legacies in Italy and Japan*. Paperback edition. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 456. \$24.95.
- SMITH, BONNIE G., editor. *Women's History in Global Perspective, Volume 2*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2005. Pp. 301. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$22.00.
- SMITH, BONNIE G., editor. *Women's History in Global Perspective, Volume 3*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2005. Pp. 273. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$20.00.
- SPENCER, PHILIP, and HOWARD WOLLMAN, editors. *Nations and Nationalism: A Reader*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 364. \$27.95.
- SPRUYT, HENDRIK. *Ending Empire: Contested Sovereignty and Territorial Partition*. (Cornell Studies in Political Economy.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 305. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$22.50.
- SWEENEY, SIMON. *Europe, the State and Globalisation*. London: Pearson Education Limited. 2005. Pp. xvii, 456. \$40.00.
- THOMAS, NICHOLAS, ANNA COLE, and BRONWEN DOUGLAS, editors. *Tattoo: Bodies, Art, and Exchange in the Pacific and the West*. (Object/Histories: Critical Perspectives on Art, Material Culture, and Representation.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. 252. \$27.95.
- VOLKMAN, TOBY ALICE, editor. *Cultures of Transnational Adoption*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. 232. \$21.95.
- WALTON, STEVEN A., editor. *Instrumental in War: Science, Research, and Instruments Between Knowledge and the World*. (History of Warfare, number 28.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 414. \$174.00.
- WEINBERG, GERHARD L. *Visions of Victory: The Hopes of Eight World War II Leaders*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 292. \$28.00.
- WEIR, WILLIAM R. *Turning Points in Military History*. New York: Citadel Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 298. \$15.95.
- WOHL, ROBERT. *The Spectacle of Flight: Aviation and the Western Imagination, 1920–1950*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 364. \$39.95.
- YOFFEE, NORMAN. *Myths of the Archaic State: Evolution of the Earliest Cities, States, and Civilizations*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 277. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$34.99.
- ZOHAR, ZION, editor. *Sephardic and Mizrahi Jewry: From the Golden Age of Spain to Modern Times*. New York: New York University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 343. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$22.00.
- Series.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 353. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$29.95.
- ANDERSON, DAVID L. *The Vietnam War*. (Twentieth-Century Wars.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2005. Pp. ix, 152. Cloth \$81.00, paper \$26.95.
- BAGCHI, AMIYA KUMAR, DIPANKAR SINHA, and BARNITA BAGCHI, editors. *Webs of History: Information, Communication and Technology from Early to Post-Colonial India*. New Delhi: Manohar. 2005. Pp. 298. Rs. 695.00.
- DINCKAL, NOYAN. *Istanbul und das Wasser: Zur Geschichte der Wasserversorgung und Abwasserentsorgung von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis 1966*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 120.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2004. Pp. 325. €49.80.
- ELLINWOOD, DEWITT C., JR.. *Between Two Worlds: A Rajput Officer in the Indian Army, 1905–21*. Based on the Diary of Amar Singh of Jaipur. Lanham, Maryland: Hamilton Books. 2005. Pp. xiv, 679. \$76.00.
- FRÉDÉRIC, LOUIS. *Japan Encyclopedia*. Translated by KÄTHE ROTH. Paperback edition. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. 1102. \$29.95.
- GHOSH, PIKA. *Temple to Love: Architecture and Devotion in Seventeenth-Century Bengal*. (Contemporary Indian Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 255. \$49.95.
- HUST, EVELIN, and MICHAEL MANN, editors. *Urbanization and Governance in India*. New Delhi: Manohar. Centre de Sciences Humaines. 2005. Pp. 345. Rs. 995.00.
- JACKSON, PETER. *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410*. (The Medieval World.) London: Pearson Education Limited. 2005. Pp. xxxiv, 414. \$26.00.
- JAFFRELOT, CHRISTOPHE. *Dr. Ambedkar and Untouchability: Fighting the Indian Caste System*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 205. \$39.50.
- KEENE, DONALD. *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and His World, 1852–1912*. Paperback edition. New York: Columbia University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 922. Paper \$24.95.
- KOHRMAN, MATTHEW. *Bodies of Difference: Experiences of Disability and Institutional Advocacy in the Making of Modern China*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 285. \$24.95.
- LAMA-REWAL, STÉPHANIE TAWA, editor. *Electoral Reservations, Political Representation and Social Change in India: A Comparative Perspective*. New Delhi: Manohar. New Delhi: Centre de Sciences Humaines. 2005. Pp. 210. Rs. 525.00.
- LANGER, HOWARD J. *The Vietnam War: An Encyclopedia of Quotations*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 413. \$85.00.
- MALIK, ADITYA, ANNE FELDHAUS, and HEIDRUN BRÜCKNER, editors. *In the Company of Gods: Essays in Memory of Günther-Dietz Sonthheimer*. New Delhi: Manohar. 2005. Pp. 409. Rs. 995.00.
- MICHELL, GEORGE. *Pattadakal*. (Monumental Legacy.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 97.
- MUBAYI, YAAMINEY. *Altar of Power: The Temple and the State and the Land of Jagannatha: Sixteenth to Nineteenth Century*. (Studies in Orissan Society, Culture and History, number 4.) New Delhi: Manohar. 2005. Pp. 262. Rs. 650.00.
- MUNGELLO, D. E. *The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500–1800*. (Critical Issues in History.) 2d. ed. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2005. Pp. xv, 147. Cloth, \$65.00, paper \$19.95.
- NILSSON HOADLEY, ANNA-GRETA. *Indonesian Literature vs New Order Orthodoxy: The Aftermath of 1965–1966*. (Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, number 101.) Copenhagen, Denmark: NIAS. 2005. Pp. xiii, 159. \$36.00.
- RODMAN, MATTHEW K. *A War of Their Own: Bombers over the Southwest Pacific*. Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala.: Air University Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 164.

ASIA

- ABINALES, PATRICIO N., and DONNA J. AMOROSO. *State and Society in the Philippines*. (State and Society in East Asia

- SINHA, ASEEMA. *The Regional Roots of Developmental Politics in India: A Divided Leviathan*. (Contemporary Indian Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. xxiii, 356. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$27.95.
- SKODA, UWE. *The Aghriā: A Peasant Caste on a Tribal Frontier*. (Studies in Orissan Society, Culture and History, number 5.) New Delhi: Manohar. 2005. Pp. 607. Rs. 1195.00.
- TAKESHI, NAKAGAWA. *The Japanese House: In Space, Memory, and Language*. Translated by GERALDINE HARCOURT. (LTCB International Library Selection, number 17.) Tokyo: International House of Japan. 2005. Pp. xiii, 259.
- WHELPTON, JOHN. *A History of Nepal*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xxiii, 296. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$24.99.
- YUJI, GENDA. *A Nagging Sense of Job Insecurity: The New Reality Facing Japanese Youth*. Translated by JEN CONNELL HOFF. (LTCB International Library Selection, number 18.) Tokyo: International House of Japan. 2005. Pp. xii, 203.
- OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS**
- LYONS, MARTYN, and PENNY RUSSELL, editors. *Australia's History: Themes and Debates*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 197.
- MACINTYRE, STUART. *A Concise History of Australia*. (Cambridge Concise Histories.) 2d ed. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004. Pp. xiii, 342. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$25.99.
- CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES**
- A Century in Books: Princeton University Press, 1905–2005*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 167. \$9.95.
- ALEXANDER, THOMAS E. *Rattlesnake Bomber Base: Pyote Army Airfield in World War II*. Abilene, TX: State House Press. 2005. Pp. 216. \$18.95.
- ALTER, STEPHEN G.. *William Dwight Whitney and the Science of Language*. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, number 1.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 339. \$49.95.
- ANDERSON, JOHN D., JR.. *Inventing Flight: The Wright Brothers and Their Predecessors*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2004. Pp. viii, 176. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$18.95.
- APPLEBY, JOYCE. *A Restless Past: History and the American Public*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2005. Pp. vii, 191. \$27.95.
- BABCOCK, JOHN B. *Taught to Kill: An American Boy's War From the Ardennes to Berlin*. Foreword by RICK ATKINSON. Dulles, Va.: Potomac Books, Inc. 2005. Pp. xvi, 249. \$27.95.
- BAREFOOT, DANIEL W. *Let Us Die Like Brave Men: Behind the Dying Words of Confederate Warriors*. Winston-Salem: John F. Blair. 2005. Pp. xiv, 281. \$19.95.
- BAUMGARDNER, FRANK H. III. *Killing for Land in Early California: Indian Blood at Round Valley, 1856–1863*. New York, N.Y.: Algora. 2005. Pp. xv, 284. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$22.95.
- BELKNAP, MICHAEL R. *The Supreme Court under Earl Warren, 1953–1969*. (Chief Justiceships of the United States Supreme Court, number 7.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 406. \$49.95.
- BERTON, PIERRE. *The Klondike Quest: A Photographic Essay, 1897–1899*. Designed by FRANK NEWFELD. Assisted by BARBARA SEARS. Paperback edition. Erin, Ontario: Boston Mills Press. 1983. Pp. 239. \$29.95.
- BLACKMAN, ANN. *Wild Rose: Rose O'Neale Greenhow, Civil War Spy*. New York: Random House. 2005. Pp. xviii, 377. \$25.95.
- BLEJWAS, STANISLAUS A. *The Polish Singers Alliance of America, 1888–1998*. (Rochester Studies in Central Europe.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 351. \$70.00.
- BOCKSTOE, JOHN R. *The Opening of the Maritime Fur Trade at Bering Strait: Americans and Russians Meet the Kanigmiut in Kotzebue Sound*. (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, volume 95, part 1.) Philadelphia, Penn.: American Philosophical Society. 2005. Pp. xii, 78.
- BOHNING, DON. *The Castro Obsession: U.S. Covert Operations Against Cuba, 1959–1965*. Dulles, Va.: Potomac Books, Inc. 2005. Pp. xii, 307. \$29.95.
- BOK, CHIP. *The Recent History of the United States in Political Cartoons: A Look Book!* Forewords by JOHN C. GREEN and DAVE BARRY. (Series on Law, Politics, and Society.) Akron, Ohio: University of Akron Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 291. \$16.95.
- BONDANELLA, PETER. *Hollywood Italians: Dagos, Palookas, Romeos, Wise Guys, and Sopranos*. New York: Continuum. 2004. Pp. 352. \$29.95.
- BRIGGS, JOHN CHANNING. *Lincoln's Speeches Reconsidered*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 370. \$35.00.
- BROWN, CANTER, JR.. *None Can Have Richer Memories: Polk County, Florida 1940–2000*. Tampa: University of Tampa Press with the Polk County Historical Association. 2005. Pp. xiv, 368. \$39.95.
- BROWN, IRENE QUENZLER, and RICHARD D. BROWN. *The Hanging of Ephraim Wheeler: A Story of Rape, Incest, and Justice in Early America*. Paperback edition. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2003. Pp. 388. \$15.95.
- BROWN, RICHARD HARVEY. *Culture, Capitalism, and Democracy in the New America*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 355. \$37.50.
- BUCK, CHRISTOPHER. *Alain Locke: Faith and Philosophy*. (Studies in the Bábí and Bahá'í Religions, number 18.) Los Angeles, Calif.: Kalimat. 2005. Pp. xv, 302. \$29.95.
- BURROUGH, BRYAN. *Public Enemies: America's Greatest Crime Wave and the Birth of the FBI, 1933–34*. New York: Penguin. 2004. Pp. xiv, 592. \$16.00.
- BUSICK, SEAN R. *A Sober Desire for History: William Gilmore Simms as Historian*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 143. \$34.95.
- CALHOUN, CHARLES W. *Benjamin Harrison*. (The American Presidents.) New York: Times Books. 2005. Pp. xvi, 206. \$20.00.
- CAMERON, ARDIS, editor. *Looking for America: The Visual Production of Nation and People*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2005. Pp. xiv, 390. \$34.95.
- CARHART, TOM. *Lost Triumph: Lee's Real Plan at Gettysburg—and Why it Failed*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 2005. Pp. xiii, 288. \$25.95.
- CARLSON, LAURIE WINN. *William J. Spillman and the Birth of Agricultural Economics*. (Missouri Biography Series.) Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2005. Pp. 210. \$39.95.
- CARNES, MARK C, editor. *American National Biography: Supplement 2*. With a Cumulative Index by Occupations and Realms of Renown. New York: Oxford University Press, under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies. 2005. Pp. vii, 835. \$150.00.
- CERAMI, CHARLES. *Young Patriots: The Remarkable Story of Two Men, Their Impossible Plan, and the Revolution That Created the Constitution*. Naperville, Ill.: Sourcebooks, Inc. 2005. Pp. xii, 354. \$24.95.
- CHACE, JAMES. *1912: Wilson, Roosevelt, Taft and Debs—The Election that Changed the Country*. Paperback edition. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2004. Pp. x, 323. \$14.00.
- CHANDLER, ALFRED D., JR.. *Shaping the Industrial Century:*

- The Remarkable Story of the Evolution of the Modern Chemical and Pharmaceutical Industries.* (Harvard Studies in Business History, number 46.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 366. \$29.95.
- CHEVIGNY, PAUL. *Gigs: Jazz and the Cabaret Laws in New York City.* (Routledge Studies in Law, Society and Popular Culture, number 2.) 2d ed. New York: Routledge. 2005. Pp. xxviii, 218. \$65.00.
- COATES, KEN S., and WILLIAM R. MORRISON. *Land of the Midnight Sun: A History of the Yukon.* 2d ed. Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 362. \$27.50.
- COFFEY, DAVID. *Sheridan's Lieutenants: Phil Sheridan, His Generals, and the Final Year of the Civil War.* (The American Crisis Series, number 18.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2005. Pp. xxx, 175. \$22.95.
- COHEN, ROGER. *Soldiers and Slaves: American POWs Trapped by the Nazis' Final Gamble.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2005. Pp. 303. \$25.95.
- COKER, JEFFREY W. *Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Biography.* (Greenwood Biographies.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 172. \$29.95.
- COLLINS, DONALD E. *The Death and Resurrection of Jefferson Davis.* (The American Crisis Series.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2005. Pp. x, 173. \$22.95.
- COLLIS, JOHN. *Ike Turner: King of Rhythm.* London: The Do-Not Press Limited. 2003. Pp. 252. \$22.95.
- CONANT, JENNET. *109 East Palace: Robert Oppenheimer and the Secret City of Los Alamos.* New York: Simon and Schuster. 2005. Pp. xviii, 424. \$26.95.
- CONLEY, ROBERT J. *The Cherokee Nation: A History.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 265. \$24.95.
- COOMBS, JAN GREGOIRE. *The Rise and Fall of HMOs: An American Health Care Revolution.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 412. \$35.00.
- COX, ROBERT S., editor. *The Shortest and Most Convenient Route.* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, number 94, part 5.) Philadelphia, Penn.: American Philosophical Society. 2004. Pp. vii, 255. \$24.00.
- CRAMER, RENÉE ANN. *Cash, Color, and Colonialism: The Politics of Tribal Acknowledgment.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2005. Pp. xxi, 234. \$24.95.
- CROUCH, STANLEY. *The Artificial White Man: Essays on Authenticity.* New York: Basic Books. 2004. Pp. 244. \$24.00.
- CURRIE, DAVID P. *The Constitution in Congress: Democrats and Whigs, 1829–1861.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xxii, 346. \$39.00.
- CUSICK, PHILIP A. *A Passion for Learning: The Education of Seven Eminent Americans.* New York: Teachers College Press. 2005. Pp. v, 183. Cloth \$52.00, paper \$24.95.
- DASO, DIK ALAN. *Doolittle: Aerospace Visionary.* (Military Profiles.) Dulles, Va.: Potomac Books, Inc. 2003. Pp. xv, 141. \$12.95.
- DAWLEY, ALAN. *Changing the World: American Progressives in War and Revolution.* (Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America.) Paperback edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 409. \$22.95.
- DE NEVERS, KLANCY CLARK. *The Colonel and the Pacifist: Karl Bendetsen, Perry Saito, and the Incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II.* Foreword by ROGER DANIELS. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press. 2004. Pp. xv, 382. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$21.95.
- DEHAVEN-SMITH, LANCE, editor. *The Battle for Florida: An Annotated Compendium of Materials from the 2000 Presidential Election.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2005. Pp. xvii, 323. \$75.00.
- DEPASTINO, TODD. *Citizen Hobo: How a Century of Homelessness Shaped America.* Paperback edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xxv, 325. \$20.00.
- DEVINS, NEAL, and KEITH E. WHITTINGTON, editors. *Congress and the Constitution.* (Constitutional Conflicts.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. vi, 320. \$23.95.
- DIZARD, WILSON P., JR.. *Inventing Public Diplomacy: The Story of the U.S. Information Agency.* (An ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Book.) Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner. 2004. Pp. xv, 255. \$49.95.
- DOHERTY, THOMAS. *Cold War, Cool Medium: Television, McCarthyism, and American Culture.* (Film and Culture.) Paperback edition. New York: Columbia University Press. 2003. Pp. ix, 305. \$19.95.
- DOYLE, RANDALL. *A Political Dynasty in North Idaho, 1933–1967.* Compton White, Sr. and Compton White, Jr.: Two Men — Two Visions — Two Fates. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 2004. Pp. xiii, 120. Cloth \$53.00, paper \$23.00.
- DUCKWORTH, SPENCER. *Destroyers on the Rocks: Seven Ships Lost.* Fort Bragg, Calif.: Cypress House. 2005. Pp. xxi, 322. \$18.95.
- DYSON, MICHAEL ERIC. *The Michael Eric Dyson Reader.* Paperback edition. New York: Basic Books. 2004. Pp. xxviii, 547. \$17.00.
- EHRMAN, JOHN. *The Eighties: America in the Age of Reagan.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. 296. \$27.50.
- FERRELL, ROBERT H. *Five Days in October: The Lost Battalion of World War I.* Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 130. \$19.95.
- FISHER, LOUIS. *Nazi Saboteurs on Trial: A Military Tribunal and American Law.* (Landmark Law Cases and American Society.) Rev. ed. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2005. Pp. xii, 183. \$15.95.
- FLEMING, JAMES S. *Window on Congress: A Congressional Biography of Barber B. Conable, Jr.* Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2004. Pp. xvii, 429. \$29.95.
- FONER, NANCY, and GEORGE M. FREDRICKSON, editors. *Not Just Black and White: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in the United States.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation. 2004. Pp. xiv, 390. \$45.00.
- FRANCAVIGLIA, RICHARD V. *Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin: A Cartographic History.* Reno: University of Nevada Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 222. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$24.95.
- GALLACCI, CAROLINE, MARC H. BLAU, and DOUG MCARTHUR. *Playground to the Pros: An Illustrated History of Sports in Tacoma-Pierce County.* Tacoma, Washington: Tacoma Athletic Commission. 2005. Pp. 512. \$39.95.
- GARCÍA, MARIO T. *Padre: The Spiritual Journey of Father Virgil Cordano.* (Robert Bason Book.) Santa Barbara, Calif.: Capra Press. 2005. Pp. xxx, 233. \$17.95.
- GIRARDIN, G. RUSSELL, and WILLIAM J. HELMER. *Dillinger: The Untold Story.* Assisted by RICK MATTIX. Rev. ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. xxi, 377. \$19.95.
- GLASER, JAMES M. *The Hand of the Past in Contemporary Southern Politics.* New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 218. \$35.00.
- GLUSMAN, JOHN A. *Conduct Under Fire: Four American Doctors and Their Fight for Life as Prisoners of the Japanese 1941–1945.* New York: Viking. 2005. Pp. xviii, 588. \$29.95.
- GOH, EVELYN. *Constructing the U.S. Rapprochement with China, 1961–1974: From "Red Menace" to "Tacit Ally".* New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 299. \$75.00.
- GOMERY, DOUGLAS. *The Coming of Sound: A History.* New York: Routledge. 2005. Pp. xxi, 181. \$24.95.
- GOODMAN, SUSAN, and CARL DAWSON. *William Dean Howells: A Writer's Life.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xxvi, 519. \$34.95.
- GOWANS, FRED R. *Rocky Mountain Rendezvous: A History of*

- the *Fur Trade Redezvous 1825–1840*. Reprint. Layton, Utah: Gibbs Smith. 2005. Pp. 239. \$16.95.
- GRAINGER, JOHN D. *The Battle of Yorktown, 1781: A Reassessment*. (Warfare in History.) Rochester, N. Y.: Boydell Press. 2005. Pp. 203. \$90.00.
- GROVE, BRANDON. *Behind Embassy Walls: The Life and Times of an American Diplomat*. (An ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Book.) Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 333. \$34.95.
- GRUNDY, PAMELA, and SUSAN SHACKLEFORD. *Shattering the Glass: The Remarkable History of Woman's Basketball*. New York: New Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 306. \$26.95.
- HALL, KERMIT L., JOEL B. GROSSMAN, and JAMES W. ELY, JR., editors. *The Oxford Companion to the Supreme Court of the United States: Second Edition*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xxv, 1239. \$65.00.
- HALL, SIMON. *Peace and Freedom: The Civil Rights and Antiwar Movements in the 1960s*. (Politics and Culture in Modern America.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. 267. \$45.00.
- HANEY, PATRICK J., and WALT VANDERBUSH. *The Cuban Embargo: The Domestic Politics of An American Foreign Policy*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 222. \$24.95.
- HANEY, RICHARD CARLTON. "When is Daddy Coming Home?" *An American Family During World War II*. Madison, Wisconsin: Wisconsin Historical Society Press. 2005. Pp. x, 140. \$18.95.
- HAYDUK, RONALD. *Gatekeepers to the Franchise: Shaping Election Administration in New York*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2005. Pp. 282. \$35.00.
- HAYES, JACK IRBY, JR. *The Lamp and the Cross: A History of Averett College, 1859–2001*. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press. 2004. Pp. xxxvi, 252. \$40.00.
- HENDRICK, GEORGE, and WILLENE HENDRICK. *Why Not Every Man? African Americans and Civil Disobedience in the Quest for the Dream*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 2005. Pp. 246. Cloth \$24.95, paper \$14.95.
- HINE, DARLENE CLARK, editor. *Black Women in America: Second Edition*. Rev. ed. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 554; 569; 533. \$325.00 the set.
- HOF SOMMER, DON L. *Steel Trails of Hawkeyeland: Iowa's Railroad Experience*. (Railroads Past and Present.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 353. \$75.00.
- HOLDER, TIMOTHY D., et al. *Public Pillars/Private Lives: The Strengths and Limitations of the Modern American Presidents*. Wheaton, IL: Abigail Press. 2005. Pp. 753.
- HOLSTINE, CRAIG, and RICHARD HOBBS. *Spanning Washington: Historic Highway Bridges of the Evergreen State*. Afterword by ERIC DELONY. Pullman: WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS. 2005. Pp. xii, 268. \$24.95.
- HOLT, MICHAEL F. *The Fate of Their Country: Politicians, Slavery Extension, and the Coming of the Civil War*. Paperback edition. New York: Hill and Wang. 2004. Pp. xiv, 168. \$12.00.
- HOLZER, HAROLD. *Lincoln at Cooper Union: The Speech That Made Abraham Lincoln President*. Paperback edition. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2004. Pp. xxii, 342. \$14.00.
- HOUSE, JOHN H. *Gifts of the Great River: Arkansas Effigy Pottery from the Edwin Curtiss Collection*. Foreword by IAN W. BROWN. Photographs by HILLEL S. BURGER. (Peabody Museum Collections Series.) Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. 2003. Pp. xii, 108. \$21.95.
- HUHN, RICK. *The Sizzler: George Sisler, Baseball's Forgotten Great*. (Sports and American Culture Series.) Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 322. \$29.95.
- HUNTLEY, HORACE, and MONTGOMERY, DAVID, editors. *Black Workers' Struggle for Equality in Birmingham*. Afterword by ODESSA WOOLFOLK. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2004. Pp. x, 244. \$35.00.
- ISENBERG, ALISON. *Downtown America: A History of the Place and the People Who Made It*. (Historical Studies of Urban America.) Paperback edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 441. \$22.50.
- JABLON, HOWARD. *David M. Shoup: A Warrior Against War*. (Biographies in American Foreign Policy.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2005. Pp. xix, 141. \$35.00.
- JAMES, DAVID E. *The Most Typical Avant-Garde: History and Geography of Minor Cinemas in Los Angeles*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 548. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$29.95.
- JENNESS, STUART E. *The Making of an Explorer: George Hubert Wilkins and the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913–1916*. (McGill-Queen's Native and Northern Series, number 38.) Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2004. Pp. xxii, 418. \$49.95.
- JOHNSON, BENJAMIN HEBER. *Revolution in Texas: How a Forgotten Rebellion and Its Bloody Suppression Turned Mexicans into Americans*. (Western Americana Series.) Paperback edition. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. 260. \$20.00.
- JOHNSON, MILDRED, and THERESA DELSOIN. *Malindy's Freedom: The Story of a Slave Family*. Edited by STUART SYMINGTON, JR., and ANNE W. SYMINGTON. St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society. Distributed by University of Missouri Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 215. \$22.95.
- KEISTER, LISA A. *Getting Rich: America's New Rich and How They Got That Way*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 310. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$24.99.
- KHALIDI, RASHID. *Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America's Perilous Path in the Middle East*. Rev. ed. Boston, Mass.: Beacon. 2004. Pp. xvi, 223. \$14.00.
- KRYSAN, MARIA, and AMANDA E. LEWIS, editors. *The Changing Terrain of Race and Ethnicity*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. 2004. Pp. xiii, 273. \$42.50.
- KUYK, BETTY M. *African Voices in the African American Heritage*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2003. Pp. xxviii, 256. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.
- LARSEN, LAWRENCE H. *A History of Missouri*. Volume VI: 1953 to 2003. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2004. Pp. ix, 212. \$24.95.
- LEE, SANG HYUN, editor. *The Princeton Companion to Jonathan Edwards*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. xxviii, 331. \$45.00.
- LEFF, DAVID K. *The Last Undiscovered Place*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 247. \$27.95.
- LENGEL, EDWARD G. *General George Washington: A Military Life*. New York: Random House. 2005. Pp. xlii, 450. \$29.95.
- LENKIEWICZ, ANTONI, and TED KWIATKOWSKI. *For Freedom Ours and Yours: Casimir Pulaski (1745–1779), His Patriotic Life Struggle*. San Diego, Calif.: Summerdale Press with Biuro Tlumaczen, Wroclaw, Poland. 2004. Pp. 124.
- LEONARD, BILL J. *Baptists in America*. (Columbia Contemporary American Religion Series.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 316. \$40.00.
- LEONG, KAREN J. *The China Mystique: Pearl S. Buck, Anna May Wong, Mayling Soong, and the Transformation of American Orientalism*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. x, 236. \$55.00.
- LERCH, PATRICIA BARKER. *Waccamaw Legacy: Contemporary Indians Fight for Survival*. (Contemporary American Indian Studies.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2004. Pp. xiv, 168. \$29.95.
- LEVINE, BERTRAM. *Resolving Racial Conflict: The Community Relations Service and Civil Rights, 1964–1989*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 262. \$39.95.

- LEVINE, BRUCE. *Half Slave and Half Free: The Roots of the Civil War*. Rev. ed. New York: Hill and Wang. 2005. Pp. xiv, 322. \$15.00.
- LEVY, ANDREW. *The First Emancipator: The Forgotten Story of Robert Carter, the Founding Father Who Freed His Slaves*. New York: Random House. 2005. Pp. xviii, 310. \$25.95.
- LEWIS, CATHERINE M. *The Changing Face of Public History: The Chicago Historical Society and the Transformation of an American Museum*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 172. \$22.00.
- LEYENDECKER, LISTON E., CHRISTINE A. BRADLEY and DUANE A. SMITH. *The Rise of the Silver Queen: Georgetown, Colorado, 1859–1896*. (Mining the American West.) Boulder: University Press of Colorado. 2005. Pp. xiv, 310. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$22.95.
- LONGACRE, EDWARD G. *The Commanders of Chancellorsville*. Nashville, Tenn.: Rutledge Hill Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 342. \$27.99.
- LUCE, STEPHANIE. *Fighting for a Living Wage*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2004. Pp. xi, 266. \$18.95.
- LUKACS, JOHN. *A New Republic: A History of the United States in the Twentieth Century*. Rev. ed. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004. Pp. x, 457. \$19.95.
- MAIER, THOMAS. *The Kennedys: America's Emerald Kings*. Paperback edition. New York: Basic Books. 2003. Pp. xxi, 676. \$16.95.
- MARCHÉ, JORDAN D., II. *Theaters of Time and Space: American Planetaria, 1930–1970*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 266. \$49.95.
- MARGOLIS, STACEY. *The Public Life of Privacy in Nineteenth-Century American Literature*. (New Americanists.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. 235. Cloth \$74.95, paper \$21.95.
- MARSZALEK, JOHN F. *Sherman's March to the Sea*. (Civil War Campaigns and Commanders Series.) Abilene, Tex.: McWhiney Foundation Press. 2005. Pp. 160. \$14.95.
- MARTEN, JAMES. *Childhood and Child Welfare in the Progressive Era: A Brief History with Documents*. (Bedford Series in History and Culture.) Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's. 2005. Pp. xiv, 192. \$26.25.
- MARTIN, WALDO E., JR.. *No Coward Soldiers: Black Cultural Politics in Postwar America*. (The Nathan I. Huggins Lectures.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. 161. \$19.95.
- MARX, THOMAS CHRISTOPH. *Zwischen Schwert und Schild: Die US-Streitkräfte in Deutschland 1953 bis 1963 und die Umsetzung der Militärstrategie der USA*. (Forschungen zur Geschichte der Neuzeit. Marburger Beiträge, number 8.) Munster: Lit. 2004. Pp. xxi, 502. € 44.90.
- MASON, CAROL I. *The Archaeology of Ocmulgee Old Fields, Macon, Georgia*. Foreword by MARVIN T. SMITH. (Classics in Southeastern Archaeology.) Reprint. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2005. Pp. xxii, 217. Cloth \$58.00, paper \$29.95.
- MATTHEWS, GEORGE R. *America's First Olympics: The St. Louis Games of 1904*. (Sports and American Culture Series.) Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 242. \$29.95.
- MAUCH, CHRISTOF. *The Shadow War Against Hitler: The Covert Operations of America's Wartime Secret Intelligence Service*. Translated by JEREMIAH M. RIEMER. New York: Columbia University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 333. \$19.95.
- MAYS, TERRY M. *Historical Dictionary of Revolutionary America*. (Historical Dictionaries of U. S. Historical Eras, number 3.) Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow. 2005. Pp. xx, 379. \$70.00.
- MCALISTER, MELANI. *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East Since 1945*. Updated Edition, with a Post-9/11 Chapter. (American Crossroads, number 6.) Rev. ed. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xix, 407. \$19.95.
- MCCRISKIN, TREVOR B. and ANDREW PEPPER. *American History and Contemporary Hollywood Film*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 227. \$22.95.
- MCCULLOUGH, DAVID. 1776. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2005. Pp. 386. \$32.00.
- MCÉLWAIN, MAX. *The Only Dance in Iowa: A History of Six-Player Girls' Basketball*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. 259. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$18.95.
- MCENTEER, JAMES. *Deep in the Heart: The Texas Tendency in American Politics*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2004. Pp. 294. \$35.00.
- MCMANUS, SHEILA. *The Line Which Separates: Race, Gender, and the Making of the Alberta-Montana Borderlands*. (Race and Ethnicity in the American West.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2005. Pp. xxiii, 236. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$29.95.
- McMURTRY, LARRY. *The Colonel and the Little Missie: Buffalo Bill, Annie Oakley, and the Beginnings of Stardom in America*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2005. Pp. 245. \$26.00.
- MELTON, BUCKNER F., JR., editor. *The Quotable Founding Fathers: A Treasury of 2,500 Wise and Witty Quotations from the Men and Women Who Created America*. Assisted by JANE GARRY. Paperback edition. Dulles, Va.: Potomac Books, Inc. 2004. Pp. xv, 345. \$21.95.
- METZL, JONATHAN MICHEL. *Prozac on the Couch: Prescribing Gender in the Era of Wonder Drugs*. Paperback edition. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xii, 275. \$18.95.
- MILLETT, ALLAN R., and SHULIMSON, JACK, editors. *Commandants of the Marine Corps*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 580. \$55.00.
- MOREAU, DONNA. *Waiting Wives: The Story of Schilling Manor, Home Front to the Vietnam War*. New York: Atria Books. 2005. Pp. xxii, 309. \$14.00.
- MORROW, DON, and KEVIN B. WAMSLEY. *Sport in Canada: A History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 318. \$35.00.
- NAGEL, PAUL C. *George Caleb Bingham: Missouri's Famed Painter and Forgotten Politician*. (Missouri Heritage Readers.) Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 161. \$19.95.
- NELSON, ALLAN. *The Nelson Brothers: Finnish-American Radicals from the Mendocino Coast*. Edited by RUSSELL BARTLEY and SYLVIA BARTLEY. Willits, Calif.: Mendocino County Museum in association with the Immigration History Research Center, University of Minnesota. 2005. Pp. xvi, 168. \$24.95.
- PATE, J'NELL L. *America's Historic Stockyards: Livestock Hotels*. Fort Worth, Tex.: Texas Christian University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 225. \$29.95.
- NEU, CHARLES E. *America's Lost War: Vietnam, 1945–1975*. (The American History Series.) Wheeling, Ill.: Harlan Davidson. 2005. Pp. xix, 272. \$14.95.
- NORWOOD, STEPHEN H. *Real Football: Conversations on America's Game*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2004. Pp. 424. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$20.00.
- OVERHOLSER, GENEVA, and KATHLEEN HALL JAMIESON, editors. *Institutions of American Democracy: The Press*. (Institutions of American Democracy Series.) New York: Oxford University Press, with the Annenberg Foundation Trust at Sunnyslands. 2005. Pp. xxvi, 473. \$65.00.
- PATTON TOTTEN, RUTH ELLEN. *The Button Box: A Daughter's Loving Memoir of Mrs. George S. Patton*. Compiled by JAMES PATTON TOTTEN. Foreword by CARLO W. D'ESTE. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 388. \$34.95.
- PAULSON, GEORGE. *James Fairchild Baldwin, M.D., 1850–1936*.

- An Extraordinary Surgeon*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2005. Pp. 109.
- POWELL, MARY LUCAS, and DELLA COLLINS COOK, editors. *The Myth of Syphilis: The Natural History of Treponematoses in North America*. (Ripley P. Bullen Series, Florida Museum of Natural History.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2005. Pp. xx, 509. \$85.00.
- PRESTOWITZ, CLYDE. *Rogue Nation: American Unilateralism and the Failure of Good Intentions*. Paperback edition. New York: Basic Books. 2003. Pp. 342. \$15.95.
- RADUNE, RICHARD A. *Pequot Plantation: The Story of an Early Colonial Settlement*. Branford, Conn.: Research in Time Publications. 2005. Pp. ix, 349. \$19.95.
- RAFUSE, ETHAN S. *McClellan's War: The Failure of Moderation in the Struggle for the Union*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 525. \$35.00.
- RANSOM, ROGER L. *The Confederate States of America: What Might Have Been*. New York: W. W. Norton. 2005. Pp. xv, 352. \$25.95.
- REARDON, CAROL. *Launch the Intruders: A Naval Attack Squadron in the Vietnam War, 1972*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2005. Pp. xviii, 419. \$34.95.
- REHFELD, ANDREW. *The Concept of Constituency: Political Representation, Democratic Legitimacy, and Institutional Design*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 259. \$75.00.
- REIMERS, DAVID M. *Other Immigrants: The Global Origins of the American People*. New York: New York University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 389. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$22.00.
- RENEHAN, EDWARD J., JR. *Dark Genius of Wall Street: The Misunderstood Life of Jay Gould, King of the Robber Barons*. New York: Basic Books. 2005. Pp. xiii, 352. \$30.00.
- RICE, RONNALL R. *The Politics of Air Power: From Confrontation to Cooperation in Army Aviation Civil-Military Relations*. (Studies in War, Society, and the Military.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2004. Pp. xxii, 283. \$49.95.
- RISKIN, MARCI L. *The Train Stops Here: New Mexico's Railway Legacy*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 156. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$24.95.
- ROTHSCHILD, JOAN. *The Dream of the Perfect Child*. (Bioethics and the Humanities.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 343. \$24.95.
- RUDD, GORDON W. *Humanitarian Intervention: Assisting the Iraqi Kurds in Operation Provide Comfort, 1991*. Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History. 2004. Pp. xvi, 280. \$34.00.
- SCHLESINGER, ANDREW. *Veritas: Harvard College and the American Experience*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 2005. Pp. xii, 304. \$27.50.
- SCHMID, WALTER. *A German POW in New Mexico*. Translated by RICHARD RUNDELL. Edited by WOLFGANG T. SCHLAUCH. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, with the Historical Society of New Mexico. 2005. Pp. xiii, 167. \$24.95.
- SCULL, ANDREW. *Madhouse: A Tragic Tale of Megalomania and Modern Medicine*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 360. \$30.00.
- SESSIONS, RALPH. *The Shipcarvers' Art: Figureheads and Cigar-Store Indians in Nineteenth-Century America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. 240. \$75.00.
- SHACKLEY, TED. *Spymaster: My Life in the CIA*. Assisted by RICHARD A. FINNEY. Dulles, Va.: Potomac Books, Inc. 2005. Pp. xviii, 309. \$27.95.
- SHELL, MARC. *Polio and Its Aftermath: The Paralysis of Culture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2005. Pp. 324. \$35.00.
- SIMPSON, MARK. *Trafficking Subjects: The Politics of Mobility in Nineteenth-Century America*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2005. Pp. xxxi, 193. Cloth \$56.95, paper \$18.95.
- SLEDGE, MICHAEL. *Soldier Dead: How We Recover, Identify, Bury, and Honor Our Military Fallen*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 357. \$29.95.
- SMITH, DAVID A. *Presidents from Adams through Polk, 1825-1849*. (The Presidents' Position: Debating the Issues.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 138. \$59.95.
- SMITH, JEDWIN. *Our Brother's Keeper: My Family's Journey through Vietnam to Hell and Back*. Hoboken, N.J.: J Wiley. 2005. Pp. xi, 241. \$24.95.
- SORBY, ANGELA. *Schoolroom Poets: Childhood, Performance, and the Place of American Poetry, 1865-1917*. (Becoming Modern: New Nineteenth-Century Studies.) Hanover, N.H.: University of New Hampshire. 2005. Pp. xlv, 233. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.
- STEELE, VOLNEY. *Bleed, Blister, and Purge: A History of Medicine on the American Frontier*. Missoula: Mountain. 2005. Pp. xxiii, 367. \$15.00.
- STROUD, PATRICIA TYSON. *The Man Who Had Been King: The American Exile of Napoleon's Brother Joseph*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 269. \$34.95.
- SUTCLIFFE, ANDREA. *Steam: The Untold Story of America's First Great Invention*. Paperback edition. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2004. Pp. xiv, 272. \$14.95.
- SZWED, JOHN. *Crossovers: Essays on Race, Music, and American Culture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 283. \$47.50.
- TABBERT, MARK A. *American Freemasons: Three Centuries of Building Communities*. New York: New York University Press with the National Heritage Museum, Lexington, Mass. 2005. Pp. xvii, 262. \$29.95.
- TAYLOR, ALAN. *Writing Early American History*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 261. \$39.95.
- TAYLOR, BOB PEPPERMAN. *Citizenship and Democratic Doubt: The Legacy of Progressive Thought*. (American Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2004. Pp. xi, 196. \$29.95.
- TAYLOR, JOHN M. *Semmes: Rebel Raider*. (Military Profiles.) Dulles, Va.: Potomac Books, Inc. 2004. Pp. x, 124. \$12.95.
- THORNTON, MARTIN. *Times of Heroism, Times of Terror: American Presidents and the Cold War*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2005. Pp. xii, 175. \$94.95.
- TILLMAN, BARRETT. *Brassey's D-Day Encyclopedia: The Normandy Invasion A-Z*. Dulles, Va.: Potomac Books, Inc. 2004. Pp. x, 289. \$18.95.
- TOMLINS, CHRISTOPHER, editor. *The United States Supreme Court: The Pursuit of Justice*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin in cooperation with the American Bar Association. 2005. Pp. xiv, 578. \$40.00.
- TOPP, MICHAEL M. *The Sacco and Vanzetti Case: A Brief History with Documents*. (Bedford Series in History and Culture.) Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's. 2005. Pp. xiv, 208. \$13.95.
- TRILEASE, ALLEN W. *Making North Carolina Literate: The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, from Normal School to Metropolitan University*. Durham: Carolina Academic Press. 2004. Pp. xx, 659. \$40.00.
- WALSH, MARGARET. *The American West: Visions and Revisions*. (New Studies in Economic and Social History, number 50.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 161. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$14.99.
- WARDEN, HERBERT W., III, editor. *American Courage: Remarkable True Stories Exhibiting the Bravery That Has Made Our Country Great*. New York: William Morrow. 2005. Pp. xvi, 379. \$25.95.
- WEBSTER, LAURIE D. *Collecting the Weaver's Art: The William Clafin Collection of Southwestern Textiles*. Foreword by

- TONY BERLANT. Photographs by HILLEL S. BURGER. (Peabody Museum Collections Series.) Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. 2003. Pp. xiv, 145. \$21.95.
- WEINREB, LLOYD L. *Legal Reason: The Use of Analogy in Legal Argument*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 184. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$18.99.
- WELCH, RICHARD F. *The Boy General: The Life and Careers of Francis Channing Barlow*. Paperback edition. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 2005. Pp. 301. \$24.95.
- WHITE, RICHARD D., JR. *Roosevelt the Reformer: Theodore Roosevelt as Civil Service Commissioner, 1889–1895*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2003. Pp. 264. \$39.95.
- WHITES, LEEANN. *Gender Matters: Civil War, Reconstruction, and the Making of the New South*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2005. Pp. 244. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$24.95.
- WICKS, ROBERT S., and FRED R. FOISTER. *Junius and Joseph: Presidential Politics and the Assassination of the First Mormon Prophet*. Logan: Utah State University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 316. Cloth \$45.95, paper \$24.95.
- WIDDER, KEITH R. *Michigan Agricultural College: The Evolution of a Land-Grant Philosophy, 1855–1925*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 2005. Pp. xxi, 547. \$39.95.
- WILLIAMS, PATRICK G., CHARLES BOLTON, and JEANNIE M. WHAYNE, editors. *A Whole Country in Commotion: The Louisiana Purchase and the American Southwest*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 228. \$19.95.
- WILLS, DAVID W. *Christianity in the United States: A Historical Survey and Interpretation*. Paperback edition. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2002. Pp. xvii, 102. \$13.00.
- WILSON, DAVID K. *The Southern Strategy: Britain's Conquest of South Carolina and Georgia 1775–1780*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 341. \$39.95.
- WILSON, WAZIYATAWIN ANGELA. *Remember This! Dakota Decolonization and the Eli Taylor Narratives*. Translations by WAHPETUNWIN CAROLYNN SCHOMMER. (Contemporary Indigenous Issues.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 277. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$29.95.
- WOOD, BETTY. *Slavery in Colonial America, 1619–1776*. (The African American History Series.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2005. Pp. xiv, 131. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$16.95.
- WOODS, RANDALL BENNETT. *Quest for Identity: America Since 1945*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 593. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$34.99.
- YEIDE, HARRY. *The Tank Killers: A History of America's World War II Tank Destroyer Force*. Havertown, Pa.: Casemate. 2004. Pp. xii, 339. \$32.95.
- ZELIKOW, PHILIP, ERNEST MAY, and TIMOTHY NAFTALI. *The Presidential Recordings of John F. Kennedy*. Volumes 1–3: The Great Crises. New York: W. W. Norton. 2005. Pp. liv, 691; xl, 642; xl, 549. \$165.00 the set.
- Francisco de Toledo Viceré del Perú (1569–1581)*. Foreword by FRANCESCA CANTÙ. (Studi e Ricerche, number 9.) Rome, Italy: Carocci editore. 2003. Pp. xiv, 337. €26.50.
- MOORE, JERRY D. *Cultural Landscapes in the Ancient Andes: Archeologies of Place*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2005. Pp. xii, 270. \$65.00.

EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

- CASTAGNETTI, ANDREA, and GIAN MARIA VARANINI, editors. *Storia del Trentino*. Volume 3, *L'età medievale*. Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2004. Pp. 913. €65.00.
- COLISH, MARCIA L. *Ambrose's Patriarchs: Ethics for the Common Man*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 193. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$15.00.
- FILOTAS, BERNADETTE. *Pagan Survivals, Superstitions and Popular Cultures in Early Medieval Pastoral Literature*. (Studies and Texts, number 151.) Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 2005. Pp. xii, 438. \$89.95.
- FRUGONI, CHIARA. *Books, Banks, Buttons and Other Inventions from the Middle Ages*. Translated by WILLIAM MCCUAIG. Paperback edition. New York: Columbia University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 178. \$19.95.
- GAUDE-FERRAGU, MURIELLE. *D'or et de cendres: La mort et les funérailles des princes dans le royaume de France au bas Moyen Âge*. (Histoire et civilisations.) Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires de Septentrion. 2005. Pp. 395. €24.00.
- HIRSCHBIEGEL, JAN, and WERNER PARAVICINI, editors. *Der Fall des Günstlings: Hofparteien in Europa vom 13. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert*. (Residenzforschung, number 17.) Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke. 2004. Pp. 531.
- HOLT, FRANK L. *Into the Land of Bones: Alexander the Great in Afghanistan*. (Hellenistic Culture and Society, number 47.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 241. \$24.95.
- KERSUZAN, ALAIN. *Défendre la Bresse et le Bugey: Les châteaux savoyards dans la guerre contre le Dauphiné (1282–1355)*. (Collection d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales, number 14.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de Lyon. 2005. Pp. 433. €33.00.
- KOUAMÉ, THIERRY. *Le Collège de Dormans-Beauvais à la fin du Moyen Âge: Stratégies politiques et parcours individuels à l'Université de Paris (1370–1458)*. (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, number 22.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. xxvi, 720. \$236.00.
- KRUEGER, DEREK. *Writing and Holiness: The Practice of Authorship in the Early Christian East*. (Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2004. Pp. 298. \$59.95.
- LENDON, J. E. *Soldiers and Ghosts: A History of Battle in Classical Antiquity*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 468. \$35.00.
- MORRIS, IAN, and BARRY B. POWELL. *The Greeks: History, Culture, and Society*. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall. 2006. Pp. xvii, 534.
- POUNDS, NORMAN. *The Medieval City*. (Greenwood Guides to Historic Events of the Medieval World.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 2005. Pp. xxix, 233.
- RIEDWEG, CHRISTOPH. *Pythagoras: His Life, Teaching, and Influence*. Translated by STEVEN RENDALL. Assisted by ANDREAS SCHATZMANN. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 184. \$29.95.
- SCHREINER, JOHAN HENRIK. *Two Battles and Two Bills: Marathon and the Athenian Fleet*. (Monographs from the Norwegian Institute at Athens, number 3.) Oslo: The Norwegian Institute at Athens. 2004. Pp. 159.

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

- CHÁVEZ, LYDIA, editor. *Capitalism, God, and a Good Cigar: Cuba Enters the Twenty-First Century*. Photographs by MIMI CHAKAROVA. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2005. Pp. x, 253. \$21.95.
- FITZ, EARL E. *Brazilian Narrative Traditions in a Comparative Context*. (World Literatures Reimagined.) New York: Modern Language Association of America. 2005. Pp. viii, 303. \$22.00.
- LEDERMAN, DANIEL. *The Political Economy of Protection: Theory and the Chilean Experience*. (Social Science History.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 191. \$55.00.
- MERLUZZI, MANFREDI. *Politica e governo nel Nuovo Mondo:*

EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

- ADDISON, PAUL and HARRIET JONES, editors. *A Companion to Contemporary Britain, 1939–2000*. (Blackwell Companions to British History.) Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2005. Pp. xvi, 583. \$124.95.
- ALDOUS, RICHARD. *Macmillan, Eisenhower, and the Cold War*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2005. Pp. 205. \$55.00.
- ANSARI, HUMAYUN. *"The Infidel Within": Muslims in Britain since 1800*. London: Hurst & Company. 2004. Pp. xiv, 438. Cloth £ 40.00, paper £ 14.95.
- ANTTILA, ANU-HANNA. *Loma tehtaan varjossa: Teollisuustyöväestön loma- ja vapaa-ajan moraalisaatö Suomessa 1930–1960-luvuilla* [Holiday in the Shadow of the Factory: The Moral Regulation of Industrial Workers' Vacation and Leisure Time in Finland from the 1930s to the 1960s]. (Biblioteca Historica, number 93.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2005. Pp. 265.
- APPLEBAUM, WILBUR. *The Scientific Revolution and the Foundations of Modern Science*. (Greenwood Guides to Historic Events, 1500–1900.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 2005. Pp. xxi, 243. \$45.00.
- ASTORE, WILLIAM J., and DENNIS SHOWALTER. *Hindenburg: Icon of German Militarism*. (Military Profiles.) Dulles, Va.: Potomac Books, Inc. 2005. Pp. xvi, 133. \$19.95.
- BAUERKÄMPER, ARND. *Die Sozialgeschichte der DDR*. Foreword by LOTHAR GALL. (Enzyklopädie Deutscher Geschichte, number 76.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2005. Pp. x, 148. €19.80.
- BELL, DAVID N. *Understanding Rancé: The Spirituality of the Abbot of La Trappe in Context*. (Cistercian Studies Series, number 205.) Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications. 2005. Pp. xxvii, 371. \$31.00.
- BERTSCH, DANIEL. *Anton Prokesch von Osten (1795–1876): Ein Diplomat Österreichs in Athen und an der Hohen Pforte; Beiträge zur Wahrnehmung des Orients im Europa des 19. Jahrhunderts*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 123.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2005. Pp. 754. €84.80.
- BONDESON, JAN. *Blood on the Snow: The Killing of Olof Palme*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 233. \$29.95.
- BOWLER, PETER J., and IWAN RHYS MORUS. *Making Modern Science: A Historical Survey*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 529. \$25.00.
- BUDIANSKY, STEPHEN. *Her Majesty's Spymaster: Elizabeth I, Sir Francis Walsingham, and the Birth of Modern Espionage*. New York: Viking. 2005. Pp. xvii, 235. \$24.95.
- DE BUSBECQ, OGIER GHISELIN. *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*. Translated by EDWARD SEYMOUR FORSTER. Foreword by KARL A. ROIDER. Reprint. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2005. Pp. xxvi, 265. \$19.95.
- BUSE, DIETER K. *The Regions of Germany: A Reference Guide to History and Culture*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 2005. Pp. xix, 290. \$59.95.
- CALAPRICE, ALICE, and TREVOR LIPSCOMBE. *Albert Einstein: A Biography*. (Greenwood Biographies.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 2005. Pp. xxiii, 161. \$29.95.
- CASSAR, GEORGE H. *Kitchener's War: British Strategy from 1914 to 1916*. Dulles, Va.: Brassey's. 2004. Pp. xviii, 363. \$35.00.
- CAVAZZA, STEFANO. *Dimensione massa: Individui, folle, consumi 1830–1945*. (Saggi, number 634.) Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2004. Pp. 347. €24.00.
- CHARTIER, ROGER. *Inscrire et effacer: Culture écrite et littérature (XI^e–XVIII^e siècle)*. (Hautes Études.) Paris: Gallimard. Seuil. 2005. Pp. 209. €22.00.
- CLAUSSEN, DETLEV. *Grenzen der Aufklärung: Die gesellschaftliche Genese des modernen Antisemitismus*. (Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus.) Rev. ed. Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 2005. Pp. xxv, 264. €12.90.
- COAKLEY, JOHN, BRIGID LAFFAN, and JENNIFER TODD, editors. *Renovation or Revolution? New Territorial Politics in Ireland and the United Kingdom*. Foreword by TONY BLAIR. (Perspectives in British-Irish Studies.) Dublin: University College Dublin Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 266. \$35.95.
- CONNOLLY, RUTH, and ANN COUGHLAN, editors. *New Voices in Irish Criticism 5*. (New Voices in Irish Criticism.) Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 292. \$19.95.
- CRAVERI, BENEDETTA. *The Age of Conversation*. Translated by TERESA WAUGH. New York: New York Review Books. 2005. Pp. xv, 488. \$30.00.
- DAVIES, NORMAN. *God's Playground: A History of Poland*. Volume 1, The Origins to 1795. Rev. ed. New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xxx, 457. \$27.50.
- DAVIES, NORMAN. *God's Playground: A History of Poland*. Volume 2, 1795 to the Present. Rev. ed. New York: Columbia University Press. 2005. Pp. xxiii, 591. \$27.50.
- DAVIES-GARNER, PETER. *RMS Titanic: A Modelmaker's Manual*. Foreword by KEN MARSHALL. Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole. 2005. Pp. x, 150. \$39.95.
- DEANE, SEAMUS. *Foreign Affections: Essays on Edmund Burke*. (Critical Conditions: Field Day Essays and Monographs, number 15.) Cork: Cork University Press in association with Field Day. 2005. Pp. xi, 220. € 29.00.
- DE GRAND, ALEXANDER J. *Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany: The "Fascist" Style of Rule*. (Historical Connections.) 2d ed. New York: Routledge. 2004. Pp. xvi, 141. \$22.95.
- DIPPER, CHRISTOF, editor. *Deutschland und Italien 1860–1960: Politische und kulturelle Aspekte im Vergleich*. Assisted by ELISABETH MÜLLER-LUCKNER. (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, number 52.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2005. Pp. viii, 284.
- DOLAN, FRANCES E. *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture*. Paperback edition. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 231. \$20.00.
- DRAKULIĆ, SLAVENKA. *They Would Never Hurt a Fly: War Criminals on Trial in The Hague*. Paperback edition. New York: Penguin. 2004. Pp. 207. \$15.00.
- DUDLEY, WADE G. *Drake: For God, Queen, and Plunder*. (Military Profiles.) Dulles, Va.: Potomac Books, Inc. 2003. Pp. xiv, 97. \$12.95.
- DUFFY, PETER. *Die Bielski-Brüder: Die Geschichte dreier Brüder, die in den Wäldern Weißrusslands 1200 Juden vor den Nazis retteten*. Translated by MICHAEL SCHMIDT. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer. 2005. Pp. 319.
- EMDEN, CHRISTIAN J. *Nietzsche on Language, Consciousness, and the Body*. (Internationale Nietzsche Studies.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 223. \$35.00.
- ETXEBERRIA, ÁLVARO BARAIBAR. *Extraño federalismo: La vía navarra a la democracia, 1973–1982*. Foreword by JUAN MARÍA SÁNCHEZ-PRIETO. (Historia de la sociedad política.) Madrid, Spain: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales. 2004. Pp. 484. €25.00.
- EVANS, RICHARD J. *Das Dritte Reich. Band 1, Aufstieg*. Translated by HOLGER FLIESSBACH and UDO RENNERT. Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch. 2005. Pp. 752. €19.50.
- GALLAGHER, TOM. *Modern Romania: The End of Communism, the Failure of Democratic Reform, and the Theft of a Nation*. New York: New York University Press. 2005. Pp. xxiii, 428. \$55.00.
- HAAN, ESTELLE. *Vergilius Redivivus: Studies in Joseph Addison's Latin Poetry*. (Transactions of the American Philological Society, volume 95, part 2.) Philadelphia, Penn.: American Philosophical Society. 2005. Pp. xiv, 210. \$24.00.
- HALL, MARCIA B., editor. *The Cambridge Companion to Raphael*. (Cambridge Companions to the History of Art.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xiii, 415. \$95.00.
- HANKINS, JAMES. *Humanism and Platonism in the Italian*

- Renaissance*. Volume 1, *Humanism*. (Storia e letteratura, number 215.) Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura. 2003. Pp. 652. €76.00.
- HANKINS, JAMES. *Humanism and Platonism in the Italian Renaissance*. Volume 2, *Platonism*. (Storia e letteratura, number 220.) Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura. 2004. Pp. 538. €60.00.
- HERZOG, HENRY ARMIN. *And Heaven Shed No Tears*. (Shoah Studies.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 334. \$24.95.
- The Hidden and Forbidden History of Latvia under Soviet and Nazi Occupations, 1940–1991*. Selected Research of the Commission of the Historians of Latvia (Symposium of the Commission of the Historians of Latvia, number 14.) Rīga Institute of the History of Latvia. 2005. Pp. 383.
- HILL, PETER P. *Napoleon's Troublesome Americans: Franco-American Relations, 1804–1815*. Dulles, Va.: Potomac Books, Inc. 2005. Pp. xiii, 289. \$29.95.
- HILLMAN, ROGER. *Unsettling Scores: German Film, Music, and Ideology*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 219. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.
- IOANID, RADU. *The Ransom of the Jews: The Story of the Extraordinary Bargain Between Romania and Israel*. Foreword by ELIE WIESEL. Afterword by ION PACEPA. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee. 2005. Pp. xviii, 217. \$26.00.
- JENSEN, GEOFFREY. *Franco: Soldier, Commander, Dictator*. (Military Profiles.) Dulles, Va.: Potomac Books, Inc. 2005. Pp. xvii, 135. \$19.95.
- KAVANAGH, THOMAS M. *Dice, Cards, Wheels: A Different History of French Culture*. (Critical Authors and Issues.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. viii, 251. \$45.00.
- KEREKES, JANET. *Masked Ball at the White Cross Café: The Failure of Jewish Assimilation*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America. 2005. Pp. vi, 335. \$45.00.
- KITROMILIDES, PASCHALIS M., and TRIANTAPHYLLOS E. SKLAVENTIS, editors. *IV International Congress of History: Historiography of Modern Greece, 1833–2002*. Volumes 1 and 2 Athens: Institute for Neohellenic Research, National Helle. 2004. Pp. 627; 766.
- LÄHTEENMÄKI, MARIA. *Kalotin kansaa: Rajankäynnin ja vuorovaikutus Pohjois-Suomella 1808–1889* [People of the Arctic: Demarcation of Borders and Interaction in the Arctic Region of the Nordic Countries]. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, number 220.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2004. Pp. 519.
- LEWER, DEBBIE, editor. *Post-Impressionism to World War II*. (Blackwell Anthologies in Art History.) Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2005. Pp. xv, 415. Cloth \$69.95, paper, \$34.95.
- LEWIN, MOSHE. *Lenin's Last Struggle*. Translated by A.M. SHERIDAN SMITH. (Ann Arbor Paperbacks for the Study of Russian and Soviet History and Politics.) 2d ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2005. Pp. xxix, 193. \$23.95.
- LEWIN, MOSHE. *The Soviet Century*. Edited by GREGORY ELLIOTT. New York: Verso. 2005. Pp. ix, 416. \$35.00.
- LUUKKANEN, TARIJA-LIISA. *Sääty-ylioppilaasta ensimmäisen polven sivistyneistöön: Jumaluusopin ylioppilaiden sukupolvikehitys ja poliittis-yhteiskunnallisten näkemysten muodostuminen 1853–1918* [The Formation of Social and Political Mentality among Finnish Students of Theology in 1853–1918]. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, number 218.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2005. Pp. 459.
- MAKHMOURIAN, G.G. *Politika velikobritanii v armenii i zakavkaz'e v 1918–1920 gg.: vremia belogo cheloveka* [The Policy of Great Britain in Armenia and Transcaucasia in 1918–1920: White Man's Burden.]. Erevan, Armenia: Lusakn. 2002. Pp. 309.
- MAROTTI, ARTHUR F. *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 307. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$25.00.
- MCDIARMID, LUCY. *The Irish Art of Controversy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. xvii, 280. \$29.95.
- McMULLIN, ERNAN, editor. *The Church and Galileo*. (Studies in Science and the Humanities from the Reilly Center for Science, Technology, and Values.) Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 391. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$30.00.
- OST, DAVID. *The Defeat of Solidarity: Anger and Politics in Postcommunist Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 238. \$39.95.
- PANCALDI, GIULIANO. *Volta: Science and Culture in the Age of Enlightenment*. Paperback edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. xv, 381. \$24.95.
- PETACCO, ARRIGO. *A Tragedy Revealed: The Story of the Italian Population of Istria, Dalmatia, and Venezia Giulia, 1943–1956*. Translated by KONRAD EISENBICHLER. (Toronto Italian Studies.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2005. Pp. xiv, 155. \$45.00.
- PITTS, JENNIFER. *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 382. \$39.50.
- PURCELL, JANE. *Not of an Age, but for All Time: Shakespeare at the Huntington*. San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 2005. Pp. 85. \$12.95.
- ROSSI-WILCOX, SUSAN M. *Dinner for Dickens: The Culinary History of Mrs. Charles Dickens's Menu Books including a transcript of What Shall We Have for Dinner? by "Lady Maria Clutterbuck"*. Blackawton, U.K.: Prospect Books. 2005. Pp. 376. £ 25.00.
- SCHRÖDER, STEFAN. *Displaced Persons im Landkreis und in der Stadt Münster 1945–1951*. (Geschichtliche Arbeiten zur westfälischen Landesforschung, number 22.) Münster: Aschendorff Münster. 2005. Pp. 464.
- SCHULZ, ANDREAS. *Lebenswelt und Kultur des Bürgertums im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Foreword by LOTHAR GALL. (Enzyklopädie Deutscher Geschichte, number 75.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2005. Pp. viii, 144. €19.80.
- SCOTT, TOM. *Town, Country, and Regions in Reformation Germany*. (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, number 106.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. xxv, 447.
- SIANI-DAVIES, PETER. *The Romanian Revolution of December 1989*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 315. \$45.00.
- SPICK, MIKE. *Luftwaffe Victorious: An Alternate History*. London: Greenhill. 2005. Pp. 256. \$34.95.
- STEIGER, JOHANN ANSELM. *Medizinische Theologie: Christus medicus und theologia medicinalis bei Martin Luther und im Luthertum der Barockzeit*. (Studies in the History of Christian Traditions, number 121.) Boston: Brill. 2005. Pp. viii, 368.
- STROHM, PAUL. *Politique: Languages of Statecraft between Chaucer and Shakespeare*. (The Conway Lectures in Medieval Studies.) Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2005. Pp. 298. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$27.50.
- SZÖNYI, GYÖRGY E. *John Dee's Occultism: Magical Exaltation through Powerful Signs*. (SUNY series in Western Esoteric Traditions.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2004. Pp. xviii, 362. \$50.00.
- WADE, REX A. *The Russian Revolution, 1917*. (New Approaches to European History.) 2d ed. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xviii, 347. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$25.99.
- WALLIS, FAITH, and PAMELA MILLER, editors. *75 Books from the Osler Library*. Montreal, Quebec: Osler Library. 2004. Pp. ix, 182. \$40.00.
- WAWRO, GEOFFREY. *The Franco-Prussian War: The German Conquest of France in 1870–1871*. Paperback edition. New

- York: Cambridge University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 327. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$21.99.
- WESTWOOD, DAVID. *The U-Boat War: The German Submarine Service and the Battle of the Atlantic, 1935-1945*. Haverstown, Pa: Casemate. 2005. Pp. 311. \$32.95.
- WHITE, HARRY. *The Progress of Music in Ireland*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2005. Pp. 176. \$55.00.
- WREDE, MARTIN. *Das Reich und seine Feinde: Politische Feindbilder in der Reichspatriotischen Publizistik zwischen Westfälischem Frieden und Siebenjährigem Krieg*. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung für Universalgeschichte, number 196.) Mainz: Philipp von Zabern. 2004. Pp. xii, 669. €55.50.
- ZUNSHINE, LISA. *Bastards and Foundlings: Illegitimacy in Eighteenth-Century England*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2005. Pp. xi, 228. Cloth \$44.95, CD \$9.95.
- World. Paperback edition. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. ix, 352. \$24.95.
- MENDES-FLOHR, PAUL, editor. *A Land of Two Peoples: Martin Buber on Jews and Arabs*. Reprint. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2005. Pp. xx, 322. \$18.00.
- MULISCH, HARRY. *Criminal Case 40/61, the Trial of Adolf Eichmann: An Eyewitness Account*. Translated by ROBERT NABORN. Foreword by DEBORAH DWORK. (Personal Takes.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2005. Pp. xxiv, 178. \$27.50.
- SCHWARTZ-BARCOTT, T. P. *War, Terror and Peace in the Qur'an and in Islam: Insights for Military and Government Leaders*. Carlisle, PA: Army War College Foundation Press. 2004. Pp. xxvi, 401. \$26.95.

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

- MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA
- BERTMAN, STEPHEN. *Handbook to Life in Ancient Mesopotamia*. Paperback edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 396. \$19.95.
- DAWISHA, ADEED. *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair*. Paperback edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2005. Pp. vi, 340. \$19.95.
- HODGSON, MARSHALL G. S. *The Secret Order of Assassins: The Struggle of the Early Nizârî Ismâîlîs against the Islamic*
- GOCKING, ROGER S. *The History of Ghana*. (The Greenwood Histories of the Modern Nations.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 2005. Pp. xxxiii, 331. \$45.00.
- HASTY, JENNIFER. *The Press and Political Culture in Ghana*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2005. Pp. xvi, 189. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$22.95.
- PHILIPS, JOHN EDWARD, editor. *Writing African History*. (Rochester Studies in African History and the Diaspora, number 20.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2005. Pp. xii, 532. \$75.00.

Communications

A letter to the editor will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editors' discretion. The AHA disclaims responsibility for statements, of either fact or opinion, made by the writers. Letters should not exceed one thousand words for articles and seven hundred words for reviews. They can be submitted by e-mail to ahr@indiana.edu, or by postal service to Editor, American Historical Review, 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, IN 47401. For detailed information on the policies for this section, see <http://www.historycooperative.org/ahr/communpo.html>.

ARTICLES

TO THE EDITORS:

In "The Black Death: End of a Paradigm" (*AHR*, June 2002, 703–738), Professor Samuel K. Cohn, Jr. presents an intriguing hypothesis, that the disease responsible for the Black Death is not the same as contemporary epidemic plague, caused by *Yersinia pestis*. However, his assertion that humans do not develop immunity to this pathogen is incorrect. The fact that available vaccines require frequent booster shots notwithstanding, people exposed to plague develop long-lasting immunity and are not susceptible to reinfection for many years, if ever. The multiphasic pattern of recrudescence observed by Dr. Cohn, with lower peaks with each outbreak, is actually consistent with the observed facts about plague. Since the flea vector is not an efficient means of disease transmission, many remain uninfected during the initial outbreak. Subsequent outbreaks result in lower peak incidence of infection, since, with each recurrence, fewer are susceptible, as an ever-greater portion of the population becomes immune. A century or two later, the plague can recur in full efflorescence, as subsequent generations lack immunity. These facts do not detract from Dr. Cohn's more persuasive arguments. Lack of predominance of inguinal buboes over lymphatic swellings in other locations would rule out flea-borne plague as a cause of the Black Death. Although some of the medieval descriptions of skin lesions could reflect disseminated intravascular coagula-

tion—which causes the "blackness" associated with "Black Death," if *Yersinia* is indeed the causative agent—multiple and various skin lesions also suggest the possibility of a pathogen other than *Yersinia pestis*.

RICHARD CRANE, M.D.

SAMUEL K. COHN, JR. RESPONDS:

I thank Dr. Crane for his interest in my article of 2002 and his kind remarks about my arguments in general—that the Black Death and its recurring strikes through the fifteenth century were not *Y. pestis*. Dr. Crane maintains, however, that I am "incorrect" in saying "that humans do not develop immunity to this pathogen [*Y. pestis*]," and he continues: "The multiphasic pattern of recrudescence observed by Dr. Cohn, with lower peaks with each outbreak, is actually consistent with the observed facts about plague." Unfortunately, Dr. Crane does not supply our readers with evidence or references for either point.

By contrast, the observations of plague doctors, from the Indian Plague Commissioners of the 1910s (for example, "Experimental Plague Epidemics among Rats," *Journal of Hygiene: Plague Supplement I—Sixth Report on Plague Investigations in India Issued by the Advisory Committee* [1912], 292–300) to recent work with developing a long-term vaccine for *Y. pestis*, support the conclusion that humans possess little if any natural immunity to this pathogen. In the second decade of the twentieth century, plague doctors in India discovered that rats could acquire immunity over the long term but humans could not. Plague commissioners such as Norman F. White ("Twenty Years of Plague in India, with Special Reference to the Outbreak of 1917–18," *Indian Journal of Medical Research* 6, no. 2 [1918]: 190–236, esp. 215) saw the final downturn in Indian mortality rates to successive strikes of plague by 1918 as a result not of humans acquiring immunity to the plague but of rats doing so. Later scientists and doctors reconfirmed the conclusions of the Indian plague reports. In the great work on plague published by the World Health Organization, *Plague* (1954), Robert Pollitzer concluded: "No convincing evidence is available to show that a natural immunity to insect-borne plague exists in man" (133). And for pneumonic plague: "there can be little doubt

that instances of natural resistance to pneumonic plague infections exist, [but] these are of such rare occurrence as to be of no practical importance" (511). The textbooks followed Pollitzer's conclusions. See, for instance, the most used of the manuals for tropical diseases, *Manson's Tropical Diseases*, 19th ed. (1987): "There is no known natural immunity to plague. Acquired immunity is short-lived and there is no protection against second attacks. This is borne out by the short-lived protection provided by vaccination" (591). Unfortunately, the two latest editions of this work (1996 and 2003) have no section on plague and immunity, but neither contradicts the conclusions drawn about human immunity and *Y. pestis* in 1987.

Further, my work (both in the *AHR* article and expanded in *The Black Death Transformed: Disease and Culture in Early Renaissance Europe* [Oxford, 2002]) shows evidence from India (where 95 percent of cases of plague have occurred since A. Yersin cultured the plague bacillus in 1894) of mortality rates from 1896 to the 1950s. These illustrate anything but "multiphasic pattern of recrudescence . . . with lower peaks with each outbreak." Instead, plague cases and mortality both climbed steeply from 1896 to 1907 and then bounced up and down annually until 1917–1918, when India was stricken with its worst annual bout of plague since 1907 (see White, "Twenty Years of Plague," 190). The same pattern is also observed with the recurrence of plague in India (again which hit the Punjab most severely) from 1939 to the 1950s, even though scientists and governments by then were better prepared with antibiotics, rat-proofing, and flea control. Similar patterns are reproduced by statistics published by Pollitzer for Java, Brazil, and other places during the first half of the twentieth century.

In keeping with these epidemiological traits, scientists have found that the age incidence of victims of *Y. pestis* has not changed since Yersin cultured the bacillus in 1894. In contrast to infectious diseases for which humans possess natural immunity, children have never borne the brunt of *Y. pestis*. Rather, as with most virgin-soil diseases or ones for which humans possess little or no natural immunity, those from age nineteen to their early forties are the group most susceptible to the disease and who die most often from it (among other places, see again the statistics in Pollitzer, *Plague*, 511 and 516–517).

Dr. Crane also maintains: "A century or two later, the plague [*Y. pestis*] can recur in full efflorescence." But where is his evidence? We know nothing for certain of *Y. pestis* mortality patterns before 1894. Is he now assuming that the plagues of the fourteenth through the eighteenth centuries were *Y. pestis*?

Finally, with the threat of biological warfare, scientists have faced the problems of developing vaccines that might render long-term immunity to the plague. These seek to produce specific opsonic antibodies against *Y. pestis*'s F1 and VW antigens. I am no authority on this literature, but I find no statement among these scientists reversing what plague doctors concluded in the 1910s and reconfirmed through the twentieth century. I know of no

studies that point to any place where mortality from *Y. pestis* has fallen at a steady annual pace or where the age structure of victims has changed, revealing *Y. pestis* as a childhood disease or moving in that direction, not even in the Punjab, the region to record the highest case and mortality rates anywhere in the world and where *Y. pestis* struck annually for thirty years or more. As a historian, however, I am open to new discoveries and new evidence that overturn old or new paradigms.

SAMUEL K. COHN, JR.
University of Glasgow

TO THE EDITORS:

At a time when *any* significant role for the social sciences and humanities is threatened in elementary and secondary schools with facile concentration on "basic" reading, writing, and math, it is unfortunate to see the kind of division among supporters of history in the school curriculum represented by "From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education" (*AHR*, June 2005, 727–751). Robert Orrill and Linn Shapiro perpetuate a myth that the "social studies" and/or the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) are hostile to history's central place in school programs. History, especially at the high school level focused upon by Orrill and Shapiro, has always been the mainstay of social studies. The integration of history and the social sciences in the form of "social studies" that Orrill and Shapiro fear and deride (except when it's labeled "history," apparently—see p. 738) is all but a chimera, nevertheless a persistent one.

Mythmaking about social studies—its origins and longstanding positions—refuses to go away. No significant number of social studies educators affiliated with NCSS ever suggested that history should play any but a central role. Courses not designed to center on disciplines such as history, geography, and government have scarcely anywhere or ever enjoyed more than a fraction of the curricular space afforded history. So what is the problem? One is compelled to wonder what else is at stake here in some historians' stubborn disregard for accurate portrayals of social studies, whose position is now threatened by the emphasis on high-stakes testing resulting from the No Child Left Behind legislation.

The most obvious misrepresentation perpetuated by Orrill and Shapiro is that "social studies" supplanted "history" during the Progressive Era. Over the years, this charge has been repeated so often that it has become widely believed. Certainly neoconservatives since the 1980s have made effective use of it, contending that "reformist" social studies has nudged out a more patriotic, narrative history. The problem is, however, that this characterization is simply false.

Orrill and Shapiro uncritically accept the viewpoint that history has been squeezed out. They write that historians of social studies (Jenness and Hertzberg are the only two they cite) "take it for granted that

educational activism among historians must be conjoined with advocacy for social studies reform" (728, n. 3).

We see it differently: Jenness and Hertzberg simply note that social subjects first became part of the modern American curriculum in the 1890s, and later social studies became the collective noun for that part of the curriculum which included history. The figures (e.g., David Snedden) that Orrill and Shapiro (correctly) fear would have done away with much history in the social studies curriculum were neither social studies educators nor particularly influential concerning the content of social studies programs.

Perhaps the most successful social studies educator ever—if judged by effects on school programs—was Harold Rugg. He claimed that an effective social studies program demanded more, not less, history than was conventionally offered.

Far from hostile to history, NCSS has consistently stressed its pivotal role in any defensible social studies program. Indeed, many "social studies educators" are self-described "history" advocates. Social studies teachers and teacher educators have been central to development of state curricular frameworks and standards reflecting the importance of history, especially at the secondary level.

Orrill and Shapiro are right to underscore the need for historians to be more involved with school history—their knowledge of historical scholarship is irreplaceable. But they overlook the fact that neoconservatives' attacks on the allegedly "dark side" of American history and the perennial problem of its ineffective teaching are the real challenges confronting history in the schools.

The latter won't be improved by simply demanding more history courses for teachers, which many states have done in recent years, but rather, as the logic of Orrill and Shapiro's position suggests, courses directed to what is taught in schools. Moreover, as one of us (Thornton) has argued for years, it would also make sense if teaching methods courses were better aligned with what prospective and in-service teachers learn in their history courses. In other words, there is plenty of scope for collaboration between history departments and colleges of education. Charges and countercharges about whether content or method is more important—as if one can exist without the other—are counterproductive and, as we have noted, effectively leave decision making about history in schools to people who are experts on neither.

STEPHEN J. THORNTON

University of South Florida

MARGARET S. CROCCO

Teachers College, Columbia University

Robert Orrill and Linn Shapiro do not wish to respond here. They took part in an online forum with readers who had questions and comments about this article, and that exchange can be read on the History Coop-

erative website, at <http://www.historycooperative.org/ahr/Forums.html>.

THE EDITORS

TO THE EDITORS:

The article by Robert Orrill and Linn Shapiro on "The Discipline of History and History Education" (*AHR*, June 2005, 727–751) is a welcome indication that the AHA is focusing more attention and resources on the problems of history education in the secondary schools. Unfortunately, however, the essay gives a less than adequate account of recent developments in this area, failing to mention the two most important initiatives by academic historians since 1987: the Bradley Commission on History in Schools (1987–1990) and its successor organization, the National Council for History Education (1990–present). The trustees have always included senior historians; after my term as chair, I was succeeded by Professor Theodore K. Rabb of Princeton and then by Dr. Spencer Crew, the director of the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History.

The Bradley Commission was created to do exactly what Orrill and Shapiro suggest—that is, to address concerns about the quality and quantity of history in the classrooms of America's schools. The seventeen-member group included four presidents of the AHA and four presidents of the Organization of American Historians, and its final report, *Building a History Curriculum: Guidelines for Teaching History in Schools*, was endorsed by both the AHA Teaching Division and the OAH. Since its publication in 1988, more than 100,000 copies of the 32-page report have been distributed, and its recommendations have affected curricular reform in dozens of states and scores of independent school districts. Now a "classic" in the educational reform world, it will soon be available for free download on the NCHE website.

Meanwhile, the NCHE now has almost 6,000 members nationwide, and over the past two decades it has done more than any other group to monitor developments in history requirements and teaching at the state and local level. Its popular newsletter, *History Matters*, goes to more than 10,000 school administrators, professors, history teachers, and publishers every month, and it is now in its eighteenth year of regular publication. Its founding members included many of the AHA's most distinguished members, including Joyce Appleby, Bernard Bailyn, Robert Dallek, Natalie Zemon Davis, Carl Degler, Don Fehrenbacher, John Hope Franklin, John Lewis Gaddis, Darlene Clark Hine, Michael Kammen, William E. Leuchtenburg, Lawrence Levine, Arthur Link, William McNeill, James M. McPherson, Gary Nash, Mary Beth Norton, Arthur Schlesinger, George Tindall, Sean Wilentz, and Robin Winks, to mention only a few.

This is not to suggest that nothing remains to be done. The fight for history is constant, and it is continuing. However, it is important to recognize that,

through NCHE and its allied organizations, many members of the historical profession have made progress since the late 1980s. And if the American Historical Association strengthens its commitment to the cause, perhaps more young people will come to share the passion of professional historians for studying and learning from the past.

KENNETH T. JACKSON
Columbia University

Robert Orrill and Linn Shapiro do not wish to respond here. They took part in an online forum with readers who had questions and comments about this article, and that exchange can be read on the History Cooperative website, at <http://www.historycooperative.org/ahr/Forums.html>.

THE EDITORS

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITORS:

Bryan D. Palmer is the author of *Descent into Discourse* (1990), which upbraids my work along with that of others who stress the role of language and multiple forms of sociocultural difference as a diversion from a certain type of Marxist-oriented social history. Sections of Palmer's rather predictable review of my *History in Transit: Experience, Identity, Critical Theory* (*AHR*, April 2005, 437–438) replicate the template he employed in his book. That template facilitates misreadings that prevent him from seeing ways in which my recent work is in fact undertaking a critique of tendencies in certain variants of poststructuralism, such as radical discursive constructivism, which I have never in fact affirmed. (I provide a more extensive discussion of historiographical issues relevant to Palmer's review in "Tropisms of Intellectual History," *Rethinking History* 8 [2004]: 499–529.)

Palmer's approach inhibits him from at least mentioning aspects of my book that complement the features he finds worthwhile in it, including what he formulates as its concern with "history, memory, and trauma, most especially the experience of the Holocaust." Among these complementary aspects are critical inquiries into violence, sacrificialism, posttraumatic symptoms, and specific vicissitudes and uses of the concept of trauma, including an attempt to provide a critique of certain orientations within an aesthetic of the sublime that has played a role in historiography as well as in other fields (*vide* the recent work of Frank Ankersmit). I also explore the role of affect and, especially, empathy in historical understanding and further elaborate a concept of working through the past that involves both differential, responsive understanding and sociopolitical practice as aspects of a broader dialogic exchange. (Palmer's account might be contrasted with the more comprehensive approach

taken in Beverly Southgate's review in *Rethinking History* 9 [2005]: 375–380.)

Space limitations force me to forgo commentary on Palmer's sharpest barbs, which displace the major concerns of my book onto but one page of the epilogue—page 250. I would simply note that it is not I but Palmer who rashly generalizes to all of Russell Jacoby's work a comment I make about Jacoby's recently republished essay "A New Intellectual History," which first appeared in the *AHR*. In my original response to that essay, I explicitly stated that "there is much in Russell Jacoby's work that I respect and admire, especially his attempt to keep alive the tradition of critical theory and the role of the public intellectual. But there are aspects of 'A New Intellectual History' that I find questionable both in relation to my own work and to broader issues in the field" (*AHR*, April 1992, 425–439, 425). I still find the essay questionable and think it warrants mention as one of a series of works marking a "turn away from or even against theory."

Perhaps Palmer's most significant misreading occurs when he asserts that I "unthinkingly articulate . . . a binary opposition" by believing that "the historical profession is . . . separated into two camps: those who seek illumination by 'grubbing' in the archives, the dust of facticity a badge of honor; and others who instead, however attuned to evidence, interrogate the archive and 'turn erudition into learning' by rising above the boundaries of 'information.'" He refers to page 270, and asserts that "this [I assume he means the putative binary] is LaCapra's achilles [sic] heel." Neither on that page nor elsewhere do I affirm the binary Palmer attributes to me. (I note in passing that "grubbing" is a term I borrow from Robert Darnton and employ only in scare quotes.) On page 270 of *History in Transit*, after criticizing excessively abstract, self-referential theory (or theoreticism) and listing what I take to be the contributions of historically relevant critical theory, I conclude: "Theory is an attempt to understand better what one knows or thinks one knows. It must be informed but cannot be reduced to information or simply found by 'grubbing' in the archives. It is an attempt, however nontotalizing and self-critical, to turn erudition into learning." I do not think one may see these statements as confirming Palmer's projective binary opposition or as denigrating archival research and advocating a wayward attempt to rise "above the boundaries of information."

Debate, argument, and, when needed, polemic are signs of health and openness in a discipline as well as an indication of willingness to engage criticism coming from both within and without the profession. But even if one bemoans a putative descent into discourse, one has to take discourse seriously enough to read it carefully and accurately as a premise of critical response. Only in this way can one hope to determine actual points of agreement or disagreement.

DOMINICK LACAPRA
Cornell University

BRYAN D. PALMER RESPONDS:

My review of Dominick LaCapra's *History in Transit* identified "a prolific writer who has seldom met a critic, however innocuous, that did not goad him to reply" (438). LaCapra seems to confirm this observation, lashing out at a review that was, by any reasonable standard of assessment, balanced and fair-minded. In the 700 words allocated by the *AHR*, I wrote three paragraphs of unambiguous praise, two of critical engagement, and a concluding passage that was mixed, but not without reference to the positive contribution of LaCapra's text.

LaCapra commences his rejoinder with a subtle red-baiting reference to a book I published fifteen years ago, *Descent into Discourse*. Content that he has pigeonholed me, he finds my review predictable. Yet my commentary actually moved well past any template of opposition that might be construed from a skewed reading of *Descent*, contained no barbs, and was anything but polemical. The larger misreading is certainly LaCapra's.

In responding to my review, LaCapra repeatedly calls on other authorities, rather than accepting responsibility for what he wrote in the book under review. He asks readers to consult the pages of another journal, *Rethinking History*, directing them to an essay he has written on intellectual history (which, incidentally, is largely about himself, fifteen of the approximately fifty references cited being his own works) and a sympathetic review of *History in Transit* that he hails as more comprehensive (given almost three times the space the *AHR* allows for all standard reviews).

I am accused of misreadings. This is always possible, especially when authors are not themselves as clear as they might be. LaCapra ends his book referring to theory not being reduced to "grubbing" in the archives (270). Upon reflection and rereading, I may indeed have overstated an opposition in LaCapra's text, and for this I offer my regrets.

But LaCapra himself is not blameless. The use of the term "grubbing," in relation to archival work, was an oddly provocative metaphor to employ in closing his book. Placing a term within single quotation marks can signify a variety of things, and in this case, with no reference of any kind offered, the meaning was certainly ambiguous. Noting now that he has borrowed the term "grubbing" from Robert Darnton is, surely, a rather odd admission from an intellectual historian concerned with language who has failed to acknowledge how he has used a particular term. Finally, if borrowing was indeed from Darnton's *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Cambridge, 1982), where intellectual historians are urged to undertake "digging downward . . . grubbing in the archives instead of contemplating philosophical treatises" (1), this seems to call out for engagement/clarification (and, again, explicit citation) from LaCapra, whose text contains nothing like the archival work characterizing Darnton's historical practice. In any case, I was reviewing what was on the page of *History in Transit*,

not what LaCapra decides, upon prodding, to tell us should have been there.

In LaCapra's refusal to acknowledge what he wrote about Russell Jacoby, there is again an insistence that reviewers should read texts other than the book under review. We are directed to past essays and quotes in the *AHR*, but this is, yet again, beside the point. LaCapra claims that I "rashly generalize" concerning his *History in Transit* views of Jacoby. This is not true. The words are LaCapra's: "Russell Jacoby has been lambasting academic intellectuals and excoriating theoretical orientations in a manner that at times runs together neoconservatism and seeming leftism—a strange intellectual phantasmagoria in which Theodor Adorno becomes the specular image of Leo Strauss. The antitheoretical, left-right convergence is especially evident in the collection (including an essay by Jacoby) edited by Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Elisabeth Lasch-Quinn" (250). This statement is indeed rash in its generalization, extreme in its rhetoric, and unsupported, as I pointed out in my review, by adequate citation. It was not misread. I merely called LaCapra on his indiscriminate and ideological typecasting of another scholar. He wants to wiggle off a hook of his own making by further typecasting me.

Authors, fortunately, do not write their own reviews. LaCapra should have been content with my praise, pondered my criticism. A thin skin is unbecoming in such a productively combative scholar.

BRYAN D. PALMER
Trent University

TO THE EDITORS:

I want to thank Andrew Zimmerman for acknowledging in his review (*AHR*, April 2005, 566–567) that my book *From Darwin to Hitler: Evolutionary Ethics, Eugenics, and Racism in Germany* contains "very good historical research," even though he criticizes some aspects of my work. When he accuses me of "sleight of hand" and distortion, however, Zimmermann indulges in his own distortion, especially in the climax of the review, where he states: "In Weikart's account, however, Bryan emerges only as an opponent of German militarism. In this distortion of the 1925 Scopes 'monkey' trial, repeated twice in the book (1, 163), Weikart's political sleight of hand appears most clearly. The text seeks to lead readers from opposing Hitler to supporting the theocratic agenda of Bryan and more recent figures in the United States. There are thus good political reasons for setting up the book as a contest between Hitler and Bryan, although these do not make for very persuasive history."

Here Zimmerman is practicing his own "sleight of hand." It should be obvious why I discuss Bryan only in the context of *German* militarism. My book is about Darwinian thought in *Germany*, as the title indicates, and therefore Bryan is a peripheral figure. He is mentioned in only eleven sentences of my book, mostly in the

chapter on Darwinian militarism. In two of these sentences I criticize Bryan's position on the Darwinian roots of World War I. Thus it escapes me what the "good political reasons" are for seeing my book as a contest between Hitler and Bryan. Also, how could I have distorted the Scopes trial when I don't even mention it anywhere in my book? Even more bizarre is Zimmerman's absurd claim that my book supports a "theocratic agenda," when he knows nothing about my political views. He would undoubtedly be astonished if he only knew.

Again, I thank Zimmerman, whom I respect as a fine scholar, for admitting that "Weikart admirably demonstrates the influence of Darwinism on Nazi racism and genocide," and for acknowledging the value of my research. However, the credibility of his criticisms of my book is undermined by his wildly wrong claim that I support a "theocratic agenda."

RICHARD WEIKART
California State University,
Stanislaus

ANDREW ZIMMERMAN RESPONDS:

In my review I argued that Richard Weikart's book, for all its fine research, distorts the history of Darwinism and anti-Darwinism in Germany in ways that reflect theocratic agendas in present-day American politics. By theocratic agendas I mean attempts to trump considerations of individual liberty with religious dogma in areas including reproduction, sexuality, and end-of-life decisions. These areas are among those mentioned by Weikart in his own text, even though they were at most peripheral to debates about Darwinism in Imperial Germany. *From Darwin to Hitler* is structured around a contest between Darwinism and Christian ethics, which Weikart characterizes as a contest between proponents of death and life, respectively. This representation is anachronistic, projecting present-day theocratic agendas onto the history of science in Imperial Germany. It also tendentiously simplifies both Darwinism and Christianity. I pointed to Professor Weikart's failure to mention the Scopes monkey trial in his prominent and approving citations of William Jennings Bryan not as a "climax" to my review, but rather as a dog that did not bark in the night: it signaled, but did not in itself constitute, significant and systematic weaknesses in the book, weaknesses that I discussed and documented in my review.

ANDREW ZIMMERMAN
George Washington University

TO THE EDITORS:

In his review of my book *Closer to the Masses: Stalinist Culture, Social Revolution, and Soviet Newspapers* (AHR, April 2005, 588–589), Jeffrey Brooks suggests that I appropriated his work (the book *Thank You,*

Comrade Stalin and earlier articles) without attribution. This suggestion is baseless, as anyone who reads through his and my published work on the Soviet press can discover for themselves.

In specific references I cite Professor Brooks's influence on my definition of the "voices" of the Soviet press (23, 25), his production of culture approach to the study of prerevolutionary Russian literature (3), his demonstration that activists used the press to learn official Soviet language (72), his work on the disappearance of Soviet studies of the reader around 1930 (2, 34), his exploration of the negative attitudes of prerevolutionary Russian intellectuals to commercial culture (35, 213), his article on the decline in the circulation of books and newspapers in the USSR in the Civil War and NEP years (16, 46), and his discussion of the creation of a Stalinist "hyperreality" in the Soviet press and literature post-1929 (166). In addition, I cite most of Brooks's published work on the Soviet press in an early footnote, as he notes in his review.

In his review, Brooks focuses on the fact that both of our books discuss a narrowing of the target audience(s) of Soviet newspapers to party activists/"insiders" during the First Five Year Plan. Brooks appears to indicate that I took this idea from him. First, I formulated this thesis in a seminar paper written for Professor Sheila Fitzpatrick in the winter of 1992–1993, before Professor Brooks had published it anywhere, as far as I know. I expanded on the thesis in my dissertation, which was complete and available to the public as of December 1997. I presented the thesis on the retargeting of the Soviet press (as well as the other core arguments of *Closer to the Masses*) in my short 1998 monograph *Agitation, Propaganda, and the "Stalinization" of the Soviet Press, 1922–1930*, published in the University of Pittsburgh's Carl Beck Papers series two years before Brooks's book appeared. Yet Brooks's book does not cite either my monograph or my dissertation.

Second, Brooks mentions the narrowing of the newspaper audience in passing, and in general terms. In contrast, this phenomenon is at the center of my book. The book demonstrates that by 1930 the formerly "highbrow" *Pravda* and *Izvestiia* had come to resemble closely the "mass newspapers" *Peasant Gazette* and *Worker Gazette*, not just in language and layout, but in distribution methods and journalistic work procedures. I link this change to specific decisions of party leaders, to chronic production problems faced by early Soviet journalists, and to difficulties in distributing the newspapers. Professor Brooks does not do any of this, which is fine. His is a different book, focused more on newspaper content than on newspaper production.

I also note that our books differ greatly in source bases and use of theoretical literature. At the core of Brooks's book is his comprehensive reading of several Soviet newspapers from the 1920s through the end of the Stalin era. My *Closer to the Masses* is based in part, of course, on the newspapers themselves, but also on Soviet archives, literary journals, and the trade publi-

cations produced by Soviet journalists, such as *Journalist*. Brooks makes a wide variety of theoretical references, but arguably Erving Goffman's work on public performance is at the center of his book. In contrast, I make use of the work of the functional linguistics of Roger Fowler and M. A. K. Halliday as well as the work of neo-Weberian political scientists such as Ken Jowitt. My use of functional linguistics, my analysis of Soviet use of the terms "agitation" and "propaganda," and my statistical analysis of the newspaper space devoted specifically to ongoing Central Committee propaganda campaigns in 1925 and 1933 all differentiate my investigation of newspaper language from Brooks's content analysis, presented in his book and in earlier articles.

During the 1990s, a number of North American scholars were working in parallel on the early history of the Soviet press, including Julie Kay Mueller, Steven Coe, and Michael Gorham, as well as Brooks and myself. In addition, Russian scholars such as Evgenii Dobrenko were working on closely related topics. There was both cross-fertilization and coincidence of conclusions. My sense is that all of us were making a good-faith effort to acknowledge intellectual debts. I am sorry that Professor Brooks does not share that sense.

MATTHEW LENOE
Hokkaido University
Sapporo, Japan

Jeffrey Brooks does not wish to respond.

THE EDITORS

TO THE EDITORS:

I wish to respond to Praveen Swami's review of my book *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects: Islam, Rights and the History of Kashmir* (*AHR*, June 2005, 778–780).

Let me at the outset clarify that neither is my book about the conflict between India and Pakistan over Kashmir nor was it occasioned by the "near war of 2001–2002." It grew out of my doctoral dissertation, defended at Columbia University in May 1999. It deals with state-making processes in colonial India, their problems of establishing legitimate authority, and the place of rights and religion in popular resistance. Examining the strategies of the British imperial government and the Dogra rulers of Kashmir, evolved reciprocally, my work explains why and how legitimacy for the latter was derived from arenas such as the patronage of Hindu rituals and "tradition," how the concept of subjects' rights came to be circulated in Kashmir, why demands for rights were made in the religious mode, and what imprint this left on Hindu-Muslim relations and on expressions of regional solidarity.

I neither suggest a static set of relations between the imperial government, Dogra rulers, and their subjects, Hindu and Muslim, nor do I treat these latter groups or their experiences of the state as homogeneous.

Identifying shifts in the paramount power's terms for legitimacy, I explain their implications for the Dogras' Hindu sovereignty. Chapters four and five highlight not only the debates and political rivalries within Hindu and Muslim communities, but also how erstwhile allies of the Dogras, Muslim and Hindu, later opposed the state in defense of endangered privileges and rights.

In paragraph seven, the reviewer draws on a final chapter kept deliberately free of footnotes (barring three) to criticize assertions in it for being unsubstantiated by footnotes. Both of his quotations come from my brief conclusion, where the aim was to summarize my arguments and to indicate some lines of continuity from the colonial past, which I spend five long chapters examining, into the post-1947 period, which is not the book's focus.

The first passage, truncated in quotation, is: "Without conceding an inch in their own adherence to Islam, at the moment of the partition of India most Kashmiri Muslims voted clearly (and the vast majority continue to do so today) against the Pakistan option." I use "vote" here in the general sense of an expression of opinion rather than the mechanical act of casting a ballot. My point is that the political articulation of religious identity notwithstanding, most Kashmiri Muslims did not embrace a vision of separate statehood founded on religious commonality alone—the "Pakistan option." This assessment derives from the rhetoric of Sheikh Abdullah, widely considered the most popular politician in Kashmir at the time of partition, in which being Kashmiri was emphasized as much as being Muslim.

As for how I determine that "today the vast majority of Kashmir's Muslims largely believe that they are scarcely better off than they were through 101 years of Dogra rule," I would have thought a popularly based and long-lasting insurgency ample indication of widespread discontentment against the state. The problem of political legitimacy in Kashmir clearly remains.

In pointing to the "tenuous nature" of India's secularism, specifically secularism as state ideology, I refer precisely to its "intertwining" with "communalism" in the nationalist project that the reviewer mentions. This interlocking has allowed even the Hindu right-wing BJP to call itself secular. It is the politics of religious bigotry that the reviewer seems to mean when describing "communalism" as a "brutal, experienced reality." Without denying this, I contend that, as the history of Kashmir shows, not all politics in the religious idiom is necessarily "communal" in this pejorative sense. I do argue that religion is an important "language of both power and resistance" in Kashmir. Nowhere do I suggest that it is "primordial." I delineate the particular historical contexts in which religious identities were politically articulated by rulers and subjects.

Finally, since no specific instances of "invective" have been cited, I am unable to explain myself. As for "secession from scholarship" in the book, I leave it to

the judgment of my peers engaged in the field of history and historiography.

MRIDU RAI
Yale University

PRAVEEN SWAMI RESPONDS:

Much of the first half of Mridu Rai's response to my review of her book very ably demolishes arguments I did not make.

I did not, for example, dispute the irrefutable fact that her book deals with state-making in colonial India and with the role of rights and religion in popular resistance. In fact, the bulk of my review of Rai's book dealt with her treatment of these issues, not the last chapter. The principal criticism I leveled at Rai's work was that her notion of religious identity was reductive, among other reasons because of its failure to examine the workings of class and caste. On these points of contention she responds with flat denial; I shall not continue the debate here because of limitations of space.

Rai's response to the two specific points I did raise about her concluding chapter, however, seem to me to underline my claim that this portion of her work secedes from scholarship. Both points were chosen to illustrate a certain sloppiness of method and language; her book is replete with similar examples. I learn with some bemusement, for example, that the words "to vote" can be used to describe a "general sense of an expression of opinion rather than the mechanical act of casting a ballot." Despots around the world shall, without doubt, be delighted to learn this.

Leaving aside questions of language, however, Rai's response raises more questions than it answers. How, for example, does she know for a fact that "most Kashmiri Muslims did not embrace a vision of separate statehood founded on religious commonality alone"? Rai says she based this assertion on the rhetoric of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the leader of the National Conference. Whether such conclusions about popular will can be arrived at from the rhetoric of a single leader I shall leave for readers to decide. Furthermore, there is a large body of work that disputes the contention that Sheikh Abdullah was, as Indian nationalists have claimed, the sole spokesper-

son for opinion in Jammu and Kashmir. Substantial parts of Jammu and Kashmir—Gilgit, Poonch, and Mirpur, for example—rebelled in *favor* of Pakistan at the time of the partition of India.

A similar lack of care characterizes Rai's assertions on the current political violence in Jammu and Kashmir. Her claim that "a popularly based and long-lasting insurgency [is] ample indication of widespread discontentment against the state" might indeed be true. However, Rai makes no reference to the vibrant debate, scholarly and popular, on the extent of the popular base of political violence in Jammu and Kashmir. The truth is that insufficient evidence exists to make a categorical determination of how much support there in fact is for anti-India violence in Jammu and Kashmir. It takes a considerable leap of logic, moreover, to conclude, as Rai does, that the very existence of a popular insurgency (if that is what it indeed is) proves that "the vast majority of Kashmir's Muslims largely believe that they are scarcely better off than they were through 101 years of Dogra rule."

What evidence we do have—evidence, that is, as opposed to the kinds of polemic that Rai seems to prefer—suggests that residents of Jammu and Kashmir, Muslim or otherwise, are indeed better off than they were under monarchical rule. Elections, however flawed, are held regularly, and recent polls to municipal bodies attracted high voter turnout, in the face of terrorist threats, in areas traditionally considered hostile to Indian rule. Economically, the evidence of change is unequivocal. Residents of urban Jammu and Kashmir, along with their counterparts in neighboring Himachal Pradesh, live in one of the only two food-secure regions of the country. Poverty contracted dramatically in the 1990s, and Jammu and Kashmir now has the lowest percentage of its population living in poverty of any state in India, a far cry from the famines and deprivation its people faced in the pre-independence period.

Rai need not have looked far to find this data. It is available in a book authored by Parvez Dewan, a bureaucrat she thanks in her introduction for, among other things, "holding interminably probing conversations." They were not, evidently, probing enough.

PRAVEEN SWAMI
Frontline Magazine

Index to *American Historical Review*, October 2005

The titles of articles and films in the *AHR* are printed in italics, and titles of books reviewed are in quotation marks. Books of collected essays are designated by (E). The reviewer of a book or film is designated by (R), the author of a letter for the Communications section by (C).

- Abelshauser, Werner, et al., "German History and Global Enterprise, BASF: The History of a Company," 1271
- Aberth, John (R), 1235
- "Absolute Destruction," by Hull, 1269
- Adams, Julia, Elisabeth S. Clemens, and Ann Shola Orloff, editors, "Remaking Modernity: Politics, History, and Sociology" (E), 1300
- Adeleke, Tunde, "Without Regard to Race: The Other Martin Robinson Delany," 1183
- "Afro-Latin America, 1800–2000," by Andrews, 1221
- "All Shook Up," by Altschuler, 1210
- Allen, James Smith, "Poignant Relations: Three Modern French Women," 1263
- Altschuler, Glenn C., "All Shook Up: How Rock 'n' Roll Changed America," 1210
- Amato, Joseph A., "On Foot: A History of Walking," 1126
- Ambrosius, Lloyd E., editor, "Writing Biography: Historians and Their Craft," 1120
- "The American Ballot Box in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," by Bensel, 1182
- Anderson, David, "Histories of the Hanged: The Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire," 1295
- Anderson, Virginia DeJohn, "Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America," 1158
- Andrews, George Reid, "Afro-Latin America, 1800–2000," 1221
- "Anglicans and the Atlantic World," by Vaudry, 1154
- "Anglo-American Millennialism, from Milton to the Millerites," edited by Connors and Gow, 1131
- Antikainen, Marjo-Riita, "Sääty, sukupuoli, uskonto: Mathilda Wrede ja yhteiskunnan muutos 1883–1913," 1266
- "Apologies to Thucydides," by Sahlins, 1116
- Appelbaum, Nancy P. (R), 1221
- Aquila, Richard (R), 1210
- "Armies without Nations," by Holden, 1225
- Aron, Cindy S. (R), 1216
- Ash, Stephen V. (R), 1188
- "Assassination, Politics, and Miracles," by Skuy, 1261
- "Atlantic Virginia," by Hatfield, 1159
- Auslander, Leora, *Beyond Words*, 1015
- Auslin, Michael R., "Negotiating with Imperialism: The Unequal Treaties and the Culture of Japanese Diplomacy," 1146
- "Autobiographical Jews," by Stanislawski, 1124
- Bachin, Robin F., "Building the South Side: Urban Space and Civic Culture in Chicago, 1890–1919," 1193
- Baines, Dudley (R), 1241
- Banner, Lois W., and Dolores Janiewski, editors, "Reading Benedict/Reading Mead: Feminism, Race, and Imperial Visions" (E), 1300
- Barlow, Frank (R), 1236
- Barron, Caroline M., "London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People, 1200–1500," 1238
- Bartlett, Thomas, et al., "1798: A Bicentenary Perspective," 1251
- Baruah, Sanjib (R), 1150
- Beck, Thomas (R), 1261
- "Becoming German," by Otterness, 1130
- "Becoming Historical," by Toews, 1268
- Beeman, Richard R., "The Varieties of Political Experience in Eighteenth-Century America," 1162
- Beer, Mathias, and Gerhard Seewann, editors, "Südostforschung im Schatten des Dritten Reiches: Institutionen, Inhalte, Personen," 1274
- "Before Scopes," by Israel, 1203
- "Begegnungen mit dem Yankee," by Rinke, 1228
- Beinart, William, and JoAnn McGregor, editors, "Social History and African Environments," 1293
- Belknap, Michal R. (R), 1210
- Bell, Rudolph M. (R), 1280
- Benninghaus, Christina, Mary Jo Maynes, and Birgitte Sølund, editors, "Secret Gardens, Satanic Mills: Placing Girls in European History, 1750–1960" (E), 1302
- Bensel, Richard Franklin, "The American Ballot Box in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," 1182
- Berghahn, V. R. (R), 1269
- Berkhoff, Karel C. (R), 1275
- Bernstein, David E. (R), 1206
- Berry, Stephen (R), 1188

- "Beware the British Serpent," by Calder, 1249
Beyond Words, by Auslander, 1015
 Bezucha, Robert (R), 1261
 Biale, David, editor, "Cultures of the Jews: A New History," 1121
 Bickers, Robert, "Empire Made Me: An Englishman Adrift in Shanghai," 1136
 "The Big Vote," by Gidlow, 1200
 Bingham, Adrian, "Gender, Modernity, and the Popular Press in Inter-War Britain," 1249
 "The Black Regulars, 1866–1898," by Dobak and Phillips, 1189
 "Blackett," by Nye, 1250
 Blackmar, Elizabeth (R), 1164
 Blanton, Dennis B., and Julia A. King, editors, "Indian and European Contact in Context: The Mid-Atlantic Region" (E), 1301
 "Blessed with Tourists," by Bremer, 1215
 Blethen, H. Tyler, and Richard A. Straw, editors, "High Mountains Rising: Appalachia in Time and Place," 1176
 Blumin, Stuart M. (R), 1168
 Boag, Peter, "Same-Sex Affairs: Constructing and Controlling Homosexuality in the Pacific Northwest," 1199
 Bodemann, Y. Michal, "A Jewish Family in Germany Today: An Intimate Portrait," 1278
 Bogener, Stephen, "Ditches Across the Desert: Irrigation in the Lower Pecos Valley," 1214
 "Books, Maps, and Politics," by Ostrowski, 1169
 "Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies," by Reinders, 1143
 Boterbloem, Kees, "The Life and Times of Andrei Zhdanov, 1896–1948," 1284
 Boyle, John H. (R), 1145
 Brady, Ciaran, and Jane Ohlmeyer, editors, "British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland" (E), 1303
 Brann, Ross, and Adam Sutcliffe, editors, "Renewing the Past, Reconfiguring Jewish Culture: From al-Andalus to the Haskalah," 1123
 Brasseaux, Carl A., and Keith P. Fontenot, "Steamboats on Louisiana's Bayous: A History and Directory," 1180
 Bremer, Thomas S., "Blessed with Tourists: The Borderlands of Religion and Tourism in San Antonio," 1215
 "Bringing the Empire Home," by Magubane, 1135
 "Bringing the War Home," by Varon, 1213
 Brinkley, Alan, Introduction to *AHR* Forum, 1046
 Brinson, Susan L., and J. Emmett Winn, editors, "Transmitting the Past: Historical and Cultural Perspectives in Broadcasting" (E), 1301
 "British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland," edited by Brady and Ohlmeyer (E), 1303
 Broad, John, "Transforming English Rural Society: The Verneys and the Claydons, 1600–1820," 1243
 Brodie, Marc, "The Politics of the Poor: The East End of London, 1885–1914," 1248
 Bross, Kristina, "Dry Bones and Indian Sermons: Praying Indians in Colonial America," 1161
 Brunelle, Gayle K. (R), 1255
 Bu, Liping (R), 1203
 Buchanan, Thomas C. (R), 1180
 Buckridge, Steeve O., "The Language of Dress: Resistance and Accommodation in Jamaica, 1760–1890," 1222
 Bud, Robert (R), 1250
 "Building the South Side," by Bachin, 1193
 Bullard, Melissa Meriam (R), 1279
 "Bullets and Bacilli," by Cirillo, 1196
 Burbank, Jane, "Russian Peasants Go to Court: Legal Culture in the Countryside, 1905–1917," 1284
 Burk, Robert F. (R), 1207
 Burney, Ian A. (R), 1132
 Butters, Gerald R., Jr. (R), 1198
 Byerly, Carol R. (R), 1196
 Calder, Robert, "Beware the British Serpent: The Role of Writers in British Propaganda in the United States 1939–1945," 1249
 Carrier, Hubert, "Le Labyrinthe de l'État: Essai sur le débat politique en France au temps de la Fronde (1648–1653)," 1256
 Carroll, Michael P. (R), 1215
 Carruthers, Bruce G. (R), 1244
 "Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile, 1910–1917," by Verba, 1227
 Cavender, Anthony, "Folk Medicine in Southern Appalachia," 1175
 Celenza, Christopher S. (R), 1283
 Chalcraft, John T., "The Striking Cabbies of Cairo and Other Stories: Crafts and Guilds in Egypt, 1863–1914," 1288
 Chandra, Sudhir (R), 1150
 Chatterjee, Indrani, editor, "Unfamiliar Relations: Family and History in South Asia," 1148
 Choksy, Jamsheed K. (R), 1125
 Chow, Kai-wing, "Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China," 1142
 "The Church in the Republic," by Parsons, 1254
 "The Church of England in Industrialising Society," by Snape, 1243
 "Circles and Lines," by Demos, 1163
 Cirillo, Vincent J., "Bullets and Bacilli: The Spanish-American War and Military Medicine," 1196
 "Civil Disorder is the Disease of Ibadan," by Watson, 1294
 Clemens, Elisabeth S., Julia Adams, and Ann Shola Orloff, editors, "Remaking Modernity: Politics, History, and Sociology" (E), 1300
 Cohen, Jeremy, "Sanctifying the Name of God: Jewish Martyrs and Jewish Memories of the First Crusade," 1234
 Cohen, Peter, 1137
 Cohen, Ronald D., and Robert M. Lichtman, "Deadly Farce: Harvey Matusow and the Informer System in the McCarthy Era," 1210
 Cohen, Shaye J. D. (R), 1233
 Cohn, Samuel K., Jr. (C), 1318
 Cole, Jennifer (R), 1298

- Cole, Michael, and Mary Pardo, editors, "Inventions of the Studio: Renaissance to Romanticism" (E), 1302
- Cole, Stephanie (R), 1185
- Coleman, Annie Gilbert, "Ski Style: Sport and Culture in the Rockies," 1216
- Colls, Robert, "Identity of England," 1247
- Comerford, R. V. (R), 1252
- Comment on Laura Kalman's Article*, by Leuchtenburg, 1081
- Conn, Steven, "History's Shadow: Native Americans and Historical Consciousness in the Nineteenth Century," 1174
- Connors, Richard, and Andrew Colin Gow, editors, "Anglo-American Millennialism, from Milton to the Millerites," 1131
- The Constitution, the Supreme Court, and the New Deal*, by Kalman, 1052
- Constitutional Change and the New Deal*, by White, 1094
- "Constructing Civil Liberties," by Kersch, 1206
- "Consuming Visions," by Kaufman, 1262
- Conte, Christopher (R), 1293
- "Converting California," by Sandos, 1160
- "Converting Women," by Kent, 1150
- Coombes, Annie E., "History After Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa," 1298
- "Corruption and Reform in the Teamsters Union," by Witwer, 1219
- Cortada, James W. (R), 1156
- Cosgrove, Denis (R), 1120
- Cox, Caroline, "A Proper Sense of Honor: Service and Sacrifice in George Washington's Army," 1165
- Crane, Richard, M.D. (C), 1318
- Crane, Susan A. (R), 1268
- Craven, Paul, and Douglas Hay, editors, "Masters, Servants, and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562-1955" (E), 1300
- Cravens, Hamilton (R), 1211
- "The Creation of The Media," by Starr, 1156
- "Creatures of Empire," by Anderson, 1158
- "Creeping Conformity," by Harris, 1155
- Crocco, Margaret S. (C), 1319
- Crone, Patricia, "God's Rule: Government and Islam," 1125
- Crosby, Alfred W. (R), 1158
- Cull, Nicholas J. (R), 1249
- "Cultural Change and the Market Revolution in America, 1789-1860," edited by Martin, 1168
- "Cultural Intermediaries," edited by Ruderman and Veltri, 1281
- "The Culture of Profession in Late Renaissance Italy," by McClure, 1280
- "Culture, Technology, and the Creation of America's National Parks," by Grusin, 1215
- "Cultures of the Jews," edited by Biale, 1121
- Dale, Richard, "The First Crash: Lessons from the South Sea Bubble," 1244
- "The Dark Side of Democracy," by Mann, 1138
- "Deadly Farce," by Lichtman and Cohen, 1210
- Dean, Carolyn J., "The Fragility of Empathy after the Holocaust," 1119
- Delton, Jennifer (R), 1212
- Demos, John, "Circles and Lines: The Shape of Life in Early America," 1163
- DeVault, Ileen A., "United Apart: Gender and the Rise of Craft Unionism," 1195
- Diefendorf, Jeffery M., editor, "Lessons and Legacies VI: New Currents in Holocaust Research" (E), 1302
- Dikötter, Frank, Lars Laamann, and Zhou Xun, "Narcotic Culture: A History of Drugs in China," 1144
- "Ditches Across the Desert," by Bogener, 1214
- Dobak, William A., and Thomas D. Phillips, "The Black Regulars, 1866-1898," 1189
- Dorsey, Allison, "To Build Our Lives Together: Community Formation in Black Atlanta, 1875-1906," 1192
- "Dry Bones and Indian Sermons," by Bross, 1161
- Dubois, Laurent (R), 1167
- Dudden, Alexis, "Japan's Colonization of Korea: Discourse and Power," 1147
- Dunand, Françoise, and Christiane Zivie-Coche, "Gods and Men in Egypt: 3000 BCE 395 CE," 1287
- "Dutra's World," by Frank, 1226
- Earle, Jonathan H., "Jacksonian Antislavery and the Politics of Free Soil, 1824-1854," 1179
- "Eating Smoke," by Tebeau, 1193
- "The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World," by McGinn, 1232
- Edwards, David, editor, "Regions and Rulers in Ireland, 1100-1650: Essays for Kenneth Nicholls" (E), 1303
- Eisenmann, Linda (R), 1202
- Ekechi, Felix K. (R), 1294
- Elbourne, Elizabeth (R), 1135
- Elkins, Caroline, "Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya," 1295
- Emberling, Heidi Schmidt, 1278
- "Embracing the East," by Yoshihara, 1201
- Emerson, Catherine, "Olivier de La Marche and the Rhetoric of Fifteenth-Century Historiography," 1117
- "Empire Made Me," by Bickers, 1136
- "Equal Rites," by Forsberg, 1172
- Etulain, Richard W. (R), 1120
- "Eugene McCarthy," by Sandbrook, 1212
- Evans, C. Wyatt, "The Legend of John Wilkes Booth: Myth, Memory, and a Mummy," 1187
- "Facing America," by Samuels, 1188
- "Faith in Reading," by Nord, 1171

- Falola, Toyin, "The Power of African Cultures," 1292
- Falola, Toyin (R), 1291
- Farrell, Sean (R), 1251
- "Fear," by Robin, 1139
- Feiner, Shmuel (R), 1121
- Fetter, Henry D., "Taking on the Yankees: Winning and Losing in the Business of Baseball, 1903–2003," 1217
- Fiege, Mark (R), 1214
- "Fine secolo," by Guazzaloca, 1134
- "The First Crash," by Dale, 1244
- Fischbach, Michael R., "Records of Dispossession: Palestinian Refugee Property and the Arab-Israeli Conflict," 1290
- Fischbach, Michael R. (R), 1289
- Fitzpatrick, Ellen (R), 1174
- Flanagan, Maureen A. (R), 1193
- Fogleman, Aaron Spencer (R), 1130
- "Folk Medicine in Southern Appalachia," by Cavender, 1175
- Fontenot, Keith P., and Carl A. Brasseaux, "Steamboats on Louisiana's Bayous: A History and Directory," 1180
- Forsberg, Clyde R., Jr., "Equal Rites: The Book of Mormon, Masonry, Gender, and American Culture," 1172
- "The Founding Fathers and the Politics of Character," by Trees, 1166
- "The Fragility of Empathy after the Holocaust," by Dean, 1119
- "Fragmented Memories," by Saikia, 1150
- Frank, Zephyr L., "Dutra's World: Wealth and Family in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro," 1226
- Frankfurter, David (R), 1287
- Freeman, Michael, "Victorians and the Prehistoric: Tracks to a Lost World," 1246
- Freeze, Gregory L. (R), 1284
- "From Cooperation to Complicity," by Hayes, 1272
- "From Racism to Genocide," by Schafft, 1273
- "Frontiers and Boundaries in U.S. History," edited by van Minnen and Hilton (E), 1301
- Fuller, Louise, "Irish Catholicism since 1950: The Undoing of a Culture," 1253
- Fuller, Robert C. (R), 1220
- Gallup-Diaz, Ignacio (R), 1224
- "Gandhinagar," by Kalia, 1151
- Garrioch, David, "The Making of Revolutionary Paris," 1257
- Gauvreau, Michael (R), 1154
- Gedge, Karin E., "Without Benefit of Clergy: Women and the Pastoral Relationship in Nineteenth-Century American Culture," 1173
- "Geistliche und Gestapo," edited by Kuropka (E), 1303
- "Gender, Modernity, and the Popular Press in Inter-War Britain," by Bingham, 1249
- "Genocide and Settler Society," edited by Moses, 1153
- Gerlach, Larry R., editor, "The Winter Olympics: From Chamonix to Salt Lake City," 1140
- "German History and Global Enterprise, BASF," by Abelshauser, 1271
- Gidlow, Liette, "The Big Vote: Gender, Consumer Culture, and the Politics of Exclusion, 1890s–1920s," 1200
- Gildrie, Richard P. (R), 1161
- Gitlin, Todd (R), 1213
- Gluck, Mary, "Popular Bohemia: Modernism and Urban Culture in Nineteenth-Century Paris," 1260
- "Gods and Men in Egypt," by Dunand and Zivie-Coche, 1287
- "God's Rule," by Crone, 1125
- Golan, Tal, "Laws of Men and Laws of Nature: The History of Scientific Expert Testimony in England and America," 1132
- Goldschmidt, Arthur, Jr. (R), 1288
- Goldstone, Jack A. (R), 1129
- Gordon, Wendy M. (R), 1195
- Gow, Andrew Colin, and Richard Connors, editors, "Anglo-American Millennialism, from Milton to the Millerites," 1131
- "Les grandes maisons du vignoble de Jerez (1834–1992)," by Lignon-Darmaillac, 1254
- Gray, Edward G. (R), 1166
- "The Great Land Rush and the Making of the Modern World, 1650–1900," by Weaver, 1127
- Green, Harvey (R), 1126
- Greene, Mott T. (R), 1246
- Greene, Victor, "A Singing Ambivalence: American Immigrants between Old World and New, 1830–1930," 1177
- Grimes, Robert R. (R), 1177
- "Growing Up in Hitler's Shadow," by Redding, 1277
- Grusin, Richard, "Culture, Technology, and the Creation of America's National Parks," 1215
- "The Guardians," by Kabaservice, 1211
- Guazzaloca, Giulia, "Fine secolo: Gli intellettuali italiani e inglesi e la crisi tra Otto e Novecento," 1134
- Guelzo, Allen C., "Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation: The End of Slavery in America," 1186
- Guice, John D. W. (R), 1127
- Guttmann, Allen (R), 1140
- Haas, Louis (R), 1240
- Hahn, Werner G. (R), 1284
- Haley, Evan W. (R), 1234
- Hall, Timothy L. (R), 1170
- "Harriet Tubman," by Humez, 1184
- Harring, Sidney L. (R), 1190
- Harris, Andrew T., "Policing the City: Crime and Legal Authority in London, 1780–1840," 1245
- Harris, Charles H., III, and Louis R. Sadler, "The Texas Rangers and the Mexican Revolution: The Bloodiest Decade, 1910–1920," 1197

- Harris, Richard, "Creeping Conformity: How Canada Became Suburban, 1900–1960," 1155
- Harrison, Joseph (R), 1254
- Hatfield, April Lee, "Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century," 1159
- Hay, Douglas, and Paul Craven, editors, "Masters, Servants, and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562–1955" (E), 1300
- Hayes, Peter, "From Cooperation to Complicity: Degussa in the Third Reich," 1272
- Hazareesingh, Sudhir, "The Saint-Napoleon: Celebrations of Sovereignty in Nineteenth-Century France," 1261
- Heinze, Andrew R., "Jews and the American Soul: Human Nature in the Twentieth Century," 1220
- Henriksen, Margot A. (R), 1139
- Henriot, Christian, and Wen-hsin Yeh, editors, "In the Shadow of the Rising Sun: Shanghai under Japanese Occupation," 1145
- Henriot, Christian (R), 1144
- Herrmann, David G. (R), 1270
- Heschel, Susannah (R), 1118
- Heuman, Gad (R), 1222
- Higbie, Frank Tobias, "Indispensable Outcasts: Hobo Workers and Community in the American Midwest, 1880–1930," 1194
- Higgs, Robert J. (R), 1176
- "High Mountains Rising," edited by Straw and Blethen, 1176
- Higman, B. W. (R), 1222
- Hilton, Sylvia L., and Cornelis A. /van Minnen, editors, "Frontiers and Boundaries in U.S. History" (E), 1301
- "Histories of the Hanged," by Anderson, 1295
- "History After Apartheid," by Coombes, 1298
- "History's Shadow," by Conn, 1174
- Hitchins, Keith (R), 1274
- "Hitler Youth," by Kater, 1276
- Holden, Robert H., "Armies without Nations: Public Violence and State Formation in Central America, 1821–1960," 1225
- "Home and Homelessness in the Medieval and Renaissance World," edited by Howe, 1240
- "Home Rule," by Jackson, 1252
- Homo sapiens 1900*, directed by Cohen, reviewed by Weikart, 1137
- "Honour in African History," by Iliffe, 1291
- Howe, Nicholas, editor, "Home and Homelessness in the Medieval and Renaissance World," 1240
- Hudson, Lynn M. (R), 1184
- Huffman, James L. (R), 1147
- Hull, Isabel V., "Absolute Destruction: Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany," 1269
- Humez, Jean M., "Harriet Tubman: The Life and the Life Stories," 1184
- "The Hundred Years War," edited by Villalon and Kagay (E), 1302
- Huneycutt, Lois L. (R), 1237
- "Identity of England," by Colls, 1247
- Igra, Anna R. (R), 1204
- Iliffe, John, "Honour in African History," 1291
- "The Imaginary Revolution," by Seidman, 1265
- "Imagining Zion," by Troen, 1289
- "Imperial Reckoning," by Elkins, 1295
- "In The Shadow of The Rising Sun," edited by Henriot and Yeh, 1145
- "Indian and European Contact in Context," edited by Blanton and King (E), 1301
- "Indispensable Outcasts," by Higbie, 1194
- Inscoe, John C. (R), 1192
- "International Exposure," edited by Sigel, 1241
- Introduction to *AHR* Forum, by Brinkley, 1046
- "Inventing Global Ecology," by Lewis, 1152
- "Inventing the Schlieffen Plan," by Zuber, 1270
- "Inventions of the Studio," edited by Cole and Pardo (E), 1302
- "Irish Catholicism since 1950," by Fuller, 1253
- "Irish Women and Nationalism," edited by Ryan and Ward (E), 1303
- Isern, Thomas D. (R), 1191
- Israel, Charles A., "Before Scopes: Evangelicalism, Education, and Evolution in Tennessee, 1870–1925," 1203
- Jackson, Alvin, "Home Rule: An Irish History, 1800–2000," 1252
- Jackson, Kennell A., Jr. (R), 1292
- Jackson, Kenneth T. (C), 1320
- "Jacksonian Antislavery and the Politics of Free Soil, 1824–1854," by Earle, 1179
- Jakle, John A., and Keith A. Sculle, "Lots of Parking: Land Use in a Car Culture," 1218
- James, Alan, "The Navy and Government in Early Modern France, 1572–1661," 1255
- James, Harold, "The Nazi Dictatorship and the Deutsche Bank," 1273
- Janiewski, Dolores, and Lois W. Banner, editors, "Reading Benedict/Reading Mead: Feminism, Race, and Imperial Visions" (E), 1300
- "Japan's Colonization of Korea," by Dudden, 1147
- Jarvis, Christina S., "The Male Body at War: American Masculinity During World War II," 1208
- "Des Jésuites au Royaume du Prêtre Jean (Éthiopie)," by Pennec, 1290
- "A Jewish Family in Germany Today," by Bodemann, 1278
- "Jews and the American Soul," by Heinze, 1220
- "John L. O'Sullivan and His Times," by Sampson, 1180
- Johnston, Robert D. (R), 1199
- Jordan, David P. (R), 1259
- Juster, Susan (R), 1173
- Kabaservice, Geoffrey, "The Guardians: Kingman Brewster, His Circle, and the Rise of the Liberal Establishment," 1211

- Kagay, Donald J., and L. J. Andrew Villalon, editors, "The Hundred Years War: A Wider Focus" (E), 1302
- Kaler, Amy, "Running After Pills: Politics, Gender, and Contraception in Colonial Zimbabwe," 1297
- Kalia, Ravi, "Gandhinagar: Building National Identity in Postcolonial India," 1151
- Kalman, Laura, *The Constitution, the Supreme Court, and the New Deal*, 1052
- Kammen, Michael, "A Time to Every Purpose: The Four Seasons in American Culture," 1164
- Karras, Alan L. (R), 1128
- Kasturi, Malavika (R), 1148
- Kater, Michael H., "Hitler Youth," 1276
- Kaufman, Suzanne K., "Consuming Visions: Mass Culture and the Lourdes Shrine," 1262
- Kaufmann, Thomas DaCosta, "Toward a Geography of Art," 1120
- Kent, Eliza F., "Converting Women: Gender and Protestant Christianity in Colonial South India," 1150
- Kent, F. W., "Lorenzo de' Medici and the Art of Magnificence," 1279
- Kent, Susan Kingsley (R), 1249
- Kersch, Ken I., "Constructing Civil Liberties: Discontinuities in the Development of American Constitutional Law," 1206
- Kettering, Sharon (R), 1256
- Kidd, Thomas S., "The Protestant Interest: New England after Puritanism," 1161
- King, Julia A., and Dennis B. Blanton, editors, "Indian and European Contact in Context: The Mid-Atlantic Region" (E), 1301
- Kingdom Of Heaven*, directed by Scott, reviewed by Aberth, 1235
- Kirby, David (R), 1267
- Klaniczay, Gábor, editor, "Procès de canonization au Moyen Âge: Aspects juridiques et religieux/Medieval Canonization Processes: Legal and Religious Aspects" (E), 1301
- Kleinschmidt, Harald, "People on the Move: Attitudes toward and Perceptions of Migration in Medieval and Modern Europe," 1241
- Klubock, Thomas Miller (R), 1230
- Kolbe, Laura (R), 1266
- Kselman, Thomas (R), 1264
- Kulikowski, Michael, "Late Roman Spain and Its Cities," 1234
- Kuropka, Joachim, editor, "Geistliche und Gestapo: Klerus zwischen Staatsallmacht und kirchlicher Hierarchie" (E), 1303
- Laamann, Lars, Frank Dikötter, and Zhou Xun, "Narcotic Culture: A History of Drugs in China," 1144
- LaCapra, Dominick (C), 1321
- "Le Labyrinthe de l'État," by Carrier, 1256
- Lang, Berel (R), 1119
- "The Language of Dress," by Buckridge, 1222
- "The Last Medieval Queens," by Laynesmith, 1237
- "Late Roman Spain and Its Cities," by Kulikowski, 1234
- "Laws of Men and Laws of Nature," by Golan, 1132
- Laynesmith, J. L., "The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445–1503," 1237
- Lear, John (R), 1229
- "The Legend of John Wilkes Booth," by Evans, 1187
- Lender, Mark Edward (R), 1165
- Lenoe, Matthew (C), 1323
- Leong, Karen J. (R), 1201
- "Lessons and Legacies VI," edited by Diefendorf (E), 1302
- Leuchtenburg, William E., *Comment on Laura Kalman's Article*, 1081
- Levenstein, Harvey, "We'll Always Have Paris: American Tourists in France Since 1930," 1141
- Levine, Philippa (R), 1136
- Levy, Peter B. (R), 1209
- Lewin, Linda (R), 1226
- Lewis, Bonnie Sue (R), 1160
- Lewis, Michael L., "Inventing Global Ecology: Tracking the Biodiversity Ideal in India, 1947–1997," 1152
- Lichtman, Robert M., and Ronald D. Cohen, "Deadly Farce: Harvey Matusow and the Informer System in the McCarthy Era," 1210
- "The Life and Times of Andrei Zhdanov, 1896–1948," by Boterbloem, 1284
- Lifshitz, Felice (R), 1117
- Lignon-Darmaillac, Sophie, "Les grandes maisons du vignoble de Jerez (1834–1992)," 1254
- "Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation," by Guelzo, 1186
- Lodwick, Kathleen L. (R), 1143
- "London in the Later Middle Ages," by Barron, 1238
- Longstreth, Richard (R), 1218
- "Looking Good," by Lowe, 1202
- "Lorenzo de' Medici and the Art of Magnificence," by Kent, 1279
- "Lots of Parking," by Jakle and Sculle, 1218
- Lowe, Margaret A., "Looking Good: College Women and Body Image, 1875–1930," 1202
- Lurie, Jonathan, "Military Justice in America: The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Armed Forces, 1775–1980," 1157
- Lynn-Sherow, Bonnie, "Red Earth: Race and Agriculture in Oklahoma Territory," 1191
- Mackey, Robert R., "The Uncivil War: Irregular Warfare in the Upper South, 1861–1865," 1188
- Magubane, Zine, "Bringing the Empire Home: Race, Class, and Gender in Britain and Colonial South Africa," 1135
- Mahoney, Timothy R. (R), 1194
- Majander, Mikko, "Pohjoismaa vai kansandemokratia? Sosiaalidemokratit, kommunistit ja Suomen kansainvälinen asema 1944–51," 1267

- "The Making of Revolutionary Paris," by Garrioch, 1257
- "The Male Body at War," by Jarvis, 1208
- Mandell, Nikki (R), 1200
- "Manliness and its Discontents," by Summers, 1198
- Mann, Michael, "The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing," 1138
- "Dai margini la memoria," by Rando, 1283
- Markus, Andrew (R), 1153
- "Marrow of the Nation," by Morris, 1144
- Martin, James (R), 1134
- Martin, Scott C., editor, "Cultural Change and the Market Revolution in America, 1789–1860," 1168
- Masseios, Jim (R), 1151
- "Masterful Women," by Wood, 1185
- "Masters, Servants, and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562–1955," edited by Hay and Craven (E), 1300
- Matthewson, Tim, "A Proslavery Foreign Policy: Haitian-American Relations during the Early Republic," 1167
- Maynes, Mary Jo, Birgitte Søland, and Christina Benninghaus, editors, "Secret Gardens, Satanic Mills: Placing Girls in European History, 1750–1960" (E), 1302
- McClure, George W., "The Culture of Profession in Late Renaissance Italy," 1280
- McCrosen, Alexis (R), 1163
- McGarvie, Mark Douglas, "One Nation Under Law: America's Early National Struggles to Separate Church and State," 1170
- McGinn, Thomas A. J., "The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World: A Study of Social History and the Brothel," 1232
- McGregor, JoAnn, and William Beinart, editors, "Social History and African Environments," 1293
- McKanna, Clare V., Jr., "The Trial of 'Indian Joe': Race and Justice in the Nineteenth-Century West," 1190
- McKivigan, John R. (R), 1183
- McLaren, Angus (R), 1241
- McMahon, Kevin J., "Reconsidering Roosevelt on Race: How the Presidency Paved the Road to Brown," 1207
- Mierzejewski, Alfred C. (R), 1271
- "Military Justice in America," by Lurie, 1157
- Miller, David W. (R), 1253
- Miller, Ylana N. (R), 1290
- Mills, James H. (R), 1144
- Miron, John R. (R), 1155
- Monteón, Michael (R), 1227
- Moore, R. Laurence (R), 1171
- Morley, Neville (R), 1231
- Morris, Andrew D., "Marrow of the Nation: A History of Sport and Physical Culture in Republican China," 1144
- Morrison, Michael A., and Melinda Zook, editors, "Revolutionary Currents: Nation Building in the Transatlantic World," 1129
- Moses, A. Dirk, editor, "Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History," 1153
- Murav, Harriet (R), 1124
- Murray, Michele, "Playing a Jewish Game: Gentile Christian Judaizing in the First and Second Centuries CE," 1233
- Myers, David N., "Resisting History: Historicism and Its Discontents in German-Jewish Thought," 1118
- "Narcotic Culture," by Dikötter, Laamann, and Xun, 1144
- "The Navy and Government in Early Modern France, 1572–1661," by James, 1255
- "The Nazi Dictatorship and the Deutsche Bank," by James, 1273
- "Negotiating with Imperialism," by Auslin, 1146
- Newcomer, Daniel, "Reconciling Modernity: Urban State Formation in 1940s León, Mexico," 1223
- Newitt, Malyn (R), 1290
- Newton, Michael A. (R), 1157
- Nicholas, David (R), 1238
- "No Bond but the Law," by Paton, 1222
- Nold, Patrick, "Pope John XXII and his Franciscan Cardinal: Bertrand de la Tour and the Apostolic Poverty Controversy," 1239
- Nord, David Paul, "Faith in Reading: Religious Publishing and the Birth of Mass Media in America," 1171
- Norwood, Stephen H. (R), 1219
- Nothnagle, Alan L. (R), 1277
- "Notorious in the Neighborhood," by Rothman, 1178
- Numbers, Ronald L. (R), 1203
- Nye, Mary Jo, "Blackett: Physics, War, and Politics in the Twentieth Century," 1250
- Ohlmeyer, Jane, and Ciaran Brady, editors, "British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland" (E), 1303
- "Olivier de La Marche and the Rhetoric of Fifteenth-Century Historiography," by Emerson, 1117
- Olsen, Margaret M., "Slavery and Salvation in Colonial Cartagena de Indias," 1224
- "On Foot," by Amato, 1126
- "One Nation Under Law," by McGarvie, 1170
- Orloff, Ann Shola, Julia Adams, and Elisabeth S. Clemens, editors, "Remaking Modernity: Politics, History, and Sociology" (E), 1300
- Osgerber, Bill (R), 1208
- Ostrowski, Carl, "Books, Maps, and Politics: A Cultural History of the Library of Congress, 1783–1861," 1169
- Otterness, Philip, "Becoming German: The 1709 Palatine Migration to New York," 1130
- Palmer, Bryan D. (C), 1322
- Palmer, Stanley H. (R), 1245

- Papayanis, Nicholas, "Planning Paris before Haussmann," 1259
- Pardo, Mary, and Michael Cole, editors, "Inventions of the Studio: Renaissance to Romanticism" (E), 1302
- Parent, Anthony S., Jr. (R), 1159
- Parsons, Jotham, "The Church in the Republic: Gallicanism and Political Ideology in Renaissance France," 1254
- Parsons, Timothy (R), 1295
- Pasley, Jeffrey L. (R), 1180
- "Pathways to Prohibition," by Szymanski, 1205
- Paton, Diana, "No Bond but the Law: Punishment, Race, and Gender in Jamaican State Formation, 1780–1870," 1222
- Pennec, Hervé, "Des Jésuites au Royaume du Prêtre Jean (Éthiopie): Stratégies, rencontres et tentatives d'implantation; 1495–1633," 1290
- Pennington, Kenneth (R), 1239
- "People on the Move," by Kleinschmidt, 1241
- Phillips, Thomas D., and William A. Dobak, "The Black Regulars, 1866–1898," 1189
- Pierson, Michael D. (R), 1179
- "Pity in Fin-de-Siècle French Culture," by Sánchez, 1264
- "Planning Paris before Haussmann," by Papayanis, 1259
- "Playing a Jewish Game," by Murray, 1233
- "Pohjoismaa vai kansandemokratia? Sosiaalidemokratit, kommunistit ja Suomen kansainvälinen asema 1944–51," by Majander, 1267
- "Poignant Relations," by Allen, 1263
- "Policing the City," by Harris, 1245
- "The Politics of the Poor," by Brodie, 1248
- "Pope John XXII and his Franciscan Cardinal," by Nold, 1239
- "Popular Bohemia," by Gluck, 1260
- "The Power of African Cultures," by Falola, 1292
- Powers, Madelon (R), 1205
- Pritchard, James (R), 1215
- "Procès de canonization au Moyen Âge," edited by Klaniczay (E), 1301
- "A Proper Sense of Honor," by Cox, 1165
- "A Proslavery Foreign Policy," by Matthewson, 1167
- "The Protestant Interest," by Kidd, 1161
- "Public Pensions," by Sterett, 1204
- "Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China," by Chow, 1142
- Purnell, Jennie (R), 1223
- Quinn, D. Michael (R), 1172
- Rai, Mridu (C), 1324
- Rando, Daniela, "Dai margini la memoria: Johannes Hinderbach (1418–1486)," 1283
- Rapaport, Lynn (R), 1278
- "Reading Benedict/Reading Mead," edited by Janiewski and Banner (E), 1300
- "Reconciling Modernity," by Newcomer, 1223
- "Reconsidering Roosevelt on Race," by McMahon, 1207
- "Records of Dispossession," by Fischbach, 1290
- "Red Earth," by Lynn-Sherow, 1191
- Redding, Kimberley A., "Growing Up in Hitler's Shadow: Remembering Youth in Postwar Berlin," 1277
- Reed, Christopher A. (R), 1142
- "Regions and Rulers in Ireland, 1100–1650," edited by Edwards (E), 1303
- Reinders, Eric, "Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies: Christian Missionaries Imagine Chinese Religion," 1143
- "Remaking Modernity," edited by Adams, Clemens, and Orloff (E), 1300
- "Remembering Pinochet's Chile," by Stern, 1230
- "Renewing the Past, Reconfiguring Jewish Culture," edited by Brann and Sutcliffe, 1123
- "Resisting History," by Myers, 1118
- "Return from the Archipelago," by Toker, 1286
- "Revolutionary Currents," edited by Morrison and Zook, 1129
- Richlin, Amy (R), 1232
- Rinke, Stefan, "Begegnungen mit dem Yankee: Nordamerikanisierung und soziokultureller Wandel in Chile (1898–1990)," 1228
- Robbins, Louise S. (R), 1169
- Robin, Corey, "Fear: The History of a Political Idea," 1139
- "Rome at War," by Rosenstein, 1231
- Rosenheim, James (R), 1243
- Rosenstein, Nathan, "Rome at War: Farms, Families, and Death in the Middle Republic," 1231
- Rosental, Paul-André (R), 1133
- Rothman, Joshua D., "Notorious in the Neighborhood: Sex and Families across the Color Line in Virginia, 1787–1861," 1178
- Ruderman, David B., and Giuseppe Veltri, editors, "Cultural Intermediaries: Jewish Intellectuals in Early Modern Italy," 1281
- "Running After Pills," by Kaler, 1297
- Rusnock, Andrea A., "Vital Accounts: Quantifying Health and Population in Eighteenth-Century England and France," 1133
- "Russian Peasants Go To Court. Legal Culture in the Countryside, 1905–1917," by Burbank, 1284
- Ryan, Louise, and Margaret Ward, editors, "Irish Women and Nationalism: Soldiers, New Women and Wicked Hags" (E), 1303
- "Sääty, sukupuoli, uskonto," by Antikainen, 1266
- Sadler, Louis R., and Charles H. Harris, III, "The Texas Rangers and the Mexican Revolution: The Bloodiest Decade, 1910–1920," 1197
- Sahlins, Marshall, "Apologies to Thucydides:

- Understanding History as Culture and Vice Versa," 1116
- Saikia, Yasmin, "Fragmented Memories: Struggling to be Tai-Ahom in India," 1150
- "The Saint-Napoleon," by Hazareesingh, 1261
- "Same-Sex Affairs," by Boag, 1199
- Sampson, Robert D., "John L. O'Sullivan and His Times," 1180
- Samuels, Shirley, "Facing America: Iconography and the Civil War," 1188
- Sánchez, Gonzalo J., Jr., "Pity in Fin-de-Siècle French Culture: Liberté, Egalité, Pitié," 1264
- "Sanctifying the Name of God," by Cohen, 1234
- Sandbrook, Dominic, "Eugene McCarthy: The Rise and Fall of Postwar American Liberalism," 1212
- Sandos, James A., "Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions," 1160
- Sappol, Michael, "A Traffic of Dead Bodies: Anatomy and Embodied Social Identity in Nineteenth-Century America," 1175
- Savage, Mike (R), 1248
- Sawislak, Karen (R), 1193
- Schafft, Gretchen E., "From Racism to Genocide: Anthropology in the Third Reich," 1273
- Schechter, Ronald (R), 1123
- Schmidt, Elizabeth, *Top Down or Bottom Up? Nationalist Mobilization Reconsidered, with Special Reference to Guinea (French West Africa)*, 975
- Schmidt, Elizabeth (R), 1297
- Schuler, Friedrich E. (R), 1228
- Schultheiss, Katrin (R), 1262
- Schwartz, Stuart B., editor, "Tropical Babylons: Sugar and the Making of the Atlantic World, 1450-1680," 1128
- Scott, Ridley, 1235
- Sculle, Keith A., and John A. Jakle, "Lots of Parking: Land Use in a Car Culture," 1218
- "Secret Gardens, Satanic Mills," edited by Maynes, Sølund, and Benninghaus (E), 1302
- "The Secular Jurisdiction of Monasteries in Anglo-Norman and Angevin England," by Shirley, 1236
- "Seeking Common Ground," by Tyack, 1203
- Seewann, Gerhard, and Mathias Beer, editors, "Südostforschung im Schatten des Dritten Reiches: Institutionen, Inhalte, Personen," 1274
- Seidman, Michael, "The Imaginary Revolution: Parisian Students and Workers in 1968," 1265
- "1798," by Bartlett, 1251
- Shalhope, Robert E. (R), 1162
- Shepherd, Ben, "War in the Wild East: The German Army and Soviet Partisans," 1275
- Shirley, Kevin L., "The Secular Jurisdiction of Monasteries in Anglo-Norman and Angevin England," 1236
- Shockley, Megan Taylor, "'We, Too, Are Americans': African American Women in Detroit and Richmond, 1940-54," 1209
- Sigel, Lisa Z., editor, "International Exposure: Perspectives on Modern European Pornography, 1800-2000," 1241
- Silverman, David J. (R), 1161
- "A Singing Ambivalence," by Greene, 1177
- Sivaramakrishnan, K. (R), 1152
- "Ski Style," by Coleman, 1216
- Skultans, Vieda (R), 1286
- Skuy, David, "Assassination, Politics, and Miracles: France and the Royalist Reaction of 1820," 1261
- "Slavery and Salvation in Colonial Cartagena de Indias," by Olsen, 1224
- Snape, M. F., "The Church of England in Industrialising Society: The Lancashire Parish of Whalley in the Eighteenth Century," 1243
- Snyder, Timothy (R), 1285
- "Social History and African Environments," edited by Beinart and McGregor, 1293
- Sølund, Birgitte, Mary Jo Maynes, and Christina Benninghaus, editors, "Secret Gardens, Satanic Mills: Placing Girls in European History, 1750-1960" (E), 1302
- Sølund, Birgitte (R), 1266
- Sonn, Richard D. (R), 1260
- Spaeth, Donald (R), 1243
- "Stalin's Empire of Memory," by Yekelchik, 1285
- Stanislawski, Michael, "Autobiographical Jews: Essays in Jewish Self-Fashioning," 1124
- Starr, Paul, "The Creation of The Media: Political Origins of Modern Communications," 1156
- "Steamboats on Louisiana's Bayous," by Brasseaux and Fontenot, 1180
- Steinberg, Jonathan (R), 1272
- Sterett, Susan M., "Public Pensions: Gender and Civic Service in the States, 1850-1937," 1204
- Stern, Steve J., "Remembering Pinochet's Chile: On the Eve of London 1998," 1230
- Stovall, Tyler (R), 1265
- Straw, Richard A., and H. Tyler Blethen, editors, "High Mountains Rising: Appalachia in Time and Place," 1176
- Straw, Richard A. (R), 1175
- "The Striking Cabbies of Cairo and Other Stories," by Chalcraft, 1288
- "Südostforschung im Schatten des Dritten Reiches," edited by Beer and Seewann, 1274
- Summers, Martin, "Manliness and its Discontents: The Black Middle Class and the Transformation of Masculinity, 1900-1930," 1198
- Sutcliffe, Adam, and Ross Brann, editors, "Renewing the Past, Reconfiguring Jewish Culture: From al-Andalus to the Haskalah," 1123
- Swami, Praveen (C), 1325
- Szymanski, Ann-Marie E., "Pathways to Prohibition: Radicals, Moderates, and Social Movement Outcomes," 1205
- "Taking on the Yankees," by Fetter, 1217
- Tanaka, Stefan (R), 1146
- Tangled Roots: Struggling with a Legacy of War*, directed by Emberling, reviewed by Rapaport, 1278
- Taylor, William B., *Two Shrines of the Cristo Renovado: Religion and Peasant Politics in Late Colonial Mexico*, 945

- Tebeau, Mark, "Eating Smoke: Fire in Urban America, 1800–1950," 1193
- "The Texas Rangers and the Mexican Revolution," by Harris and Sadler, 1197
- Thalmann, William G. (R), 1116
- Thornton, Stephen J. (C), 1319
- "A Time to Every Purpose," by Kammen, 1164
- Tirosh-Samuelson, Hava (R), 1281
- "To Build Our Lives Together," by Dorsey, 1192
- Toch, Michael (R), 1234
- Toews, John Edward, "Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and Public Memory in Early Nineteenth-Century Berlin," 1268
- Toker, Leona, "Return from the Archipelago: Narratives of Gulag Survivors," 1286
- Top Down or Bottom Up? Nationalist Mobilization Reconsidered, with Special Reference to Guinea (French West Africa)*, by Schmidt, 975
- "Toward a Geography of Art," by Kaufmann, 1120
- "A Traffic of Dead Bodies," by Sappol, 1175
- "Transforming English Rural Society," by Broad, 1243
- "Transmitting the Past," edited by Winn and Brinson (E), 1301
- Trees, Andrew S., "The Founding Fathers and the Politics of Character," 1166
- "The Trial of 'Indian Joe'," by McKanna, 1190
- Troen, S. Ilan, "Imagining Zion: Dreams, Designs, and Realities in a Century of Jewish Settlement," 1289
- "Tropical Babylons," edited by Schwartz, 1128
- Tunnell, Ted (R), 1189
- Turner, H. A. (R), 1273
- Turner, Thomas R. (R), 1187
- Two Shrines of the Cristo Renovado*, by Taylor, 945
- Tyack, David, "Seeking Common Ground: Public Schools in a Diverse Society," 1203
- Tygiel, Jules (R), 1217
- "The Uncivil War," by Mackey, 1188
- "Undressing the Maid," by Valenius, 1266
- "Unfamiliar Relations," edited by Chatterjee, 1148
- "United Apart," by DeVault, 1195
- Valenius, Johanna, "Undressing the Maid: Gender, Sexuality and the Body in the Construction of the Finnish Nation," 1266
- van Minnen, Cornelis A., and Sylvia L. Hilton, editors, "Frontiers and Boundaries in U.S. History" (E), 1301
- "The Varieties of Political Experience in Eighteenth-Century America," by Beeman, 1162
- Varon, Jeremy, "Bringing the War Home: The Weather Underground, the Red Army Faction, and Revolutionary Violence in the Sixties and Seventies," 1213
- Vaudry, Richard W., "Anglicans and the Atlantic World: High Churchmen, Evangelicals, and the Quebec Connection," 1154
- Veltri, Giuseppe, and David B. Ruderman, editors, "Cultural Intermediaries: Jewish Intellectuals in Early Modern Italy," 1281
- Verba, Ericka Kim, "Catholic Feminism and the Social Question in Chile, 1910–1917: The Liga de Damas Chilenas," 1227
- "Victims of the Chilean Miracle," edited by Winn, 1229
- "Victorians and the Prehistoric," by Freeman, 1246
- Villalon, L. J. Andrew, and Donald J. Kagay, editors, "The Hundred Years War: A Wider Focus" (E), 1302
- "Vital Accounts," by Rusnock, 1133
- Voss-Hubbard, Mark (R), 1182
- Walker, Lawrence D. (R), 1276
- Walton, Whitney (R), 1263
- "War in the Wild East," by Shepherd, 1275
- Ward, Margaret, and Louise Ryan, editors, "Irish Women and Nationalism: Soldiers, New Women and Wicked Hags" (E), 1303
- Watson, Ruth, "Civil Disorder is the Disease of Ibadan: Chieftaincy and Civic Culture in a Yoruba City," 1294
- "We, Too, Are Americans," by Shockley, 1209
- Weaver, John C., "The Great Land Rush and the Making of the Modern World, 1650–1900," 1127
- Webre, Stephen (R), 1225
- Weikart, Richard (C), 1322
- Weikart, Richard (R), 1137
- Weitz, Eric D. (R), 1138
- Wells, Robert V. (R), 1175
- "We'll Always Have Paris," by Levenstein, 1141
- White, G. Edward, *Constitutional Change and the New Deal*, 1094
- Williams, Chris (R), 1247
- Winkle, Kenneth J. (R), 1186
- Winn, J. Emmett, and Susan L. Brinson, editors, "Transmitting the Past: Historical and Cultural Perspectives in Broadcasting" (E), 1301
- Winn, Peter, editor, "Victims of the Chilean Miracle: Workers and Neoliberalism in the Pinochet Era, 1973–2002," 1229
- "The Winter Olympics," edited by Gerlach, 1140
- "Without Benefit of Clergy," by Gedge, 1173
- "Without Regard to Race," by Adeleke, 1183
- Witwer, David, "Corruption and Reform in the Teamsters Union," 1219
- Wolfe, Michael (R), 1254
- Wood, Kirsten E., "Masterful Women: Slaveholding Widows from the American Revolution through the Civil War," 1185
- Wood, Kirsten E. (R), 1178
- Wright, Johnson Kent (R), 1257
- "Writing Biography," edited by Ambrosius, 1120
- Xun, Zhou, Frank Dikötter, and Lars Laamann,

- "Narcotic Culture: A History of Drugs in China," 1144 Young, Robert J. (R), 1141
- Yeh, Wen-hsin, and Christian Henriot, editors, "In The Shadow of The Rising Sun: Shanghai under Japanese Occupation," 1145
- Yekelchik, Serhy, "Stalin's Empire of Memory: Russian-Ukrainian Relations in the Soviet Historical Imagination," 1285
- Yoshihara, Mari, "Embracing the East: White Women and American Orientalism," 1201
- Young, Elliott (R), 1197
- Zakai, Avihu (R), 1131
- Zimmerman, Andrew (C), 1323
- Zimmerman, Andrew (R), 1273
- Zivie-Coche, Christiane, and Françoise Dunand, "Gods and Men in Egypt: 3000 BCE 395 CE," 1287
- Zook, Melinda, and Michael A. Morrison, editors, "Revolutionary Currents: Nation Building in the Transatlantic World," 1129
- Zuber, Terence, "Inventing the Schlieffen Plan: German War Planning, 1871-1914," 1270

American Historical Association

Founded in 1884. Chartered by Congress in 1889.
Office: 400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003

President: James J. Sheehan, *Stanford University*
President-Elect: Linda K. Kerber, *University of Iowa*
Executive Director: Arnita A. Jones
Controller: Randy Norell

MEMBERSHIP: Persons interested in historical studies, whether professionally or otherwise, are invited to membership. The present membership and subscription total is approximately 18,000. Members elect the officers by ballot.

MEETINGS: The Association's next annual meeting will take place January 5–8, 2006, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Many professional historical groups meet within or jointly with the Association at this time. The Pacific Coast Branch holds separate meetings on the Pacific Coast and publishes the *Pacific Historical Review*.

PUBLICATIONS AND SERVICES: The *American Historical Review* is published five times a year and is sent to all members. It is available by subscription to institutions. The Association also publishes *Perspectives* (a newsmagazine with classified listings) and a variety of pamphlets on historical subjects. To promote history and assist historians, the Association offers other services, including an Institutional Services Program. It also maintains close relations with international, specialized, state, and local historical societies through conferences and correspondence.

BOOK PRIZES: The *Herbert Baxter Adams Prize*, awarded annually for a first book in the field of European history. The *AHA Prize in Atlantic History*, awarded annually for an outstanding book in the history of the Atlantic worlds before the twentieth century. The *George Louis Beer Prize*, awarded annually for a book on any phase of European international history since 1895. The *Albert J. Beveridge Award*, given annually for the best book on the history of the United States, Latin America, or Canada since 1492. The *Paul Birdsall Prize*, awarded biennially for a major work by a U.S. or Canadian historian in European military and strategic history since 1870. The *James Henry Breasted Prize*, awarded annually for the best book in English in any field of history prior to 1000 A.D. The *Albert B. Corey Prize*, awarded biennially for the best book on the history of Canadian-American relations, administered jointly with the Canadian Historical Association. The *John H. Dunning Prize*, awarded biennially for a book on any subject in U.S. history. The *John E. Fagg Prize*, awarded annually for the best publication in the history of Spain, Portugal, or Latin America. The *John K. Fairbank Prize*, awarded annually for East Asian history substantially after the year 1800. The *Herbert Feis Award*, given annually for a book, article, series of articles, or policy paper by an independent scholar or

public historian. The *Morris D. Forkosch Prize*, awarded annually to the best book in British, British imperial, or British Commonwealth history. The *Leo Gershoy Award*, given annually for outstanding work in seventeenth- or eighteenth-century western European history. The *Clarence H. Haring Prize*, awarded every five years for Latin American history by a Latin American. The *J. Franklin Jameson Award*, given every five years for outstanding editorial achievement. The *Joan Kelly Memorial Prize*, awarded annually for the best book in women's history. The *Waldo G. Leland Prize*, awarded every five years for the most outstanding reference tool. The *Littleton-Griswold Prize*, awarded annually for the best work on the history of American law and society. The *J. Russell Major Prize*, awarded annually for the best work in English on any aspect of French history. The *Helen and Howard R. Marraro Prize*, awarded annually for Italian or Italian-U.S. history. The *George L. Mosse Prize*, awarded annually for European intellectual and cultural history since the Renaissance. The *John E. O'Connor Film Award*, given annually for outstanding interpretations of history through the medium of film or video. The *Premio del Rey Prize*, awarded biennially for early Spanish history and culture (500–1516 A.D.). The *James Harvey Robinson Prize*, awarded biennially for the teaching aid that has made the most outstanding contribution to the teaching of history. The *Wesley-Logan Prize*, awarded annually in African Diaspora history by the AHA and the Association for the Study of African American Life and History. Book prizes are awarded at each AHA annual meeting.

DUES: For Contributing Members, \$173; for incomes over \$70,000, \$138; over \$55,000, \$114; over \$45,000, \$102; over \$35,000, \$87; over \$20,000, \$75; under \$20,000, \$41; for students, \$36; for teachers of K–12 (AHA/OHT/SHE) without the *AHR*, \$62; for K–12 with the *AHR*, \$90; for joint members or spouse/partners, \$41; for emeritus and retired historians, \$51; for associate members (nonhistorians), \$51. A life membership is \$2,600. Non-U.S. members add \$20 for postage. For a JSTOR subscription, add \$15. Members receive the *American Historical Review*, *Perspectives*, and the program of the annual meeting.

CORRESPONDENCE: Inquiries should be addressed to Executive Director, 400 A St. SE, Washington, DC 20003. Our e-mail address is aha@historians.org. Our web address is <http://www.historians.org>.

American Historical Review

Founded in 1895

The *AHR* is sent to all members of the American Historical Association; information concerning membership will be found on the preceding page. The *AHR* is also available to institutions by subscription. Subscription rates:

Class I (*AHR* only)

Type 1: Small colleges, high schools, historical organizations, government agencies, public institutions, and libraries, \$250. Subscription agency discount, 10 percent. Foreign subscribers add \$12 for postage.

Type 2: Graduate universities—master's and doctoral institutions as determined by the Carnegie Classification system—and foreign institutions requesting more than five (5) IP addresses, \$325. Subscription agency discount, 10 percent. Foreign subscribers add \$12 for postage.

Class II (*AHR*, *Perspectives*, and the annual meeting program)

Type 1: Small colleges, high schools, historical organizations, government agencies, public institutions, and libraries, \$275. Subscription agency discount, 10 percent. Foreign subscribers add \$15 for postage.

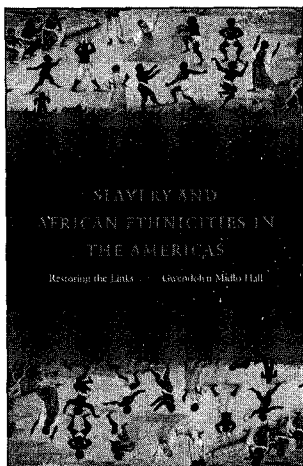
Type 2: Graduate universities—master's and doctoral institutions as determined by the Carnegie Classification system—and foreign institutions requesting more than five (5) IP addresses, \$350. Subscription agency discount, 10 percent. Foreign subscribers add \$15 for postage.

Single copies of the *AHR* are available through the membership office at \$30 per copy for issues in volume 103 (1999) through volume 110 (2005). Volumes up to 102 (1997) may be purchased from Periodical Services Company, 11 Main St., Germantown, NY 12526.

Institutional subscribers now have full access to the online version of the *American Historical Review*, including both current issues and the archive of back issues going back to June 1999. Access is made available through the History Cooperative, a joint project with the Organization of American Historians, the University of Illinois Press, and the National Academies Press. Access is enabled through the use of institutional IP numbers. To activate access for your institution, use the form at <http://www.historians.org/HistoryCoop/>.

Because of rising publication, storage, postage, and handling costs, we must limit the number of copies published for each publication. Notice of nonreceipt of an issue must be sent to the Membership Manager of the Association within three months of the date of publication for domestic addresses and five months for foreign. Changes of address should be sent to the Membership Manager by the first of the month preceding the month of publication. The Association is not responsible for copies lost because of failure to report a change of address in time for mailing. The Association cannot accommodate changes of address that are effective only for the summer months.

Correspondence regarding contributions and books for review should be sent to Editor, American Historical Review, 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, IN 47401. For further information on the submission of manuscripts, see page ii at the front of this issue.



Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas

Restoring the Links

GWENDOLYN MIDLO HALL

The survival of African ethnic identities through 400 years of Atlantic slave trade.

"This is a work of major importance. Its breadth of comprehension and depth of research put the entire subject on a new empirical foundation." —David Hackett Fischer, Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *Washington's Crossing*
248 pp., 24 illus. \$34.95 cl

Nation and Citizen in the Dominican Republic, 1880–1916

TERESITA MARTÍNEZ-VERGNE

"Brimming with original sources and distinguished by its comparative perspective, this book illuminates the political imaginary of the Dominican intelligentsia at the turn of the 20th century and shows how both elite and subaltern urban populations sought to mold and exploit nascent state institutions, citizenship rights, and discourses of 'progress.' The book will be useful for scholars of modern Latin American history as well as of modernity at large." —Richard Lee Turits, University of Michigan
Approx. 288 pp. \$59.95 cl / \$24.95 pa

The Imagined Island

History, Identity, and Utopia in Hispaniola

PEDRO L. SAN MIGUEL

Translated by Jane Ramírez

"This book has begun to change the way in which Dominican and Caribbean historiography is written. . . . San Miguel's paradigm is based on dialogue, on finding common ground, and on a new historical relationship between the two countries. His book is innovative, particularly in its political and ethical grounding and its methodological, theoretical, and conceptual approaches."
—Félix V. Matos-Rodríguez, Hunter College

Latin America in Translation/en Traducción/em Tradução

208 pp. \$59.95 cl / \$22.50 pa

Children of the Father King

Youth, Authority, and Legal Minority in Colonial Lima

BIANCA PREMO

"[This] impressive and pioneering book . . . brings to life the streets, courts, schools, and households of colonial Lima. [Premo's] nuanced arguments not only illuminate the lives of children, but also challenge simplistic notions about patriarchy, show how Spanish law was modified in a colonial setting, and reveal the impact of the Enlightenment on everyday lives. This elegantly written work is destined to become a classic." —Silvia Marina Arrom, Brandeis University

368 pp. \$59.95 cl / \$24.95 pa

U.S. Intervention in British Guiana

A Cold War Story

STEPHEN G. RABE

"Rabe skillfully analyzes the mix of racial, geopolitical, developmental, and sexual assumptions out of which American strategists drew their tragic misinterpretations of Guianese events. . . . [He] shows [that] cultural preconceptions shaped policy as much, or more, than economic or political interests. Rabe has recovered a crucial episode in the cold war and interpreted it with verve and sophistication." —Nick Cullather, author of *Secret History*

The New Cold War History

256 pp. \$45.00 cl / \$19.95 pa

Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine

WENDY LOWER

"Lower presents an extremely important addition to our knowledge of the eastern front in the Second World War. By treating the Holocaust and German colonization policies at the local level, Lower presents social history as the consequence of political history. The 'bottom-up' and the 'top-down' perspectives are beautifully integrated here." —Timothy Snyder, Yale University

Published in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

328 pp., 21 illus. \$49.95 cl

The Papers of General Nathanael Greene

Vol. XIII: 22 May 1783–13 June 1786, with Additions to the Series

NATHANAEL GREENE

Roger N. Parks, Editor; Elizabeth C. Stevens, Associate Editor; Dennis M. Conrad, Contributing Editor; Assisted by Nathaniel N. Shipton

This thirteenth and final volume includes correspondence up to Greene's death and concludes with an epilogue and a series addendum of 46 documents.

Published for the Rhode Island Historical Society

Approx. 848 pp. \$95.00 cl

The University of **NORTH CAROLINA** Press

publishing excellence since 1922 | at bookstores or 800-848-6224 | www.uncpress.unc.edu

Reading the World

Beyond Chutzpah

On the Misuse of Anti-Semitism
and the Abuse of History

NORMAN G. FINKELSTEIN

"A very solid, important and highly informative book. Finkelstein provides extensive details and analysis, with considerable historical depth and expert research, of a very wide range of issues concerning Israel, the Palestinians, and the U.S."

—Noam Chomsky, author of *Hegemony or Survival*

\$22.50 cloth

NEW IN PAPERBACK Between Memory and Desire

The Middle East in a Troubled Age

R. STEPHEN HUMPHREYS

Updated with a New Preface

"Humphreys brings a historian's deep and dispassionate perspective to the modern Middle East. In *Between Memory and Desire*, he poses incisive questions, elaborates convincing arguments and does not shy from tackling the prickliest of topics. All this is achieved with an eye for telling detail and a concise style."

—Max Rodenbeck, *New York Times Book Review*

\$17.95 paper

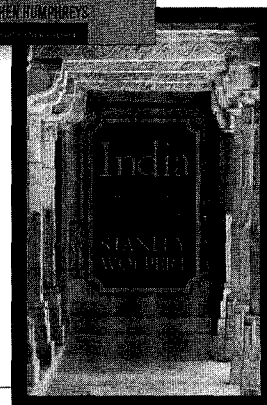
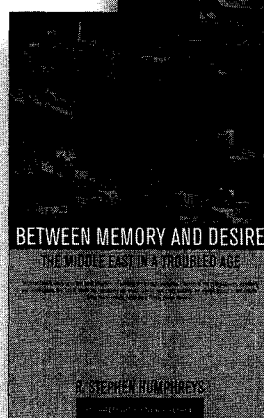
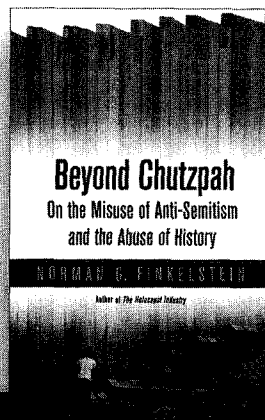
India

STANLEY WOLPERT

Third Edition With a New Preface

"If one were to read a single book about India in a lifetime, this should be it."—*Library Journal*

\$18.95 paper



CONGRATULATIONS

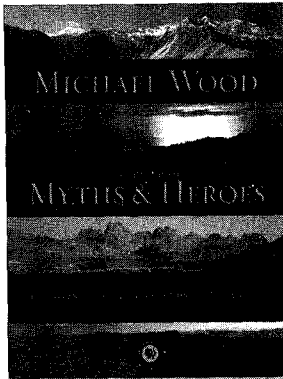
Benjamin Nathans, author of *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia*, winner of the W. Bruce Lincoln Prize, American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies

Timothy Brook, author of *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China*, winner of the François-Xavier Garneau Medal, Canadian Historical Association

Ruth Rogaski, author of *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China*, winner of the Berkshire Conference First Book Prize, Berkshire Conference of Women Historians

David Christian, author of *Maps of Time: An Introduction to Big History*, winner of the World History Association Annual Book Prize

AT BOOKSTORES OR ORDER (800) 822-6657 • WWW.UCPRESS.EDU
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS



Global Explorations

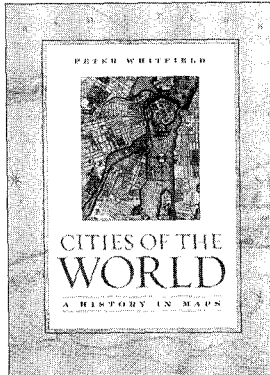
In Search of Myths and Heroes

Exploring Four Epic Legends of the World

MICHAEL WOOD

In this compelling new book, accompanying the PBS television series of the same name, historian Michael Wood goes in search of four powerful legends: Shangri-La, the Golden Fleece, the Queen of Sheba, and the Holy Grail. gorgeously illustrated, *In Search of Myths and Heroes* is a series of real journeys to real places and an encounter with the living descendants of the ancient cultures that produced the four legends.

\$24.95 cloth



Cities of the World

A History in Maps

PETER WHITFIELD

Cities of the World traces the historic form and special character of the world's greatest cities through a breathtaking collection of maps and panoramic views. Whitfield presents an extremely wide range of maps, historic prints, and photographs from many periods that show how the architectural form and the social life of our cities have been shaped. This beautiful, unique book captures the richness of the urban fabric and reflects the collective memory of each metropolis.

\$39.95 cloth

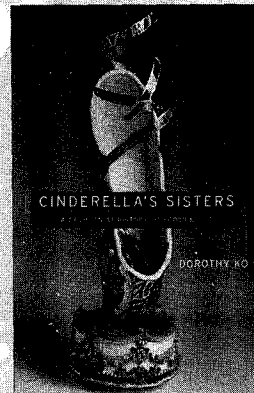
Cinderella's Sisters

A Revisionist History of Footbinding

DOROTHY KO

"Ko's daring in taking on the difficult subject of footbinding has resulted in a tour-de-force. In *Cinderella's Sisters* she rises above nationalist, feminist, and Orientalist polemic to place footbinding clearly in the domain of the history of fashion."—Charlotte Furth, author of *A Flourishing Yin*

\$29.95 cloth



Isami's House

Three Centuries of a Japanese Family

GAIL LEE BERNSTEIN

"There simply is no other book like this. No other family history presents such a range of insights into the ways in which individuals, women as well as men, have had to cope with changes wrought by the social modernization of Japanese family culture."

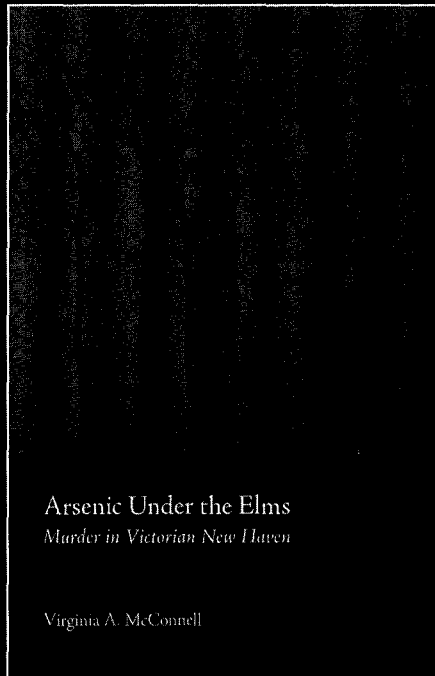
—James L. McClain, author of *Japan: A Modern History*

\$50.00 cloth, \$19.95 paper



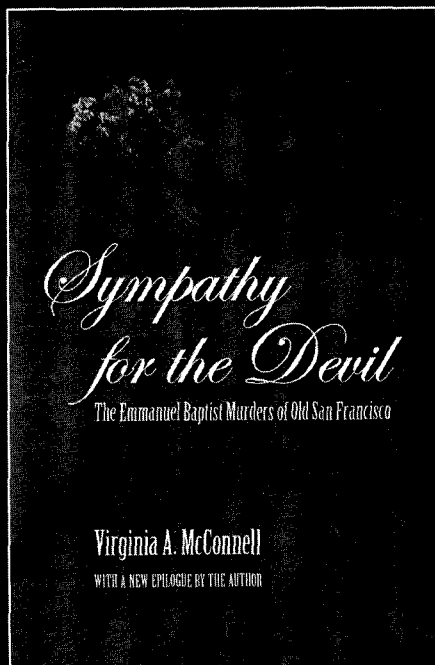
At BOOKSTORES OR ORDER (800) 822-6657 • WWW.UCPRESS.EDU

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS



Arsenic Under the Elms
Murder in Victorian New Haven

Virginia A. McConnell



***Sympathy
for the Devil***
The Emmanuel Baptist Murders of Old San Francisco

Virginia A. McConnell
WITH A NEW EPILOGUE BY THE AUTHOR

Arsenic Under the Elms

Murder in Victorian New Haven
VIRGINIA A. MCCONNELL
"[McConnell] places the events firmly in cultural context, providing a fascinating glimpse into the arenas of late nineteenth-century law, journalism, morality, and social structure. A superb piece of historical detection that will gratify true-crime buffs."

—*Booklist*

\$19.95 paper
978-0-8032-8309-1

Sympathy for the Devil

The Emmanuel Baptist Murders of Old San Francisco
VIRGINIA A. MCCONNELL
On the day before Easter Sunday 1895, the stabbed and strangled body of Minnie Williams was found in Emmanuel Baptist Church in San Francisco's Mission District. Another grisly discovery was made in the belfry: the decomposing body of another young woman. Police were led to Theo Durrant.

Virginia A. McConnell demonstrates that Durrant was exactly what he seemed to be and examines the extensive press coverage of the case and the effect of the murders on San Francisco.

\$24.95 paper
978-0-8032-8310-7

UNIVERSITY OF
NEBRASKA
PRESS

www.nebraskapress.unl.edu
order toll free 1.800.755.1105

journals in

history

from cambridge

Comparative Studies in Society and History

CSSH sets up a working alliance among specialists in all branches of the social sciences and humanities, serving as an international forum for multidisciplinary research concerning the problems of recurrent patterning and change in human societies through time and in the contemporary world.

quarterly • volume 47, 2005 • issn 0010-4175

institutions, print + online: \$160 • institutions, online only: \$133 • individuals, print only: \$53

Contemporary European History

Including cultural, economic, international, political and social historical treatments of the varied countries of Eastern and Western Europe and the UK, while maintaining a concentrated focus on the period of 1918 to the present, *Contemporary European History* successfully achieves range as well as depth.

quarterly • volume 14, 2005 • issn 0960-7773

institutions, print + online: \$171 • institutions, online only: \$140 • individuals, print only: \$58

Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race

A peer-reviewed journal devoted to research and criticism on race in the social sciences, *DBR* provides a forum for discussion and increased understanding of race and society from a range of disciplines, including but not limited to economics, political science, sociology, anthropology, law, communications, psychology, public policy, and history.

semi-annual • volume 2, 2005 • issn 1742-058x

institutions, print + online: \$138 • institutions, online only: \$115 • individuals, print only: \$65

The Historical Journal

The Historical Journal represents the best contemporary scholarship on all aspects of British, European and world history since the fifteenth century, publishing articles and communications as well as reviews of recent historical literature.

quarterly • volume 48, 2005 • issn 0018-246X

institutions, print + online: \$305 • institutions, online only: \$257 • individuals, print only: \$99

International Labor and Working-Class History

Exploring diverse topics from globalisation and workers rights to class and consumption, labour movements, class identity, unions, working-class politics, and the state of labour history around the world, the cross-disciplinary approach of *ILWCH* is of value to historians, sociologists, political scientists and students.

semi-annual • volumes 67-68, 2005 • issn 0147-5479

institutions, print + online: \$83 • institutions, online only: \$69 • individuals, print only: \$35

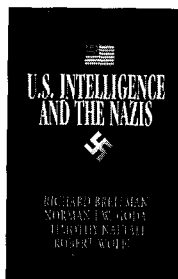
CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

40 west 20th street, new york, ny 10011
tel: (800) 872-7423 • fax: (845) 353-4141
e-mail: journals_marketing@cup.org

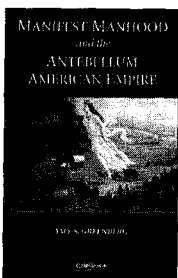
web: <http://www.journals.cambridge.org>

CAMBRIDGE

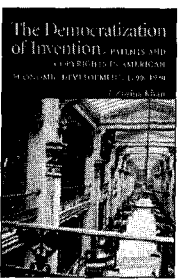
NEW AND NOTEWORTHY

**U.S. Intelligence
and the Nazis**Richard Breitman, Norman J.W. Goda,
Timothy Naftali, and Robert Wolfe508pp/28 halftones/2 tables
\$70.00: Hardback: 0-521-85268-4
\$24.99: Paperback: 0-521-61794-4**Black Crescent***The Experience and Legacy of
African Muslims in the Americas*

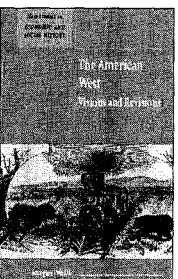
Michael A. Gomez

396pp/7 halftones
\$65.00: Hardback: 0-521-84095-3
\$22.99: Paperback: 0-521-60079-0**Manifest Manhood
and the Antebellum
American Empire**

Amy S. Greenberg

342pp/32 halftones
\$75.00: Hardback: 0-521-84096-1
\$25.99: Paperback: 0-521-60080-4**Beyond Garrison
Antislavery and Social Reform**

Bruce Laurie

328pp/16 halftones/15 line diagrams/
34 tables
\$65.00: Hardback: 0-521-84408-8
\$23.99: Paperback: 0-521-60517-2**Quest for Identity
America Since 1945**

Randall Bennett Woods

608pp/7 line diagrams/5 tables
\$75.00: Hardback: 0-521-84065-1
\$34.99: Paperback: 0-521-54997-3**Reversing Sail***A History of the African Diaspora*

Michael A. Gomez

New Approaches to African History 3
248pp/6 halftones/6 line diagrams
\$55.00: Hardback: 0-521-80662-3
\$19.99: Paperback: 0-521-00135-8**Faith and Boundaries***Colonists, Christianity, and Community
among the Wampanoag Indians of
Martha's Vineyard, 1600-1871*

David J. Silverman

Studies in North American Indian History
328pp/7 halftones/9 line diagrams/9 tables
\$60.00: Hardback: 0-521-84280-8**The Democratization of
Invention***Patents and Copyrights in American
Economic Development, 1790-1920*

B. Zorina Khan

344pp/3 halftones/9 line diagrams/37 tables
\$60.00: Hardback: 0-521-81135-X**Freedom***A Documentary History of Emancipation,
1861-1867*

Volume 1: Land and Labor, 1865

Edited by Steven Hahn,
Steven F. Miller, Susan E. O'Donovan,
John C. Rodrigue, and
Leslie S. Rowland4 halftones/10 line diagrams
\$90.00: Hardback: 0-521-22980-4**The American West***Visions and Revisions*

Margaret Walsh

New Studies in Economic and Social History 50
180pp/5 maps/4 tables
\$40.00: Hardback: 0-521-59333-6
\$14.99: Paperback: 0-521-59671-8

*Prices subject to change.

For more information, please visit us at
www.cambridge.org/us or call toll-free at 1-800-872-7423CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE

FROM CAMBRIDGE

**The Narrative of
Robert Adams,
A Barbary Captive**
A Critical Edition

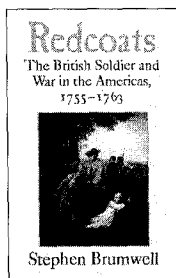
Robert Adams

Edited by Charles Hansford Adams

c.272pp/4 line diagrams/3 tables/2 maps

\$65.00: Hardback: 0-521-84284-0

\$20.00: Paperback: 0-52160373-0



Redcoats

**The British Soldier and
War in the Americas, 1755-1763**

Stephen Brumwell

c.360pp

\$21.99*: Paperback: 0-521-67538-3

**The Mind of the
Master Class**

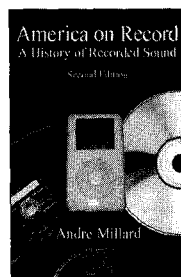
**History and Faith in the
Southern Slaveholders' Worldview**

Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and
Eugene D. Genovese

824pp

\$75.00: Hardback: 0-521-85065-7

\$31.99: Paperback: 0-521-61562-3



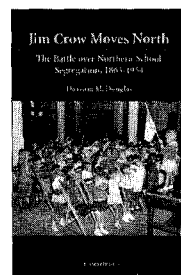
**Congress and the
Cold War**

Robert David Johnson

c.344pp

\$70.00: Hardback: 0-521-82133-9

\$25.99: Paperback: 0-521- 52885-2



America on Record

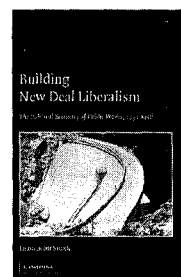
A History of Recorded Sound
Second Edition

Andre Millard

c.468pp/41 halftones/10 line diagrams

\$65.00*: Hardback: 0-521-83515-1

\$29.99*: Paperback: 0-521-54281-2



Jim Crow Moves North

**The Battle Over Northern School
Segregation, 1865-1954**

Davison M. Douglas

*Cambridge Historical Studies in American Law
and Society*

c.344pp/17 halftones/1 color illustration

\$70.00: Hardback: 0-521-84564-5

\$24.99: Paperback: 0-521-60783-3

**American Women Authors
and Literary Property,
1822-1869**

Melissa J. Homestead

c.370pp

\$60.00*: Hardback: 0-521-85382-6

**Building New Deal
Liberalism**

**The Political Economy of Public Works,
1933-1956**

Jason Scott Smith

304pp/24 halftones/24 line diagrams/4 tables

\$75.00: Hardback: 0-521-82805-8

**The History of the
Supreme Court of the
United States**

**Vol.12: The Birth of the Modern
Constitution: The U.S. Supreme Court,
1941-1953**

William M. Wiecek

*The Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise History of
the Supreme Court of the United States*

c.1067pp/32 halftones

\$85.00*: Hardback: 0-521-84820-2

*Prices subject to change.

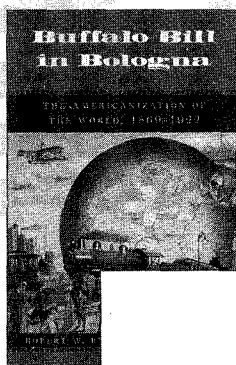
For more information, please visit us at
www.cambridge.org/us or call toll-free at 1-800-872-7423



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

American History

NEW BOOKS FROM CHICAGO



BUFFALO BILL IN BOLOGNA

The Americanization of the World, 1869-1922

Robert W. Rydell and Rob Kroes

"This interdisciplinary work moves from the transcontinental railroad's epochal completion in 1869, which produced a continuous market, to the patenting of ambient music transmission in 1922. . . . A gratifying entry into the marketplace of ideas."—*Library Journal*

CLOTH \$26.00

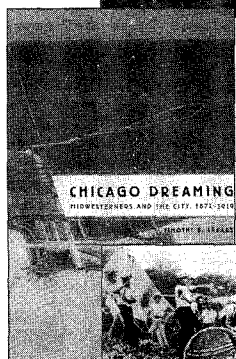
MEN IN THE MIDDLE

Searching for Masculinity in the 1950s

James Gilbert

"James Gilbert looks at an array of cultural figures and material from the 1950s that, as a whole, offers an exciting and entertaining illustration of the diversity of public images of masculinity during this period. This boldly revisionist study challenges the popular view that a 'crisis of masculinity' provoked by an increasingly 'feminized' culture constituted, for men, the decade's dominant theme. I warmly recommend this astute and pleasurable new interpretation of an often misunderstood period of postwar American life."—Paul S. Boyer, author of *Promises to Keep: The United States since World War II*

CLOTH \$39.00



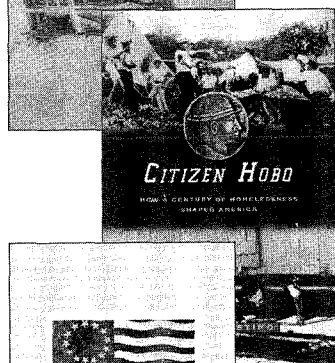
CHICAGO DREAMING

Midwesterners and the City, 1871-1919

Timothy B. Spears

"*Chicago Dreaming* is about imagining city life. Where William Cronon revealed to us the material relationships between Chicago and its hinterlands, Timothy Spears explores the cultural ties in those early years when the city exploded with energy. *Chicago Dreaming* captures how Midwestern migrants to the city created a metropolis of the mind. This is first-rate cultural history."—Elliott Gorn, Brown University

PAPER \$20.00



Now in paperback

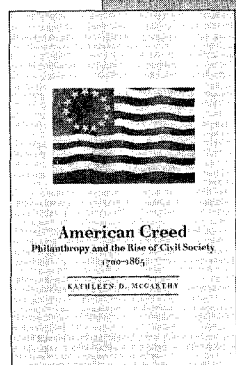
CITIZEN HOBO

How a Century of Homelessness Shaped America

Todd DePastino

"Todd DePastino has produced a fascinating history of the American hobo. His study of tramps and migrant workers brings vividly to life an important element of American society that has too often been neglected by historians."—Kenneth L. Kusmer, author of *Down and Out, On the Road*

PAPER \$20.00



AMERICAN CREED

Philanthropy and the Rise of Civil Society, 1700-1865

Kathleen D. McCarthy

"While her riveting history of civil society from the founding to the Civil War focuses on philanthropy and religion, it is laced with keen insights into the place of civil disorder, repression, chivalry, and feminism in the American social order. This is history at its best. A work that is truly pertinent to our times."—Benjamin Barber

PAPER \$28.50

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS • 1427 East 60th Street, Chicago, IL 60637 • www.press.uchicago.edu

History

NEW BOOKS FROM CHICAGO



QUEER LONDON

Perils and Pleasures in the Sexual Metropolis,
1918–1957

Matt Houlbrook

"An intensely readable book. *Queer London* comes alive as never before in this subtle and highly intelligent analysis. . . . This is the world we have lost, but through knowing it better we can begin to understand afresh the world we have won."—Jeffrey Weeks, author of *Same Sex Intimacies*

CLOTH \$29.00

LOGICS OF HISTORY

Social Theory and Social Transformation
William H. Sewell Jr.

"A truly significant work. *Logics of History* will set the agenda for theoretical discussion about the nature of social transformations and the relation between history and the social sciences for years to come."—Keith Baker, Stanford University

CHICAGO STUDIES IN PRACTICES OF MEANING
PAPER \$27.50

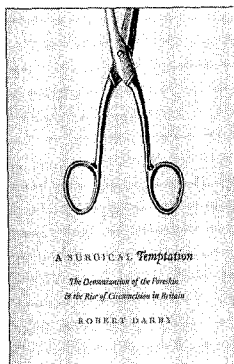
A SURGICAL TEMPTATION

The Demonization of the Foreskin and the Rise of
Circumcision in Britain

Robert Darby

"If *A Surgical Temptation* were merely a history of circumcision in Britain, it would succeed. But it is much more than that. For Robert Darby, medical debates about circumcision become a window through which to address bigger themes—the ways in which medical attitudes about male sexuality developed and changed slowly from the eighteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century."—Michael Kimmel, SUNY, Stony Brook

CLOTH \$35.00



BOURDIEU'S SECRET ADMIRER IN THE CAUCASUS

A World-System Biography
Georgi M. Derluguian

"Derluguian is endowed with a special ability to show how the grinding wheels of world history affect actual human lives."—William H. McNeill, author of *Plagues and Peoples*

PAPER \$25.00

NAILS IN THE WALL

Catholic Nuns in Reformation Germany

Amy Leonard

"Original and interesting, the conclusions are based on thorough research, and the analysis is clearly presented. *Nails in the Wall* is an important contribution to our understanding of religious change in early modern Europe and the way in which practical, local considerations often trumped dogma and rhetoric."—Sarah A. Curtis, author of *Educating the Faithful*

WOMEN IN CULTURE AND SOCIETY
CLOTH \$45.00

Now in paperback

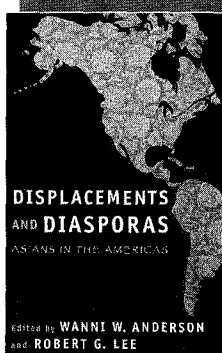
DEATH BY DRAMA AND OTHER MEDIEVAL URBAN LEGENDS

Jody Enders

"Jody Enders has written that rare book that is both deeply learned and intellectually entertaining. By asking astute questions of several relatively obscure texts, she gets to the heart of what makes late medieval drama so captivating. I can't remember the last time I've learned so much while having so much fun!"—Richard K. Emmerson, editor of *Speculum*

PAPER \$28.50

RUTGERS . . .  **that's sharp thinking.**



Displacements and Diasporas

Asians in the Americas

Edited by Wanni W. Anderson and Robert G. Lee

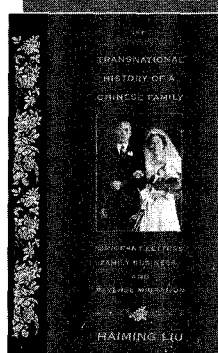
"A timely and fresh contribution to engaged scholarship on Asians in the Americas. This is one of the few books that grapples seriously with the diasporic and

transnational lives of Asian Americans, in all their complicated and unresolved nuances."

—Yen Le Espiritu, author of *Home Bound: Filipino American Lives across Cultures, Communities, and Countries*

320 PAGES

PAPER \$24.95 • 0-8135-3611-1



The Transnational History of a Chinese Family

Immigrant Letters, Family Business, and Reverse Migration

Haiming Liu

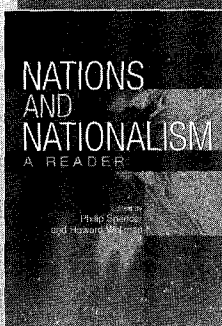
"An important history of Chinese American transnationalism, this book provides valuable insights into lesser known aspects of these

immigrant lives, and allows us to understand Asian American history through the well-documented experiences of a family."

—Yong Chen, author of *Chinese San Francisco, 1850-1943: A Transpacific Community*

256 PAGES • 16 B&W ILLUSTRATIONS

PAPER \$23.95 • 0-8135-3597-2



Nations and Nationalism

A Reader

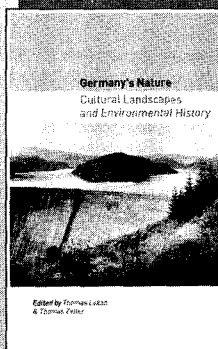
Edited by Philip Spencer and Howard Wollman

Nationalism has become a topic of wide-ranging significance and heated debate over recent years, with a huge expansion in the

amount of literature available. Bringing together the best and most representative of these writings, *Nations and Nationalism* is an essential reader for students of political theory, history, and related fields.

384 PAGES

PAPER \$29.95 • 0-8135-3626-X



Germany's Nature

Cultural Landscapes and Environmental History

Edited by Thomas Lekan and Thomas Zeller

"This collection offers substantial contributions to debates about Germany's modernity and the continuities of

its modern history from a field that has not been amply represented among Germanists, but deserves to find its place among comparative and cultural approaches to German history."

—Susan A. Crane, University of Arizona

256 PAGES • 1 MAP • 1 TABLE

CLOTH \$54.95 • 0-8135-3667-7



RUTGERS UNIVERSITY PRESS

Saving minds from boring reading since 1936

To order, call 800-446-9323
or visit rutgerspress.rutgers.edu

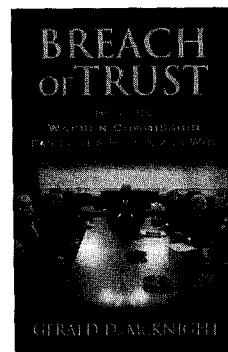
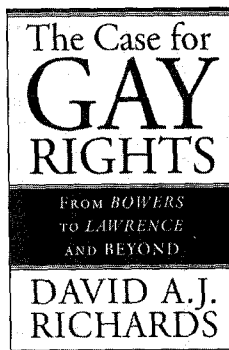
KANSAS

The Case for Gay Rights From Bowers to Lawrence and Beyond

David A.J. Richards

"This book captivated me, gripped my attention. The interweaving of a personal quest for an ethical voice and open identity with the quest to affirm equal protection of gay rights is original and leads to astonishing insights. . . . A brilliant and incisive work."—Carol Gilligan, author of *In a Different Voice* and *The Birth of Pleasure*

256 pages, Cloth \$29.95



Money and Free Speech Campaign Finance Reform and the Courts

Melvin I. Urofsky

"A splendid, concise, lucid, and highly readable history of the politics of campaign finance reform and the leading rulings of the Supreme Court on the matter. It is also timely, useful for understanding the ongoing dialogue and debate over the subject."—David M. O'Brien, author of *Storm Center: The Supreme Court in American Politics*

336 pages, Cloth \$29.95

Breach of Trust How the Warren Commission Failed the Nation and Why

Gerald D. McKnight

"Just when scholars deemed the John F. Kennedy assassination 'case closed,' along comes Gerald McKnight to shatter certain fundamental assumptions. *Breach of Trust* is a shrewd, well-researched, deeply provocative investigation into the gross delinquencies of the Warren Commission. Essential reading for anybody trying to solve the twentieth century's great murder mystery."

—Douglas Brinkley, James H. Clark Professor of U.S. History and Director of the Theodore Roosevelt Center at Tulane University

"Adds immeasurably to our knowledge of the assassination and ensuing investigation."

—Michael L. Kurtz, author of *The Crime of the Century: The Kennedy Assassination from a Historian's Perspective*

512 pages, 21 photographs, Cloth \$29.95

Announcing a new series:

American Presidential Elections

Michael Nelson and John McCardell, series editors

Reagan's Victory The Presidential Election of 1980 and the Rise of the Right

Andrew E. Busch

"Busch tells an important story here about what he calls 'the Earthquake of 1980.' Well-organized, well-paced, and well-argued, this is a first-rate political history."—Gil Troy, author of *Morning in America: How Ronald Reagan Invented the 1980s*

200 pages, 12 photographs, Cloth \$35.00,
Paper \$16.95



Nancy Reagan On the White House Stage

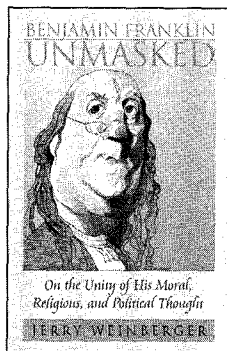
James G. Benze, Jr.

"Alternately described as manipulative and caring, Nancy Reagan was an enigmatic first lady. Benze provides a richly detailed and unvarnished portrait of the former actress, who considered her role as Ronald Reagan's wife her most satisfying and important challenge."—Myra G. Gutin, author of *The President's Partner: The First Lady in the Twentieth Century*

Modern First Ladies

200 pages, 10 photographs, Cloth \$25.00

KANSAS



Benjamin Franklin Unmasked **On the Unity of His Moral, Religious,** **and Political Thought**

Jerry Weinberger

"Franklin's many masks are examined and lifted to disclose the one real man—a thinker—behind them. Weinberger gives us the radical truth about Franklin in a book that is a delight to read."—Harvey Mansfield, author of *America's Constitutional Soul*

American Political Thought
352 pages, Cloth \$34.95

Social Security **History and Politics from the New Deal** **to the Privatization Debate**

Daniel Béland

"A theoretically informed, historically accurate, and valuable guide to Social Security's development. . . . Serves as an ideal vantage point from which to view today's debate."—Edward D. Berkowitz, author of *Mr. Social Security: The Life of Wilbur J. Cohen*

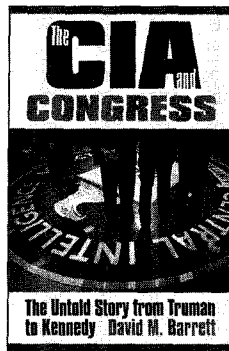
Studies in Government and Public Policy
264 pages, Cloth \$29.95

Working the Navajo Way **Labor and Culture in the Twentieth** **Century**

Colleen O'Neill

"A carefully crafted narrative that joins Indian and labor history to show how Navajos engaged with the modern economy on their own terms. . . . An original, important, and eye-opening story."—Sherry L. Smith, author of *Reimagining Indians*

224 pages, 25 photographs, Cloth \$29.95



The CIA and Congress **The Untold Story from Truman to** **Kennedy**

David M. Barrett

"Barrett reveals a CIA that made its own rules, wrote its own budget, classified its own secrets, and persuaded the Congress to like it. A rich and fabulous story that sheds new light on just about every significant episode in the first decades of the Cold War and confirms what many have long suspected—secrecy is the great enemy of democracy, and vice versa."—Thomas Powers, author of *Intelligence Wars: American Secret History from Hitler to Al-Qaeda*

"A fascinating read and a model of thorough research that fills in many gaps in our knowledge of intelligence oversight during some of the most anxious years of the Cold War."—Loch K. Johnson, author of *Secret Agencies: U.S. Intelligence in a Hostile World*
544 pages, Cloth \$39.95

Chronic Politics **Health Care Security from FDR to** **George W. Bush**

Philip J. Funigiello

"An incisive political history of our most notorious and persistent public policy failure that moves seamlessly from the early days of the twentieth century to the health politics of our own time. . . . Will interest those who want to understand the past, as well as those who want to shape the future."—Colin Gordon, author of *Dead on Arrival: The Politics of Health Care in Twentieth-Century America*
424 pages, Cloth \$39.95

The Shoshone-Bannocks **Culture and Commerce at Fort Hall,** **1870–1940**

John W. Heaton

"A smart study of the culturally innovative ways in which Shoshones and Bannocks, as individuals and as groups, navigated their movement into an emerging agricultural market economy and survived, even thrived, culturally and economically."—David Rich Lewis, author of *Neither Wolf nor Dog: American Indians, Environment, and Agrarian Change*
336 pages, 20 photographs, Cloth \$39.95

KANSAS

The German Way of War From the Thirty Years War to the Third Reich

Robert M. Citino

"Citino combines colossal scholarship with massively entertaining material. It is all here: the great captains from Frederick the Great to Erich von Manstein, the great theorists from Clausewitz and Moltke to Schlieffen and Guderian, the pivotal battles that shaped European history, and a humanist's splendid recreation at every turn of the ambiance of the German army and Central Europe."—Geoffrey Wawro, author of *The Franco-Prussian War*

Modern War Studies

336 pages, 38 photographs, Cloth \$34.95

The War for Korea, 1945–1950

A House Burning

Allan R. Millett

"Millett is one of the very best military historians writing today and his book far surpasses any other in describing and analyzing the military dimensions of events leading up to North Korea's attack on South Korea in June 1950."—William Stueck, author of *The Korean War in World History*

Modern War Studies

376 pages, 34 photographs, 5 maps, Cloth \$39.95

Red Commanders

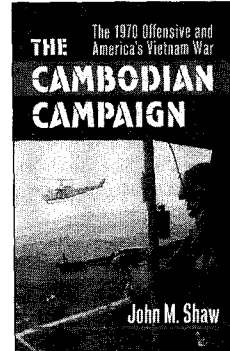
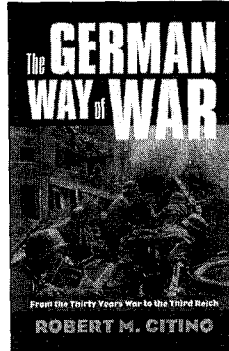
A Social History of the Soviet Army Officer Corps, 1918–1991

Roger R. Reese

"Reese, one of the foremost social historians of the Red Army, draws upon newly available sources from the Soviet Army archives to provide a balanced study filled with new insights."—Mark L. von Hagen, author of *Soldiers in the Proletarian Dictatorship: The Red Army and the Soviet State, 1917–1930*

Modern War Studies

336 pages, 12 photographs, Cloth \$35.00



The Cambodian Campaign The 1970 Offensive and America's Vietnam War

John M. Shaw

"Stunning in its research and highly sophisticated in its analysis, this is far and away the best study we have of the tactics and strategy used during the invasion of Cambodia."—Robert K. Brigham, author of *Guerrilla Diplomacy*

Modern War Studies

352 pages, 29 photographs, 8 maps, Cloth \$34.95

Landmark Law Cases and American Society

Peter Charles Hoffer and N.E.H. Hull, series editors

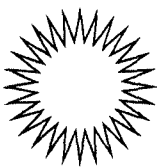
The Slaughterhouse Cases Regulation, Reconstruction, and the Fourteenth Amendment

Abridged Edition

Ronald M. Labbé and Jonathan Lurie

"Labbé and Lurie have painted, with graceful style, a magnificent panorama of a key episode of nineteenth-century legal history. . . . From their vivid description of the public health hazards afflicting nineteenth-century New Orleans to their superb chapter surveying the Supreme Court led by Chief Justice Chase, this is compellingly readable history."—*Journal of American History*

200 pages, Paper \$15.95



Available at bookstores or from the press.

VISA, MasterCard, and American Express accepted.

University Press of Kansas

Phone (785) 864-4155 • Fax (785) 864-4586 • www.kansaspress.ku.edu

Paid by UPK

History from YALE

1945

The War That Never Ended
GREGOR DALLAS

"[Dallas's book] opens new vistas of consideration, it arranges facts, often well-known ones, in new relationships and it offers opportunities to revise previously entrenched ideas. . . . This is a **not-to-be-forgotten** read by an author of outstanding quality."

—Noble Frankland, *The Spectator*
39 illus. \$40.00



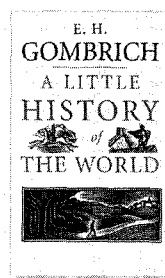
A Little History of the World

E.H. GOMBRICH

Translated by Caroline Mustill
Illustrated by Clifford Harper

"A brilliant piece of narrative, splendidly organized, told with an energy and confidence that are enormously attractive, and suffused with all the humanity and generosity of spirit that Gombrich's thousands of admirers came to cherish during his long and richly productive life. It's a wonderful surprise: irresistible, in fact."

—Philip Pullman 40 illus. \$25.00



Shopping in the Renaissance

Consumer Cultures in Italy, 1400–1600
EVELYN WELCH

This fascinating and original book breaks new ground in the area of Renaissance material culture, focusing on the marketplace and such related topics as middle-class to courtly consumption and the provision of foodstuffs.

80 b/w + 40 color illus. \$45.00



Diary, 1901–1969

KORNEI CHUKOVSKY

Edited by Victor Erlich

Translated by Michael Henry Heim

This compelling diary of one of the most important twentieth-century Russian men of letters "opens a window into the world of the Russian intelligentsia over a long and tumultuous period." —Carol J. Avins \$45.00

We Wept Without Tears

Testimonies of the Jewish Sonderkommando from Auschwitz

GIDEON GREIF

"This is a book that must be read by all who dare draw close to the killing, those who dare to come close—as close as non-survivors can come—to the inferno." —Michael Berenbaum

Copublished with The Sue and Leonard Miller Center for Contemporary Judaic Studies at the University of Miami
\$50.00

New in Paper

American Judaism

A History

JONATHAN D. SARNA

"The first stop for scholars and students interested in exploring the religious dimensions of Jewish life in America. . . . A masterful overview." —Jeffrey S. Gurock, *American Historical Review*

Winner of the 2004 National Jewish Book Award—Everett Family Foundation Jewish Book of the Year Award given by the Jewish Book Council; Co-winner of the American Jewish Historical Society's Saul Wiener Prize for the Outstanding Book in American Jewish History, 2003–2004; Winner of the Weinberg Judaic Studies Institute 2005 Prize for Best Book in American Jewish Studies. 43 illus. \$20.00 paperback

The Enlightenment and the Intellectual Foundations of Modern Culture

LOUIS DUPRÉ

"A marvel of scholarly erudition. . . . Formidably well-researched, . . . [this] would make an excellent introduction to Enlightenment ideas for the general reader." —Terry Eagleton, *Harper's Magazine* \$25.00 paperback

Vixi

Memoirs of a Non-Belonger

RICHARD PIPES

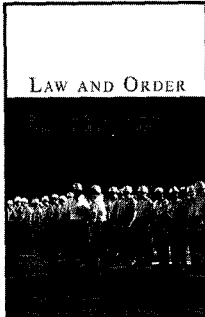
"It is hard to imagine a more interesting life, or one better told." —*Economist*
46 illus. \$19.00 paperback



YALE University Press • yalebooks.com



COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS



Law and Order

Street Crime, Civil Unrest, and the Crisis of Liberalism in the 1960s

Michael W. Flamm

"[A]n exceptionally smart, utterly realistic, and splendidly narrated study of a vital political issue."—Michael Kazin, Georgetown University, coauthor, *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s*

Law and Order offers a valuable new look at the history of the 1960s, presenting a sophisticated account of how conservatives used the issue of law and order to transform the landscape of American politics.



A Revolution in Eating

How the Quest for Food Shaped America

James E. McWilliams

"A delightfully incisive account of a fascinating subject. McWilliams traces the culinary folkways of Americans of the colonial period and demonstrates that we are what they ate."—H. W. Brands, University of Texas at Austin

In *A Revolution in Eating*, James E. McWilliams presents a colorful and spirited tour of culinary attitudes, tastes, and techniques throughout colonial America.



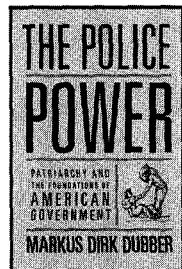
The Columbia Documentary History of Religion in America Since 1945

Paul Harvey and Philip Goff

"[A] wonderful collection of relevant sources and insightful commentary."
—Lawrence Snyder, Western Kentucky University

The Columbia Documentary History of Religion in America Since 1945 contains nearly one hundred primary documents and offers a panoramic view of the vitality, contentiousness, and multiplicity of American religious life.

New in Paperback



The Police Power

Patriarchy and the Foundations of American Government

Markus Dirk Dubber

"A remarkable learned tour through the history of human coercion, and a plea for a criminal law that embraces once and for all the values of autonomy, this is a book by a leading figure in American criminal law scholarship."

—James Q. Whitman, author of *Harsh Justice: Criminal Punishment and the Widening Divide Between America and Europe*



Inventing Iraq

The Failure of Nation Building and a History Denied

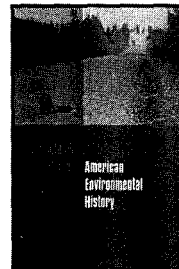
WITH A NEW PREFACE

Toby Dodge

A sobering look back at the first attempt by a Western power to remake Iraq in its own image.

"For Dodge, the Americans running things in Baghdad have learned little from the British experience in Iraq. This book ought to be required reading for them."

—Mike Schuster, *NPR*,
"All Things Considered"



The Columbia Guide to American Environmental History

Carolyn Merchant

"This is a one-volume resource not to be missed. It will be our primary reference work on American environmental history."—John Opie, *Environmental History*

columbia.edu/cu/cup

New from Virginia

Roosevelt, the Great Depression, and the Economics of Recovery

Elliot A. Rosen

"Rosen's erudition and authority are impressive; the organization is logical; the style is lucid. I doubt if anyone knows more about 1930s economic policy." —Theodore Rosenof, author of *Economics in the Long Run: New Deal Theorists and Their Legacies, 1933–1993*

\$39.50 cloth



Murder at Morija

Faith, Mystery, and Tragedy on an African Mission

Tim Couzens

Written and researched with extraordinary care, this is a brilliant piece of detective work, but it is also much more. It is the biography of a deeply committed man, and a history of the Christian mission he served in an isolated African country to whose people and language he devoted his life before it was brutally cut short in strange circumstances.

Reconsiderations in Southern African History
\$25.00 paper

Revolution in America Considerations and Comparisons

Don Higginbotham

"The dean of American Revolutionary historians has produced yet another superb essay collection. Don Higginbotham takes the measure of George Washington and his colleagues, showing why these great men mattered and illuminating the cultural contexts and institutional developments that shaped their careers." —Peter S. Onuf, Thomas Jefferson Foundation Professor of History, University of Virginia

\$49.50 cloth, \$19.50 paper

NEW IN PAPER

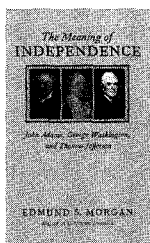
The Meaning of Independence

John Adams, George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson

Edmund S. Morgan

"There's simply no better way of comprehending Washington and Adams than reading this book. . . . Morgan is a supremely artful historian." —*Atlantic*

\$12.95 paper



How Societies Are Born Governance in West Central Africa before 1600

Jan Vansina

"*How Societies Are Born* represents a political and agrarian history of a period and region for which absolutely no scholarly histories have been written, and Vansina possesses rare and unmatched skills in marshaling a recalcitrant and multilingual body of historical sources." —David Schoenbrun, Northwestern University

\$24.50 paper



DISTRIBUTED FOR THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Henry Adams and the Need to Know

Edited by William Merrill Decker and Earl N. Harbert

For Henry Adams at the turn of the twentieth century, as for his successors in the twenty-first, the relation of mind to a world remade by technology and geopolitical conflict largely determined the destiny of civil life. *Henry Adams and the Need to Know* presents fourteen essays that articulate Adams's ongoing preoccupation with knowledge, stressing his eclecticism and his need to clarify the role of critical intelligence in public life.

\$50.00 cloth



The World of John Winthrop England and New England, 1588–1649

Edited by Francis J. Bremer and Lynn A. Botelho

When John Winthrop, first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, emigrated from Stuart England to America, he and the colonists who accompanied him carried much of their culture with them. Written by leading English and American scholars, the essays in *The World of John Winthrop: England and New England, 1588–1649* vigorously assert a new unity to the transatlantic and Puritan, Anglo-American sphere, integrating the English and colonial stories from a refreshingly single perspective.

\$50.00 cloth

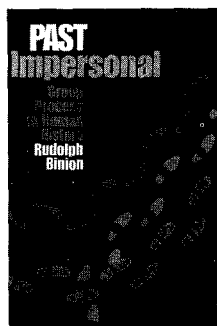


UNIVERSITY OF
VIRGINIA PRESS

800-831-3406

www.upress.virginia.edu

Northern Illinois



Past Impersonal

Group Process in
Human History
Rudolph Binion

"The work is a gem ... includes psychohistory, demographic history, cultural history, social history, and literary history. Few scholars have mastered so many fields at once; perhaps none have forged such effective links between them."—John Demos, Yale University

218 pp. 0-87580-345-8 \$38.00 cloth

Sister Societies

Women's Antislavery
Organizations in Antebellum
America

Beth A. Salerno

Salerno documents ties of kinship and friendship that drew women into the more than 200 exclusively female antislavery societies scattered across the free states from the 1820s through the Civil War.

243 pp., illus. 0-87580-338-5 \$38.00 cloth

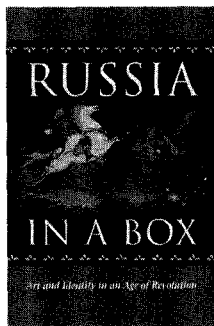
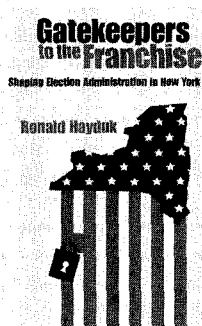
Gatekeepers to the Franchise

Shaping Election
Administration in New York
Ronald Hayduk

"In the aftermath of Bush v. Gore, and in the wake of election reforms including new federal legislation, Hayduk addresses an important issue at the right time."

—Richard L. Hasen, Loyola Law School

291 pp. 0-87580-341-5 \$35.00 cloth



Beyond Enlightenment

Occultism and Politics in
Modern France
David Allen Harvey

Exploring the irrational side of the Age of Reason, David Harvey examines the social, political, and metaphysical doctrines of one of Europe's most intriguing occultist movements—Martinism.

275 pp. 0-87580-344-X \$38.00 cloth

Russia in a Box

Art and Identity in an
Age of Revolution
Andrew L. Jenks

Tracing the history of Palekh and its artists from 1814 to 1991, Andrew Jenks shows how this rural Russian village, known first for its production of religious icons and later for its black lacquer boxes, played a unique role in the emergence of nationalism.

274 pp., 27 illus. 0-87580-339-3 \$38.00 cloth

Tales of Old Odessa

Crime and Civility in
a City of Thieves
Roshanna P. Sylvester

Sylvester uses stories from the popular press to reveal the inner life of Odessa in the years before World War I and to analyze the broader issues of urbanization.

288 pp. 0-87580-346-6 \$38.00 cloth

Men, Women, and the Birthing of Modern Science

Edited by Judith P. Zinsser

Ten scholars trace the division of natural philosophy and science and the gradual marginalization of women as intellectuals.

216 pp. 0-87580-340-7 \$38.00 cloth

The Ancient Constitution and the Origins of Anglo-American Liberty

John Phillip Reid

"[Reid] makes a fine case for his view that ancient legal constitutional concepts were among the most important causes of the American Revolution."—Stephen Presser, Northwestern University School of Law

196 pp. 0-87580-342-3 \$32.00 cloth

Pubs and Progressives

Reinventing the Public House
in England, 1896–1960

David W. Gutzke

In this astonishing story of the transformation of the pub, Gutzke draws on an array of sources and methods to illustrate how brewers' Progressive ideas led them to create an "improved public house."

356 pp., illus. 0-87580-335-0 \$45.00 cloth

The Irony of State Intervention American Industrial Relations Policy in Comparative Perspective, 1914–1939

Larry G. Gerber

By comparing the United States to Britain, Gerber makes clear that in the development of industrial relations policies, ideology was secondary to economic realities—the structure of business, the market system, and the configuration of unions.

246 pp. 0-87580-347-4 \$40.00 cloth



Northern Illinois University Press

DeKalb 60115 815.753.1826 www.niupress.niu.edu





SODOM
on the Thames
Morris B. Kaplan



AGENTS OF EMPIRE
Michael J. Levin



THE DEFEAT OF SOLIDARITY
David Ost



DEMOCRATIC HOPE
Pragmatism and the Politics of Truth
Robert B. Westbrook



BACK IN BERLIN
Celia Applegate

New Titles in History From Cornell University Press

Sodom on the Thames

Sex, Love, and Scandal in Wilde Times
Morris B. Kaplan

"Morris B. Kaplan has gathered new material from the archives and has consolidated the work of biographers and historians: the result is a compelling, original, and often exhilarating work of historical recovery. *Sodom on the Thames* is a consistently interesting, often spellbinding, portrait of late-Victorian life."

—Michael Levenson, University of Virginia
\$35.00 cloth

Generation Existential

Heidegger's Philosophy in France, 1927–1961

Ethan Kleinberg

"Kleinberg painstakingly reconstructs the existentialist moment . . . providing lucid and persuasive accounts of the impact of Heidegger's philosophy as inspiration and foil when it first crossed the Rhine."

—Martin Jay, University of California, Berkeley
\$39.95 cloth

Agents of Empire

Spanish Ambassadors in Sixteenth-Century Italy

Michael J. Levin

"Levin is a masterful storyteller who has transformed good old-fashioned diplomatic history in a refreshing way to reinterpret one of the most fundamental questions in European history—how the fiercely independent city-states of Renaissance Italy seemingly became pliant colonies of Spain during the sixteenth century."

—Edward Muir, Northwestern University
\$39.95 cloth

Bach in Berlin

Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the St. Matthew Passion

Celia Applegate

"*Bach in Berlin* is a major work: original, very wide-ranging, gracefully argued, and beautifully organized. Celia Applegate has a subtle intelligence and perfect pitch as a writer. This wonderful book should be read by historians, musicologists, and anyone who wants to understand how music came to assume such a central place in German national identity."

—David Blackburn, Harvard University
\$35.00 cloth

The Defeat of Solidarity

Anger and Politics in Postcommunist Europe

David Ost

"This theoretically sophisticated and empirically rich new book focuses on workers, liberal intellectuals, and the prospects of post-communist democracy. David Ost long ago established himself as a truly original thinker on labor politics in Eastern Europe. His argument that the mobilization of anger along class lines—as opposed to ethnic or religious lines—is the best way to secure liberal democracy will provoke intense discussion in the field for years to come."

—Bela Greskovits, Central European University
\$39.95 cloth

Related Lives

Confessors and Their Female Penitents, 1450–1750

Jodi Bilinkoff

"With her fresh approach to the process of saint-making in early modern Spain, Jodi Bilinkoff sheds abundant light on the ways in which the pursuit of holiness and the pursuit of fame could intertwine, and on how female monastics and their male spiritual directors came to depend on one another. *Bilinkoff* once again lays bare the very earthly social fabric of Spanish religiosity without losing sight of what mattered most to the individuals being studied."

—Carlos M. N. Eire, Yale University
\$45.00 cloth

Democratic Hope

Pragmatism and the Politics of Truth

Robert B. Westbrook

"Robert B. Westbrook calls for a participatory democratic culture broader than that embraced either by Jeffersonians at the dawn of the republic or by populists a century ago. Never has Dewey's vision of the ethics of democracy mattered more than it does today, and no one illuminates American democratic ideals better than Westbrook does in this book."

—James T. Kloppenberg, Harvard University
\$29.95 cloth



www.cornellpress.cornell.edu

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New History from UGA Press

Equiano, the African
Biography of a Self-Made Man
Vincent Carretta
\$29.95 hardcover

"Carretta's superbly written biography—certain to generate considerable discussion and debate—will change how we conceive of the remarkable contributions of the most important black man in the eighteenth century. This is one of the most significant biographies published about a black author in a very long time."

—Henry Louis Gates Jr.,
Harvard University

Slavery in America
A Reader and Guide
Edited by Kenneth Morgan
\$29.95 paperback,
\$69.95 hardcover

"I am impressed by the organization, content, and coverage of this reader. The editor has blended most, if not all, of the latest developments in the field of slavery studies with appropriate documents. He has done so in a very organized and logical fashion, and I would not hesitate to assign this work in my undergraduate classes."

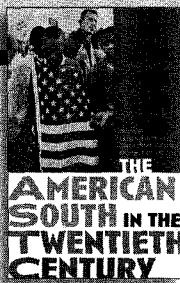
—Christine Daniels, Michigan
State University

**The Brown Decision,
Jim Crow, and Southern
Identity**
James C. Cobb
\$22.95 hardcover

"An erudite and eminently readable corrective to academia's trendy fad of being 'down on Brown.' Professor Cobb's bracing analysis is impressively persuasive."

—David J. Garrow, author of the
Pulitzer Prize-winning *Bearing
the Cross*

New in Paperback



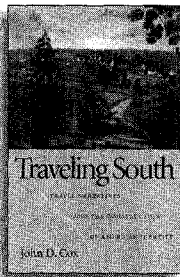
Available in November

**The American South in the
Twentieth Century**
Edited by Craig S. Pascoe, Karen Trahan
Leathem, and Andy Ambrose

Published in conjunction with the Atlanta History Center
\$22.95 paperback, \$54.95 hardcover

"Offers readers concise, thoughtful, informed evaluations of different aspects of the South's convoluted and sometimes counterintuitive history during a century that wrought very significant changes in the region. A significant contribution to southern history."

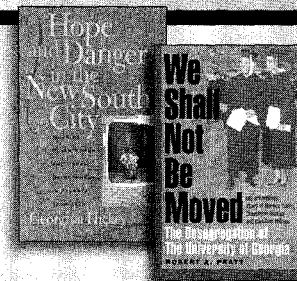
—John B. Boles, editor of *Shapers of
Southern History*



Traveling South
Travel Narratives and the
Construction of American Identity
John D. Cox
\$39.95 hardcover

"Cox's critical approach reflects an unusual and interesting combination of interests in the cognate areas of travel writing, domestic narratives, and nationalist literature. I know of no other book quite like this one, and I consider it a fresh approach to an important and timely subject."

—Michael P. Branch, editor of *Reading the Roots*



**Hope and Danger in
the New South City**
Working-Class Women and
Urban Development in
Atlanta, 1890-1940
Georgina Hickey
\$22.95 paperback

We Shall Not Be Moved
The Desegregation of the
University of Georgia
Robert A. Pratt
\$19.95 paperback

Visit *The New Georgia Encyclopedia* at www.georgiaencyclopedia.org

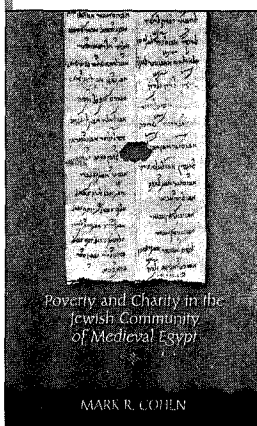


The University of
GEORGIA
PRESS
1-800-266-5842
www.ugapress.org

Reading History

POVERTY AND CHARITY IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF MEDIEVAL EGYPT

Mark R. Cohen



This book is the first comprehensive study of poverty in a premodern Jewish community—from the viewpoint of both the poor and those who provided for them. On the basis of the papers of the Cairo Geniza, the book provides abundant testimony about how one large and important medieval Jewish community dealt with the constant presence of poverty within its midst.

Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World
Cloth \$39.50 0-691-09272-9 Due October

New in paperback

With a new foreword by Isser Woloch

TWELVE WHO RULED

The Year of the Terror in the French Revolution

R. R. Palmer

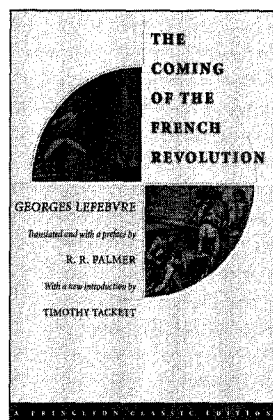
R. R. Palmer's fascinating narrative follows the Committee of Public Safety's deputies individually and collectively, recounting and assessing their tumultuous struggles in Paris and their repressive missions in the provinces. A new foreword by Isser Woloch explains why this book has been, and deserves to remain, an enduring classic in French revolutionary studies.

A Princeton Classic Edition
Paper \$24.95 0-691-12187-7

With a new introduction by Timothy Tackett

THE COMING OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Georges Lefebvre



*Translated and
with a preface
by R. R. Palmer*

This new edition includes an introduction by Timothy Tackett that provides a short intellectual biography of Georges Lefebvre and a critical appraisal of the book after the research and

reassessment of three generations of historians.
Paper \$19.95 0-691-12188-5

New in paperback

With new forewords by

Charles Tilly and William Chester Jordan

ON THE MEDIEVAL ORIGINS OF THE MODERN STATE

Joseph R. Strayer

This clear book is the classic work on what is known about the early history of the European state. Charles Tilly's foreword shows how Strayer's book set the agenda for a whole generation of historical analysts. William Chester Jordan's foreword addresses the scholarly and pedagogical setting within which Strayer produced his book.

A Princeton Classic Edition
Paper \$14.95 0-691-12185-0

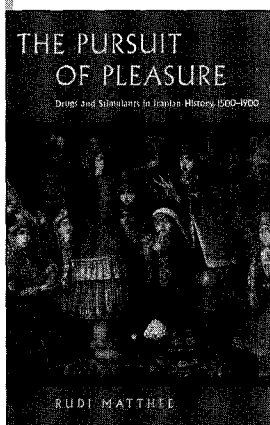
100 Celebrating 100 Years of Excellence
PRINCETON University Press
800-777-4726
Read excerpts online
www.pup.princeton.edu

Reading History

THE PURSUIT OF PLEASURE

Drugs and Stimulants in Iranian History, 1500–1900

Rudi Matthee



Beginning in ancient times, Iranian social, political, and economic life has been dramatically influenced by psychoactive agents. By tracing the use of intoxicants and stimulants over four centuries, Rudi Matthee shows how Iranians integrated them into their everyday lives. He then employs drug use as a portal into a set of broader issues in

Iranian history—most notably, the tension between religious and secular leadership.

Cloth \$39.50 0-691-11855-8

New in paperback

IMPOSSIBLE SUBJECTS

Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America

Mae M. Ngai

Winner of the Frederick Jackson Turner award and other major prizes, this book traces the origins of the “illegal alien” in American law and society, explaining why and how illegal migration became the central problem in U.S. immigration policy.

“Ngai pulls no punches, arguing that in most cases . . . illegal [immigrants] were stigmatized by negative racial stereotypes and branded as dangerous. . . . [I]t belongs in every library and should be referenced in every ethnic studies course.”

—Choice

Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America

Paper \$19.95 0-691-12429-9

New in paperback

With a new preface by the author

THE LESSER EVIL

Political Ethics in an Age of Terror

Michael Ignatieff



There is perhaps no greater political challenge today than trying to win the war against terror without losing our democratic souls. Michael Ignatieff confronts this challenge head-on, with the combination of hard-headed idealism, historical sensitivity, and political judgment

that has made him one of the most influential voices in international affairs today.

Paper \$16.95 0-691-12393-4

New in paperback

With a new preface by the author

THE ORIGINS OF THE URBAN CRISIS

Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit

Thomas J. Sugrue

Winner of the prestigious Bancroft Prize and many other awards, this pioneering book is now available in a new paperback edition, with a new preface by the author.

Praise for Princeton's previous edition:

“A splendid book that does no less than transform our understanding of United States history after 1940.” —*Labor History*

Princeton Studies in American Politics

Paper \$19.95 0-691-12186-9

Celebrating 100 Years of Excellence
PRINCETON
 University Press

800-777-4726

Read excerpts online

www.pup.princeton.edu

SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE

SCHOLARS
IN RESIDENCE PROGRAM

SCHOMBURG CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN BLACK CULTURE, a unit of The New York Public Library's Research Libraries, announces its Scholars-in-Residence Program for the academic year of 2006-2007.

The Fellowship Program encompasses projects in African, Afro-American, and Afro-Caribbean history and culture, with an emphasis on African Diasporan Studies and Biography, Social History and African American Culture. (Please see our website for information on the Center's holdings.)

REQUIREMENTS Fellows are required to be in full-time residence at the Center during the award period. They are expected to utilize the Center's resources extensively, participate in scheduled seminars, colloquia and luncheons, review and critique papers presented at these forums, and prepare a report on work accomplished at the end of their residency.

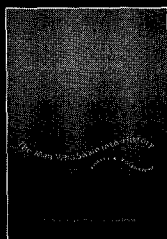
Persons seeking support for research leading to degrees are not eligible under this program. Candidates for advanced degrees must have received the degree or completed all requirements for it by the application deadline. Foreign nationals are not eligible unless they will have resided in the United States for three years immediately preceding the award date.

AWARD Fellowships funded by the Program will allow recipients to spend six months or a year in residence with access to resources at both the Schomburg Center and The New York Public Library. The fellowship stipend is \$25,000 for six months and \$50,000 for twelve months. The Program is supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Samuel I. Newhouse Foundation and Ford Foundation.

FOR MORE INFORMATION AND APPLICATION FORMS

write to the Scholars-in-Residence Program
Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture
515 Malcolm X Boulevard, New York, NY 10037-1801
Telephone: 212-491-2228, or visit our website at:
<http://www.nypl.org/research/sc/scholars/index.html>

APPLICATION DEADLINE DECEMBER 1, 2006

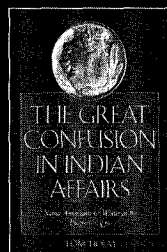


THE MAN WHO SWAM INTO HISTORY
THE (MOSTLY) TRUE STORY OF MY JEWISH FAMILY
 BY ROBERT A. ROSENSTONE

"One of our most imaginative living historians takes us into the midst of his own past and makes us part of his family, even as he becomes part of our own. This book stands as a triumph of new scholarship and narrative."

—Alan Cheuse, writer and book commentator for National Public Radio

Jewish History, Life, and Culture, Michael Neiditch, Series Editor
 \$15.95 paper



THE GREAT CONFUSION IN INDIAN AFFAIRS
NATIVE AMERICANS AND WHITES IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA
 BY TOM HOLM

This revisionist history reveals how Native Americans' sense of identity and "peoplehood" helped them resist and ultimately defeat the U.S. government's attempts to assimilate them into white society in the early twentieth century.

\$21.95 paper, \$50.00 cloth



MAPPING AND EMPIRE
SOLDIER-ENGINEERS ON THE SOUTHWESTERN FRONTIER
 EDITED BY DENNIS REINHARTZ AND GERALD D. SAXON

With essays by eight leading historians, this book offers the most current and comprehensive overview of the processes by which Spanish, Mexican, and U.S. soldier-engineers mapped the southwestern frontier, as well as the local and even geopolitical consequences of their mapping.

52 b&w illus., 12 color maps • \$34.95 cloth



THE FIRST TEXAS NEWS BARONS
 BY PATRICK COX

This book takes a fascinating look at how newspaper publishers such as A. H. Belo and George B. Dealey of the *Dallas Morning News*, Edwin Kiest of the *Dallas Times Herald*, William P. Hobby and Oveta Culp Hobby of the *Houston Post*, Jesse H. Jones and Marcellus Foster of the *Houston Chronicle*, and Amon G. Carter Sr. of the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* played a crucial role in transforming Texas into a modern state.

Focus on American History Series, Center for American History
University of Texas at Austin, Don Carleton, Editor
 19 b&w photos • \$19.95 paper, \$50.00 cloth



CHANGING THE FACE OF POWER
WOMEN IN THE U.S. SENATE
 BY MELINA MARA • FOREWORD BY COKIE ROBERTS
 INTRODUCTION BY SENATOR BARBARA MIKULSKI
 INTRODUCTION BY SENATOR KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON
 INTERVIEWS BY HELEN THOMAS

Here is a compelling photographic record of the fourteen female senators who are changing the balance of power in America's most prestigious governing body.

Focus on American History Series, Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin
 Don Carleton, Editor • 51 duotone photos • \$34.95 cloth

Browse our
 complete history
 catalog online.



UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS PRESS
 800.252.3206 WWW.UTEXASPRESS.COM

NEW IN PAPERBACK FROM PENGUIN GROUP (USA)

“A magnificent achievement

....It is hard not to admire a book that is such a masterpiece of learning, and yet written with a disarming lightness of touch.” —*The Times Literary Supplement*

DIARMAID MACCULLOCH

The REFORMATION

A HISTORY

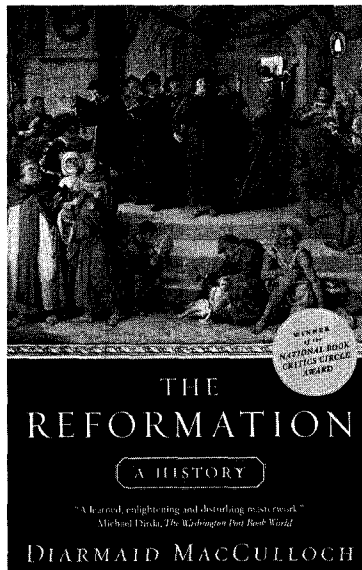
“One of the most magisterial and stylishly written historical works to be published in a decade... [MacCulloch’s] analysis of the lives, personalities, ideas, and struggles are at once sharp and profoundA lasting work.” —*The Atlantic Monthly*

“Evenhanded, learned and profound....It is difficult to imagine anybody writing a better book about the Reformation.” —Karen Armstrong, *Los Angeles Times*

“A masterpiece....In its field it is the best book ever written.” —*The Guardian*

“A learned, enlightening and disturbing masterwork.” —Michael Dirda, *The Washington Post Book World*

This award-winning new history brilliantly recreates the religious battles of priests, monarchs, scholars, and politicians—from the zealous Martin Luther to the radical Loyola, from the tortured Cranmer to the ambitious Philip II. Drawing together the many strands of Reformation and Counter-Reformation, and ranging widely across Europe and the New World, MacCulloch reveals how these dramatic upheavals affected everyday lives—overturning ideas of love, sex, death, and the supernatural and shaping the modern age.



WINNER OF
The Wolfson Prize for History,
The National Book Critics Circle Award,
The British Academy Prize
AND A
Times Literary Supplement,
Atlantic Monthly, & *Publishers Weekly*
BEST BOOK OF THE YEAR

24 pp. b/w photo insert. B/w illustrations and maps throughout.

Penguin 864 pp. 0-14-303538-X \$18.00

PENGUIN GROUP (USA)

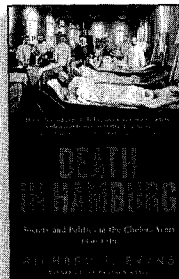
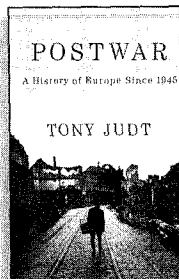
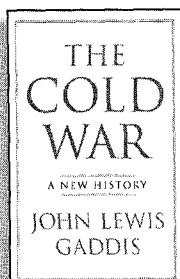
Academic Marketing Department 375 Hudson St., NY, NY 10014 www.penguin.com/academic



NEW IN WORLD HISTORY



PENGUIN GROUP (USA)



THE COLD WAR A New History JOHN LEWIS GADDIS

From "the dean of cold war historians" (*The New York Times*), an important new reckoning with the global confrontation between communism and the free world that defined the second half of the twentieth century.

The Penguin Press 400 pp.
1-59420-062-9 \$27.95

LUCREZIA BORGIA SARAH BRADFORD

Drawing from contemporary documents and firsthand accounts, Bradford presents a portrait of the woman and her era. "A lively view of Lucrezia, capturing the glamour and tragedy of her story."—*The Wall Street Journal*.

8 pp. b/w art insert.

Penguin 448 pp.
0-14-303595-9 \$16.00

DEATH IN HAMBURG Society and Politics in the Cholera Years, 1830-1910 Revised Edition RICHARD J. EVANS

Through the story of the "cholera years" Evans reveals the age's social inequalities, governmental pitilessness and incompetence. "A brilliantly written work of great analytical penetration."—Gordon A. Craig, *The New York Review of Books*.

16 pp. photo insert; b/w photos and illustrations throughout

Penguin 736 pp.
0-14-012473-X \$18.00

POSTWAR A History of Europe Since 1945 TONY JUDT

Integrating international relations, domestic politics, ideas, social change, economic development, and culture—high and low—Judt covers thirty-four countries across sixty years in a single narrative, using a great deal of material from newly available sources.

The Penguin Press 832 pp.
1-59420-065-3 \$34.95

THE THIRD REICH IN POWER 1933-1939 RICHARD J. EVANS

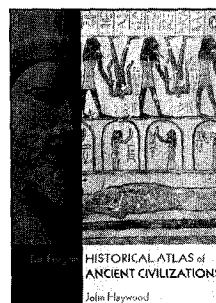
"The second volume of Cambridge historian Evans's trilogy on the Third Reich...is a major achievement. No other recent synthetic history has quite the range and narrative power of Evans's work."—*Publishers Weekly*.

The Penguin Press 816 pp.
1-59420-074-2 \$34.95

THE PENGUIN HISTORICAL ATLAS OF ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS JOHN HAYWOOD

Edited by Simon Hall and John Haywood
Explores the world's earliest cultures, from Mesopotamia to Rome, examining the development of civilizations around the globe. Illustrated with photographs, artwork re-creations, and full-color maps.

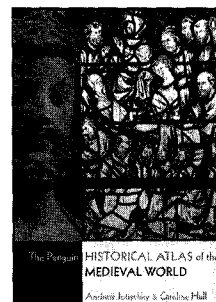
Penguin 144 pp. 0-14-101448-2 \$20.00



THE PENGUIN HISTORICAL ATLAS OF THE MEDIEVAL WORLD ANDREW JOTISCHKY AND CAROLINE HULL

Edited by Simon Hall and John Haywood
Traces the development of peoples, cultures, and faiths between the coming of the barbarian invasions in the fourth century and the first voyages to the New World in the sixteenth.

Penguin 144 pp. 0-14-101449-0 \$20.00



PENGUIN GROUP (USA)

Academic Marketing Department 375 Hudson St., NY, NY 10014

www.penguin.com/academic



NEW IN PAPERBACK FROM PENGUIN GROUP (USA)

"Quite simply the best short history of the war in print."

—Dennis Showalter

HEW STRACHAN**THE FIRST WORLD WAR**

"This serious, compact survey of the war's history stands out as the most well-informed, accessible work available."

—*Los Angeles Times*

"What Strachan offers is history as only the professionals can do it, and rarely enough even then."

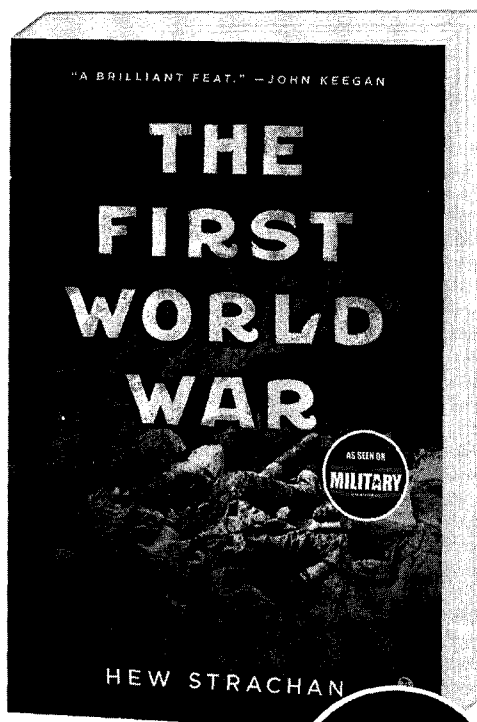
—Adam Gopnik, *The New Yorker*

"Likely to be the most indispensable one-volume work on the subject since John Keegan's *First World War*."

—*Publishers Weekly*

"A brilliant feat."

—John Keegan



It will soon be close to a century since the outbreak of the First World War, yet as military historian Hew Strachan argues in this brilliant and authoritative one-volume history, the legacy of the "war to end all wars" is with us still. Written in crisp, compelling prose and enlivened with vivid photographs—including early color photographs—*The First World War* re-creates this world-altering conflict both on and off the battlefield. Strachan offers a fresh and truly global perspective on how the Great War not only redrew the map of the world but also set in motion the most dangerous conflicts of today, especially in such hot spots as the Middle East and the Balkans. Deeply learned and powerfully written, *The First World War* is a landmark work of contemporary history.

16-pp. color photo insert; b/w photos and maps throughout

Penguin 384 pp. 0-14-303518-5 \$16.00

Academic Marketing Department
375 Hudson Street, NY, NY 10014
www.penguin.com/academic

PENGUIN GROUP (USA)

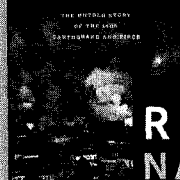


NEW IN AMERICAN HISTORY



FROM PENGUIN GROUP (USA)

DENNIS SMITH

THE
RIGHT
NATION

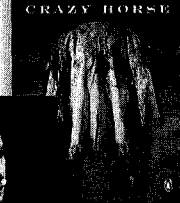
AMERICA



DOUGLAS BRINKLEY



JOSEPH M. MARSHALL III

**SAN FRANCISCO
IS BURNING****The Untold Story of the
1906 Earthquake and Fires**
DENNIS SMITH

"Smith has captured the horror and chaos of those first terrifying hours, and the ensuing anger and grief and determination."—Michiko Kakutani, *The New York Times*.

Viking 356 pp. 0-670-03442-8 \$25.95

THE RIGHT NATION**Conservative
Power in America**
**JOHN MICKLETHWAIT
and ADRIAN WOOLDRIDGE**

"An original, probing, and engaging examination....Part social analysis, part history of ideas that examines how conservative ideology became such a defining feature of American life."—*Foreign Affairs*.

A Weekly Standard Book of the Year
Penguin 464 pp. 0-14-303539-8 \$16.00

AMERICAN SIDESHOW
**An Encyclopedia of History's
Most Wondrous and
Curiously Strange Performers**
MARK HARTZMAN

Illustrated with one 8-page color insert and 138 black-and-white photos throughout.

Tarcher 336 pp. 1-58542-441-2 \$28.95

**THE WAR THAT
MADE AMERICA**
**A Short History of the
French and Indian War**
FRED ANDERSON

The companion volume to a major PBS documentary series and a vivid look at arguably the most pivotal war in early American history.

Viking 288 pp. 0-670-03454-1 \$25.95
Available December 2005

RIVER RUN RED**The Fort Pillow Massacre
in the American Civil War**
ANDREW WARD

This is the fullest, most accurate account of the pent-up bigotry and rage that found its release at Fort Pillow. "An outstanding addition to Civil War literature."—*Publishers Weekly*.

Viking 576 pp. 0-670-03440-1 \$29.95

WHEN PRESIDENTS LIE**A History of
Official Deception
and Its Consequences**
ERIC ALTERMAN

"Provocative, intriguing and insightful."—*Los Angeles Times Book Review*. A penetrating look at the presidential deceptions of FDR, JFK, LBJ, and Reagan.

Penguin 464 pp. 0-14-303604-1 \$16.00

JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES
**1883-1946: Economist,
Philosopher, Statesman**
ROBERT SKIDELSKY

Skidelsky has revised and abridged his three-volume biography into one definitive book. "A masterpiece of biographical and historical analysis."—*The New York Times Book Review*.

*Winner of the Lionel Gelber Prize,
and the Arthur Ross Award*
Penguin 1,056 pp. 0-14-303615-7 \$35.00

**THE JOURNEY
OF CRAZY HORSE**
A Lakota History
JOSEPH M. MARSHALL III

"A thrilling narrative based upon personal stories and hidden accounts only a trusted Indian scholar could collect and only a true-born writer could dramatize in print."—Peter Nabokov.

Penguin 336 pp. 0-14-303621-1 \$15.00

ROSA PARKS: A Life
DOUGLAS BRINKLEY

"A terrific find...A timely update of the historical record, told as an inspiring and unabashedly dramatic story of an American heroine."—*The Seattle Times*.

Penguin 256 pp.
0-14-303600-9 \$13.00

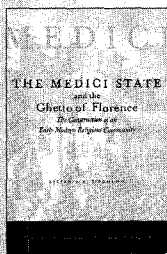
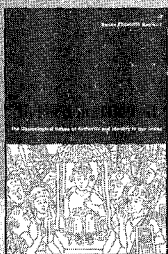
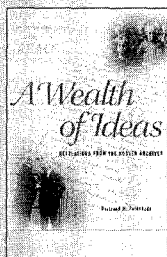
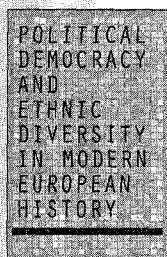
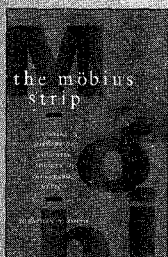


PENGUIN GROUP (USA)

Academic Marketing Department 375 Hudson St., NY, NY 10014

www.penguin.com/academic

NEW FROM STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS



The Möbius Strip

A Spatial History of Colonial Society in Guerrero, Mexico

JONATHAN D. AMITH

"The Möbius Strip is the most thorough empirical account of 'place making' and 'place breaking' that I have read. Jonathan Amith delivers a minutely detailed picture of land-tenure, migration, trade, and political conflict over two and a half centuries."

—Claudio Lomnitz,
New School University

\$75.00 cloth

Political Democracy and Ethnic Diversity in Modern European History

Edited by
ANDRÉ W.M. GERRITS and
DIRK JAN WOLFFRAM

"The scholarship in this book is first-rate. In this fascinating volume, a group of distinguished scholars test the proposition that ethnic homogeneity advances democratic development, by examining European development from the late eighteenth century to the present. Bringing both theoretical and historical evidence to bear, these essays make an important contribution to the dialogue on this topic."

—Norman Naimark,
Stanford University

\$21.95 paper \$55.00 cloth

AVAILABLE IN NOVEMBER 2005

Preventive Attack and Weapons of Mass Destruction

A Comparative Historical Survey

LYLE J. GOLDSTEIN

This comprehensive survey of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) rivalries places the Bush Doctrine of preemption in a historical context, arguing that instability fueled by first-strike incentives is an inherent byproduct of the WMD proliferation process.

\$50.00 cloth

A Wealth of Ideas

Revelations from the Hoover Archives

BERTRAND M. PATENAUDE

The remarkable documentary collections of the Hoover Institution Archives are for the first time showcased for the reading public, in the form of a large-format book of illustrations and accompanying text.

\$49.95 cloth

To Feed and Be Fed

The Cosmological Bases of Authority and Identity in the Andes

SUSAN ELIZABETH RAMÍREZ

"This is an excellent and thought-provoking book, one that challenges the reader to reassess preconceptions of the nature of Inca religion, the characteristics of Inca leaders, the reason for the polity's rapid expansion, and the foundations of its economic structure."

—Noble David Cook,

Florida International University
\$24.95 paper \$65.00 cloth

AVAILABLE IN DECEMBER 2005

The Medici State and the Ghetto of Florence

The Construction of an Early Modern Jewish Community

STEFANIE B. SIEGMUND

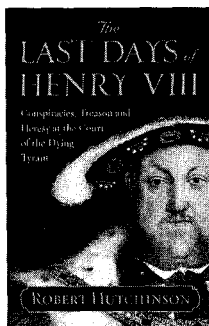
This book explores the decision of Grand Duke Cosimo I de' Medici to create a ghetto in Florence, and explains how a Jewish community developed out of that forced population transfer.

Stanford Studies in Jewish History and Culture
\$70.00 cloth

Stanford
University Press

800.621.2736 www.sup.org

An Intimate Look at Power



THE LAST DAYS OF HENRY VIII

Conspiracies, Treason and Heresy at the Court of the Dying Tyrant

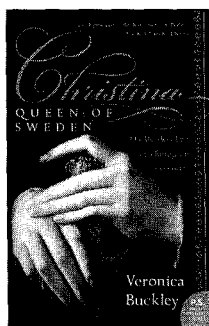
Robert Hutchinson

"Careful archival sleuthing—the scholarship in this book is meticulous.... Hutchinson brilliantly conveys the atmosphere of terror that beset England in the years 1543–47." —*The Express* (London)

ON SALE NOW

ISBN 0-06-083733-0 (hardcover)

\$25.95 • 368 pages



CHRISTINA, QUEEN OF SWEDEN

The Restless Life of a European Eccentric

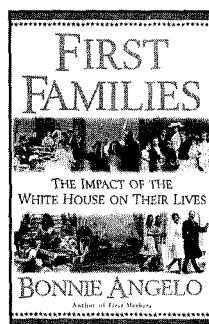
Veronica Buckley

"You find yourself thinking of Christina as a prematurely modern spirit who couldn't manage to fit into a not-yet-modern world—one of those historical figures who make the past feel less distant and, in the hands of a sensitive writer like Veronica Buckley, fully alive." —*New York Times Book Review*

ON SALE NOW

ISBN 0-06-073618-6 (paperback)

\$14.95 (\$19.95 Can.) • 416 pages



FIRST FAMILIES

The Impact of the White House on Their Lives

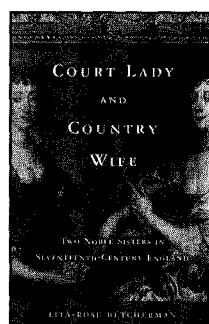
Bonnie Angelo

"A sweeping panorama of family life on Pennsylvania Avenue.... A must for any political junkie's personal bookshelf." —*Kirkus Reviews*

ON SALE NOW

ISBN 0-06-056356-7 (hardcover)

\$25.95 (\$34.95 Can.) • 352 pages



COURT LADY AND COUNTRY WIFE

Two Noble Sisters in Seventeenth-Century England

Lita-Rose Betcherman

"Personalities, fashion, intrigue and even parliamentary and military history blend to provide a multifaceted entry into a period not always accessible to general readers of history." —*Publishers Weekly*

ON SALE OCTOBER 4

ISBN 0-06-076288-8 (hardcover)

\$26.95 • 400 pages



HarperCollinsPublishers

www.harperacademic.com

America: Then and Now



THE CHILDREN'S BLIZZARD

David Laskin

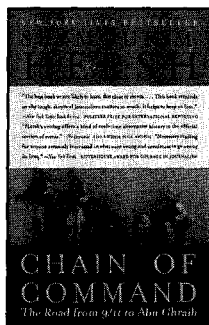
"An adroit, sensitive drama and a skillful addition to a popular genre.... A perceptive presentation, evoking lives unnoticed by history but for the tragedy of this storm." —*Booklist*

"A gripping chronicle of meteorological chance and human folly and error.... A rewarding read." —*Publishers Weekly*

ON SALE OCTOBER 11

ISBN 0-06-052076-0 (paperback)

\$13.95 (\$18.95 Can.) • 336 pages



CHAIN OF COMMAND

The Road from 9/11 to Abu Ghraib

Seymour M. Hersh

"A searing indictment of George Bush and his closest political aides.... Authoritative and well-written." —*The Economist*

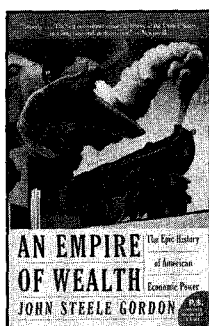
"This sobering book is the closest anyone without a security clearance will get to operatives in the inner sanctums of America's intelligence, military, political and diplomatic worlds." —*Publishers Weekly*

ON SALE NOW

ISBN 0-06-095537-6 (paperback)

\$14.95 (\$19.95 Can.) • 448 pages

Also available as an e-book from PerfectBound



AN EMPIRE OF WEALTH

The Epic History of American Economic Power

John Steele Gordon

"Mr. Gordon, in telling his tale, keeps a sharp eye out for the unintended consequences of economic change. They provide some of his most arresting facts." —*New York Times*

"Superb.... Gordon has written the best one-volume economic history of the United States in a long time and, perhaps, ever." —*Newsweek*

ON SALE OCTOBER 18

ISBN 0-06-050512-5 (paperback)

\$15.95 (\$21.50 Can.) • 496 pages

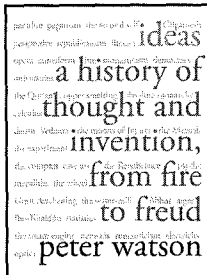


HarperCollins Publishers

www.harperacademic.com

Visit www.AuthorTracker.com for exclusive information on your favorite HarperCollins authors.

Highly Readable History



IDEAS

A History of Thought and Invention, from Fire to Freud

Peter Watson

"This is a grand book.... The history of ideas deserves treatment on this scale." —*Evening Standard* (London)

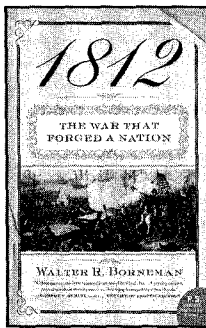
"[An] extraordinary new book... [which] presents to the general reader the latest and most exciting discoveries and theories of the specialists."

—*Sunday Telegraph* (London)

ON SALE NOW

ISBN 0-06-621064-X (hardcover)

\$29.95 • 848 pages



1812

The War That Forged a Nation

Walter R. Borneman

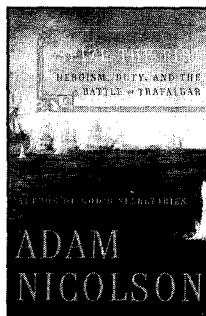
"A lively narrator and explainer of war fought with muskets and sailing ships, Borneman will be welcomed by military-history readers." —*Booklist*

"Thoroughly readable.... Even the annotation and bibliography of this sound introduction will propel those whose curiosity is piqued to read further in all directions." —*Publishers Weekly*

ON SALE OCTOBER 4

ISBN 0-06-053113-4 (paperback)

\$15.95 (\$21.50 Can.) • 400 pages



SEIZE THE FIRE

Heroism, Duty, and the Battle of Trafalgar

Adam Nicolson

"The reader will find nothing dull about this sparkling work.... Majestic, poetic and, at base, authentic." —*Literary Review*

"A well-reasoned transoceanic rejoinder to Joanne B. Freeman's *Affairs of Honor* (2001), and a pleasure for fans of Aubrey and Hornblower."

—*Kirkus Reviews*

ON SALE NOW

ISBN 0-06-075361-7 (hardcover)

\$26.95 (\$36.95 Can.) • 368 pages

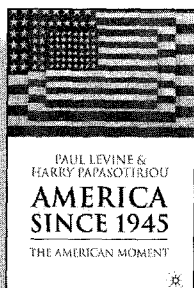
Also available from HarperAudio

HarperCollinsPublishers HARPER PERENNIAL *William Morrow* WILLIAM MORROW

Imprints of HarperCollinsPublishers www.harperacademic.com



New from Palgrave Macmillan

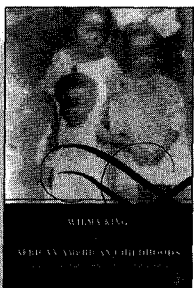


AMERICA SINCE 1945

The American Moment
Paul Levine and
Harry Papasotiriou
November 2005 / 288 pp.
1-4039-4831-3 / \$103.00 cl.
1-4039-4832-1 / \$24.95 pb.

"WORK, OR FIGHT!"

*Race, Gender, and the Draft
in World War One*
Gerald E. Shenk
December 2005 / 240 pp.
1-4039-6175-1 / \$79.95 cl.
1-4039-6177-8 / \$26.95 pb.

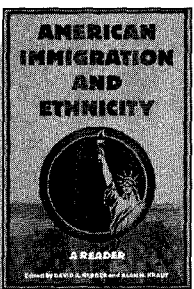


AFRICAN AMERICAN CHILDHOODS

*Historical Perspectives from
Slavery to Civil Rights*
Wilma King
November 2005 / 352 pp.
1-4039-6250-2 / \$75.00 cl.
1-4039-6251-0 / \$22.95 pb.

CARLO TRESCA

Portrait of a Rebel
Nunzio Pernicone
Italian & Italian American Studies
400 pp. / 1-4039-6478-5 / \$45.00 cl.



AMERICAN IMMIGRATION AND ETHNICITY

A Reader
Edited by David A. Gerber
and Alan M. Kraut
368 pp. / 0-312-29349-6 / \$85.00 cl.
0-312-29350-X / \$29.95 pb.

EDUCATION AS MY AGENDA

*Gertrude Williams, Race, and the
Baltimore Public Schools*
Jo Ann Robinson
Palgrave Studies in Oral History
336 pp. / 0-312-29542-1 / \$75.00 cl.
0-312-29543-X / \$24.95 pb.



NEW EDITION!

PURITANS AT PLAY

*Leisure and Recreation in
Colonial New England /
Tenth Anniversary Edition*
Bruce C. Daniels
272 pp. / 1-4039-7212-5 / \$19.95 pb.

NEW EDITION! HISTORY OF AFRICA

Third Edition
Kevin Shillington
450 pp. / 0-333-59957-8 / \$32.95 pb.

THE LEGACY OF A FREEDOM SCHOOL

Sandra E. Adickes
November 2005 / 224 pp.
1-4039-6427-0 / \$65.00 cl.
1-4039-7213-3 / \$19.95 pb.

THE HISTORY OF CHILE

John L. Rector
December 2005 / 336 pp.
1-4039-6257-X / \$18.95 pb.

THE HISTORY OF CUBA

Clifford L. Staten
176 pp. / 1-4039-6259-6 / \$15.95 pb.

CHURCHILL AND WAR

Geoffrey Best
December 2005 / 288 pp.
1-85285-464-2 / \$29.95 cl.
Hambledon & London

WITCHES, DRUIDS AND KING ARTHUR

Ronald Hutton
320 pp. / 1-85285-466-9 / \$16.95 pb.
Hambledon & London

LATE IMPERIAL RUSSIA

Problems and Prospects
Edited by Ian D. Thatcher
224 pp. / 0-7190-6786-3 / \$74.95 cl.
0-7190-6787-1 / \$22.50 pb.
Manchester University Press

ADMIRAL LORD NELSON

His Context and Legacy
Edited by David Cannadine
256 pp. / 1-4039-3906-3 / \$32.95 cl.

MY ONE BRIGHT SPOT

Victoria Haskins
296 pp. / 1-4039-4743-0 / \$85.00 cl.
1-4039-4744-9 / \$26.95 pb.

A SHORT HISTORY OF ASIA

Second Edition
Colin Mason
November 2005 / 332 pp.
1-4039-3611-0 / \$85.00 cl.
1-4039-3612-9 / \$29.95 pb.

NAZI GERMANY

Tim Kirk
European History in Perspective
200 pp. / 0-333-60072-X / \$75.00 cl.
0-333-60073-8 / \$26.95 pb.

PALGRAVE ADVANCES IN IRISH HISTORY

Katherine O'Donnell
Palgrave Advances
December 2005 / 256 pp.
1-4039-3215-8 / \$85.00 cl.
1-4039-3216-6 / \$26.95 pb.

PALGRAVE ADVANCES IN THE MODERN HISTORY OF SEXUALITY

Edited by Matt Houlbrook
and Harry Cocks
Palgrave Advances
November 2005 / 288 pp.
1-4039-1289-0 / \$79.95 cl.
1-4039-1290-4 / \$24.95 pb.

PALGRAVE ADVANCES IN WITCHCRAFT STUDIES

Edited by Jonathan Barry
and Owen Davies
Palgrave Advances
December 2005 / 256 pp.
1-4039-1175-4 / \$75.00 cl.
1-4039-1176-2 / \$24.95 pb.

SEVENTEENTH- CENTURY EUROPE

*State, Conflict and Social
Order in Europe 1598-1700,
Second Edition*
Thomas Munck
Palgrave History of Europe
528 pp. / 1-4039-3618-8 / \$89.00 cl.
1-4039-3619-6 / \$31.95 pb.

THE FALKLANDS WAR

D. George Boyce
Twentieth Century Wars
272 pp. / 0-333-75395-X / \$79.95 cl.
0-333-75396-8 / \$27.95 pb.

CREATING CHOICE

*A Community Responds to the
Need for Abortion and Birth
Control, 1961-1973*
David P. Cline
Palgrave Studies in Oral History
December 2005 / 288 pp.
1-4039-6813-6 / \$69.95 cl.
1-4039-6814-4 / \$23.95 pb.

THE ECONOMIC EMERGENCE OF WOMEN

Second Edition
Barbara R. Bergmann
272 pp. / 0-312-21941-5 / \$69.95 cl.
0-312-23243-8 / \$18.95 pb.

palgrave
macmillan

Distributor of Berg Publishers, Hambledon and London, I.B.Tauris, Manchester University Press, and Zed Books
(888) 330-8477 • Fax: (800) 672-2054 • www.palgrave-usa.com



UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS

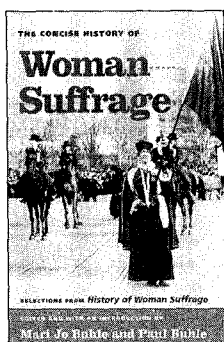
The Concise History of Woman Suffrage

Selections from History of Woman Suffrage, by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joselyn Gage, and the National American Woman Suffrage Association

Edited and with an Introduction by MARI JO BUHLE and PAUL BUHLE

The eighty-two chosen documents, now including interpretative introductory material by the editors, give researchers easy access to material that the original work's arrangement often caused readers to ignore or to overlook.

Paper, \$22.00



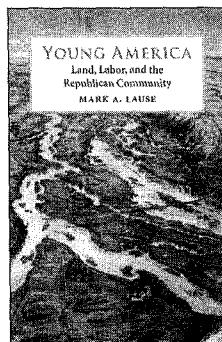
Young America

Land, Labor, and the Republican Community

MARK A. LAUSE

Traverses the contemporary economic structures and social ideology of The National Reform Association (NRA), an antebellum land reform movement that advocated equitable access to the country's land and became the foundation of the new Republican Party, promising "Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men."

Illus. Cloth, \$42.00; Paper, \$20.00



Reinventing Marriage

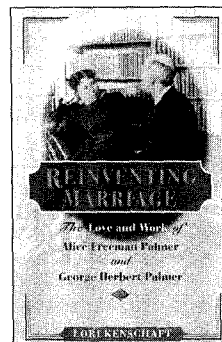
The Love and Work of Alice Freeman Palmer and George Herbert Palmer

LORI KENSCHAF

An intimate biography of one of the first American dual-career marriages: a couple who married in 1887 and tried to create a new type of marriage that would make it possible for both men and women to have satisfying professional careers.

Women in American History

Illus. Cloth, \$35.00



New in Paper

Saying It's So

A Cultural History of the Black Sox Scandal

DANIEL A. NATHAN

Winner of the North American Society for Sport History Book Award

Winner of the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport Book Award

Sport and Society series. Illus. Paper, \$19.95

The Lincoln Image

Abraham Lincoln and the Popular Print

HAROLD HOLZER, GABOR S. BORITT, and MARK E. NEELY JR.

"[An] important contribution to the history of American prints as well as to the study of Lincoln." — *Choice*

Illus. Paper, \$19.95

Indian Metropolis

Native Americans in Chicago, 1945-75

JAMES B. LAGRAN

A Choice Magazine Outstanding Academic Title

This first historical case study of Indian urbanization covers a crucial era when Chicago's American Indian population increased twentyfold.

Illus. Paper, \$20.00

Lost Sounds

Blacks and the Birth of the Recording Industry, 1890-1919

TIM BROOKS

Appendix by Dick Spottswood

A history of the first African-American recording stars.

Music in American Life series. Illus. Paper, \$34.95

Order from your bookseller, call 800-537-5487, or visit www.press.uillinois.edu

Presidential History Continues at Hofstra University

1982
FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

1983
HARRY S. TRUMAN

1984
DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER

1985
JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY

1986
LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON

1987
RICHARD MILHOUS NIXON

1989
GERALD R. FORD

1990
JIMMY CARTER

1993
RONALD REAGAN

1996
GEORGE H.W. BUSH

*We proudly announce our
11th Conference on the Presidents of the United States.*

William Jefferson Clinton: The "New Democrat" From Hope

*Thursday, Friday and Saturday
November 10-12, 2005*

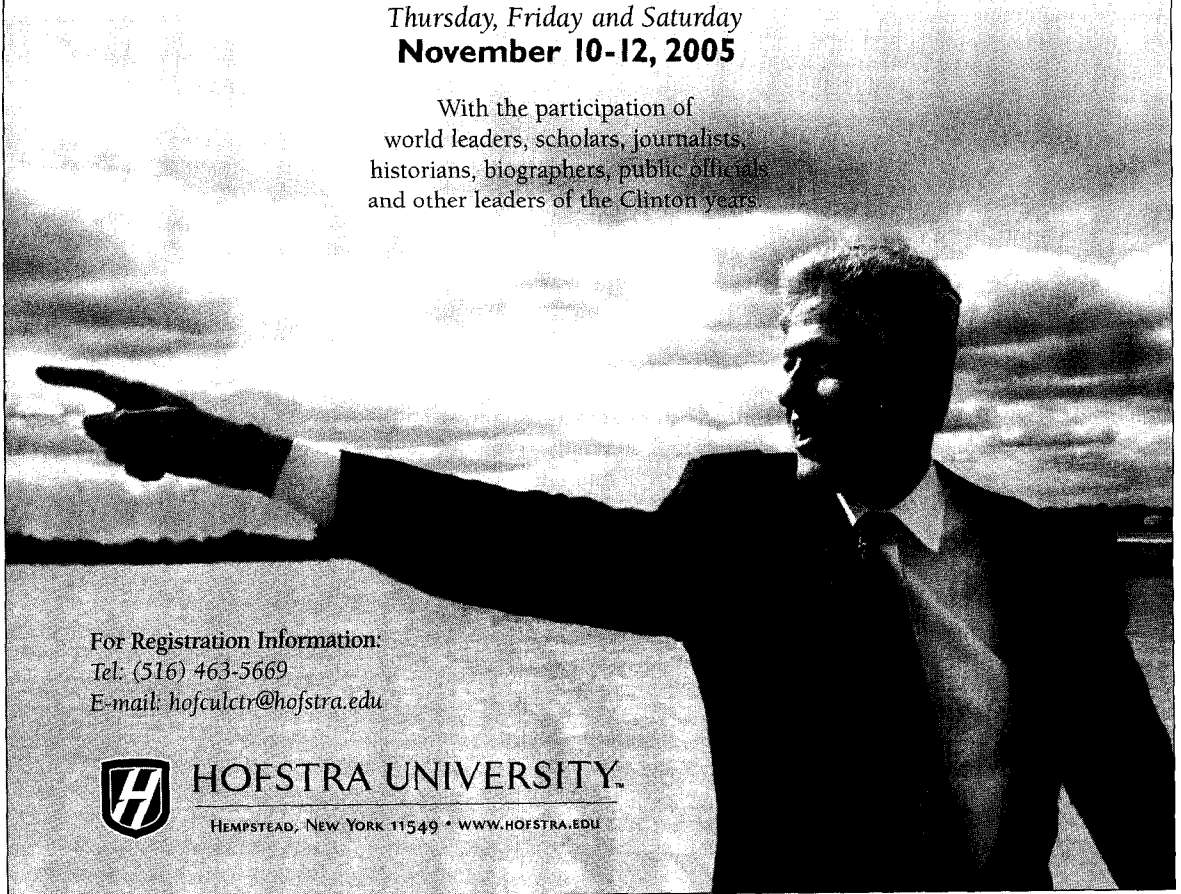
With the participation of
world leaders, scholars, journalists,
historians, biographers, public officials
and other leaders of the Clinton years

For Registration Information:
Tel: (516) 463-5669
E-mail: hofculctr@hofstra.edu



HOFSTRA UNIVERSITY.

HEMPSTEAD, NEW YORK 11549 • WWW.HOFSTRA.EDU



America's Public Schools

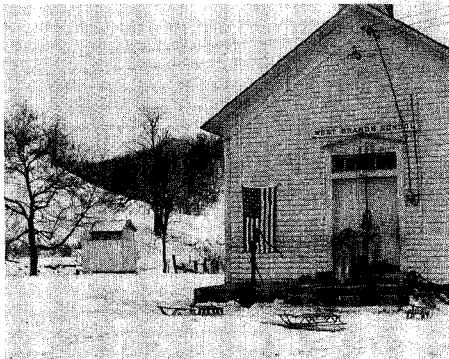
From the Common School to
"No Child Left Behind"

William J. Reese

"In this extraordinary book, Reese tells the complex story of American education . . . He expertly examines the American ambivalence about this institution—seen as both the answer and the source of social problems, making it both the means and the object of reform."

—David Labaree, Stanford University

The American Moment:
Stanley I. Kutler, Series Editor
\$21.95 paperback



Capital Drawings

Architectural Designs for
Washington, D.C., from the
Library of Congress
edited by C. Ford Peatross
with the assistance of Pamela Scott,
Diane Tepfer, and Leslie Freudenheim

"A significant and important addition to the publications on Washington architecture."—Alison K. Hoagland, Michigan Technological University
\$55.00 hardcover

The Evolution of American Ecology, 1890–2000

Sharon Kingsland

"An important, innovative scholarly contribution that nicely captures both the excitement and frustration of American botanists as they struggled to professionalize their discipline."

—Mark V. Barrow, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
\$50.00 hardcover

Now in paperback

Black Power

Radical Politics and
African American Identity
Jeffrey O. G. Ogbar

"The best account of the Black Panther Party in print . . . An outstanding work."—*Choice*
\$23.00 paperback

Black Inventors in the Age of Segregation

Granville T. Woods,
Lewis H. Latimer, and
Shelby J. Davidson
Rayvon Fouché

"Fouché documents the struggles of these black inventors and dismantles several myths surrounding their lives."

—*Technology and Culture*
\$20.00 paperback

From Warfare to Welfare

Defense Intellectuals and Urban
Problems in Cold War America
Jennifer S. Light

"As historians of American cities stumble across missile experts straying far from their silos, they will find guidance in this careful account of a peculiar moment in urban policy."

—*Technology and Culture*
\$25.00 paperback

Fireside Politics

Radio and Political Culture in the
United States, 1920–1940

Douglas B. Craig

"An impressively researched and useful study."

—*Journal of American History*
\$25.00 paperback

American initiatives

Inventing the Cotton Gin

Machine and Myth in
Antebellum America
Angela Lokuete

Winner of the 2004 Edelstein Prize
given by the Society for the History of
Technology

"The best and most sophisticated treatment of the gin in the larger context of the antebellum cotton South we are likely to see."

—*Georgia Historical Quarterly*
\$25.00 paperback

The Planting of New Virginia

Settlement and Landscape in the
Shenandoah Valley

Warren R. Hofstra

"A thorough, wide-ranging analysis of the complex issues surrounding the white settlement of the Shenandoah Valley."

—*William and Mary Quarterly*
\$25.00 paperback

Looking Good

College Women and Body Image,
1875–1930

Margaret A. Lowe

Winner of the Bridgewater State College
Class of 1950 Distinguished Faculty
Research Award

"A compelling account of life on campus for the female 'student body' over many decades of radical change."

—*History of Education Quarterly*
\$20.00 paperback

New in Paperback!

A Christian Science Monitor Noteworthy Book for 2004



The First Crusade: A New History

THOMAS ASBRIDGE
The Roots of Conflict between Christianity and Islam

"Balances persuasive analysis with a flair for conveying with dramatic power the crusaders' plight throughout the nine-month siege of Antioch.... Stunning... should revitalize the study of this fascinating period in European history."—*The Financial Times* "This lively account of the Crusade looks set to replace Steven Runciman's classic 1951 account of the expedition as the best introduction to the subject.... Asbridge's book gives exactly the sort of fast-flowing narrative the story demands. He writes clearly and vigorously, with a fine eye for telling detail."—*The New York Times Book Review* 2004 (paper 2005) 448 pp.; 9 maps. 30 halftones paper \$17.95 cloth \$35.00



Two Men and Music

JANAKI BAKHLE
Nationalism in the Making of an Indian Classical Tradition

"A brilliantly researched book that adds a new dimension to the invention of tradition. Required reading not only for historians of South Asian modernity, but for all interested in the sociology of the politics of identity."—Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, author of *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason* 2005 288 pp.; 8 halftones paper \$19.95 cloth \$65.00

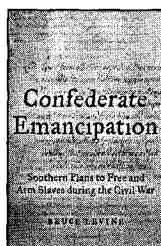


Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain

MAXINE BERG
Maxine Berg traces how new consumer society of the eighteenth century and the products first traded, then invented

to satisfy it, stimulated industrialization itself. Global markets for the consumer goods of private and domestic life inspired the industrial revolution and British products "won the world."

2005 392 pp.; 33 figures, 4 maps \$45.00



Confederate Emancipation

BRUCE LEVINE
Southern Plans to Free and Arm Slaves during the Civil War
"The Civil War produced few more ironic episodes than the Confederacy's debate about whether to arm and liberate enslaved African Americans. Bruce Levine's welcome study illuminates the conditions that gave rise to the debate, the forces arrayed in favor and against the idea, and the ultimate failure of those who saw black men as the key to establishing a white slaveholding republic. This book, which reminds us again of the war's immense complexity, deserves to attract the widest possible audience."—Gary V. Gallagher, author of *The Confederate War* 2005 304 pp.; 13 halftones \$28.00

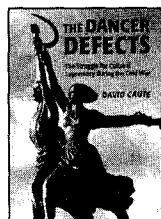


Harvey Cushing

MICHAEL BLISS
A Life in Surgery
"This masterwork of narrative brings to vibrant life one of the most complex, brilliant, and endlessly fascinating medical personalities of recent times. In a book that will stand as the definitive

biography of Harvey Cushing, Michael Bliss demonstrates once again why he is that ideal combination of storyteller and scrupulous historical researcher craved by general readers and envied by academics."—Sherwin Nuland 2005 592 pp.; 62 halftones \$40.00

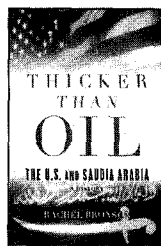
New in Paperback!



The Dancer Defects

DAVID CAUTE
The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy during the Cold War

"Excellent...evokes the extraordinary power that the arts were believed to have had in shaping politics and society in the postwar years."—*New York Review of Books* 2003 (paper 2005) 804 pp.; 16 b/w halftones paper \$35.00 cloth \$74.00



Thicker Than Oil

RACHEL BRONSON
The U.S. and Saudi Arabia: A History

For fifty-five years, the United States and Saudi Arabia were solid partners. Since 9/11 this partnership has been sorely tested. In *Thicker than Oil*, Rachel Bronson shows why the partnership became so intimate and the problems that it spawned. In today's fight against terrorism, Saudi Arabia is both part of the problem and part of the solution. Notwithstanding real troubles, Bronson outlines the dangers of allowing the relationship to further deteriorate. Saudi Arabia, she notes, faces a violent and zealous opposition. If this opposition gains complete control of the state's huge resources, it will direct its efforts towards destroying the United States, auguring a true clash of civilizations.

2005 304 pp.; 24 halftones \$30.00



The Greatest Fight of Our Generation

LEWIS A. ERENERG
Louis vs. Schmeling

"Set against a backdrop of the Great Depression and World War II, Lewis Erenberg captures not only the excitement, but also the importance of boxing's heavyweight championship. Erenberg gives us the boxers themselves and the fights they waged, but equally important, he shows us how the historical context—racial divisions, economic collapse, international conflict—elevated great fighters like Joe Louis and Max Schmeling to the level of gods. This is exciting history."—Elliott Gorn, Brown University 2005 320 pp.; 34 halftones \$28.00

New Orleans

LOUISE MCKINNEY
A Cultural History

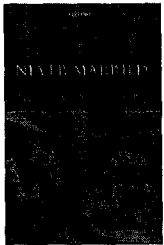
Founded in 1718 by two French-Canadian brothers for French King Louis XIV, New Orleans grew from its roots as a Euro-Caribbean port city at the nexus of North, Central and South America. Situated at the bottom of the Mississippi River Delta, the city became "Paris on the Mississippi," the fashionable cultural capital of the American South, home to America's first opera house and birthplace of jazz. Louise McKinney explores the soul of this deeply spiritual and hedonistic place. (Cityscapes)

2005 256 pp.; 10 line illus. paper \$15.00

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

To order, call 1-800-451-7556 or log onto www.oup.com/us

NEW FROM OXFORD



Never Married

Singlewomen in Early Modern England

AMY M. FROIDE
This is the first book of original research on the women who never married in early modern England. Amy Froide looks at how single-

women's lives differed from those of wives and widows, at the social relationships of women without husbands, and at how these women supported themselves. She also examines the economic and civic contributions singlewomen made to urban life and explores the English origins of the spinster and old maid stereotype.
2005 256 pp. \$74.00

New in Paperback!

CHOICE Outstanding Academic Title, 2005



Cold Peace

Stalin and the Soviet Ruling Circle, 1945–1953
YORAM GORLIZKI and OLEG KHEVNIUK

"A close-to-definitive reappraisal of the political history of late Soviet Stalinism, an accomplishment that had eluded so many scholars due to the lack of sufficient archival access..."—*Slavic Review*
2004 (paper 2005)
272 pp.; 16 halftones paper \$19.95 cloth \$45.00



The Fall of the Roman Empire

A New History of Rome and the Barbarians

PETER HEATHER
"To a period that has often appeared as impenetrable as it is momentous, Peter Heather brings a rare

combination of scholarship and flair for narrative. With this book, a powerful searchlight has been shone upon the shadow-dimmed end of Rome's western empire."—Tom Holland, author of *Rubicon: The Last Years of the Roman Republic*
2005 576 pp.; 8 halftones, 10 maps \$40.00



Learning from the Left

Children's Literature, the Cold War, and Radical Politics in the United States

JULIA L. MICKENBERG
"Julia Mickenberg's

Learning from the Left is a spectacular cultural history of the lives, institutions, political affiliations, and literary creations of a generation of committed radicals who profoundly affected the field of children's literature in the post-World War II years. Mickenberg's compelling research is built upon the splendid excavation of hitherto neglected sources, and her persuasive narrative has engrossing implications for our appreciation of the contributions of the Old Left. Moreover, she explores questions that offer new insight into the development of 1960s social activism and the culture wars of the present."—Alan Wald, author of *Exiles from a Future Time*
2005 432 pp.; 26 halftones paper \$19.95 cloth \$65.00



69 AD

The Year of Four Emperors
GWYN MORGAN

"Few people rival Gwyn Morgan in knowledge of Tacitus' *Histories*. The result is a fine narrative, cogent and convincing, of this momentous year."—Herbert W. Benario, author of *Tacitus Germany*. "Gwyn Morgan has produced a long-awaited and engagingly written account of the Year of Four Emperors that is unfailingly instructive and a pleasure to read."—Leslie Murison, author of *Galba, Otho and Vitellius: Careers and Controversies*
2005 352 pp.; 4 maps \$30.00

Kyoto

A Cultural History

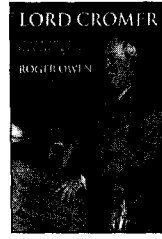
JOHN DOUGILL

Kyoto, the ancient former capital of Japan, breathes history and mystery. John Dougill explores this most venerable of Japanese cities, revealing the spirit of place and the individuals that have shaped its often dramatic history.

Cityscapes

December 2005 256 pp.; 10 line illustrations paper \$15.00

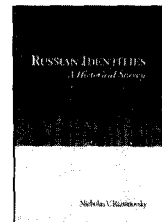
New in Paperback!



Lord Cromer

Victorian Imperialist, Edwardian Proconsul
ROGER OWEN
In the heyday of Empire just before the First World War, Lord Cromer was second only to Lord

Curzon in fame and public esteem. In the days when Cairo and Calcutta represented the twin poles of British power in Asia and Africa, Cromer's commanding presence seemed to radiate the essential spirit of imperial rule. In this first modern biography Roger Owen charts the life of the man revered by the British and hated by today's Egyptians, the real ruler of Egypt for a quarter of a century.
2004 (paper 2005) 464 pp.; 1 map, 20 halftones paper \$26.95



Russian Identities

A Historical Survey
NICHOLAS V. RIASANOVSKY

"For this book, Riasanovsky has judiciously drawn upon his more than sixty years of studying, pondering, and discussing how Russians have defined and identified themselves. This is a book for Riasanovsky's longtime admirers as well as for younger readers who want to discover why he stands so high in our profession."—Ralph T. Fisher Jr., former director of the Russian and East European Center, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
2005 288 pp. \$49.95



Conquest by Law

How the Discovery of America Dispossessed Indigenous Peoples of Their Lands

LINDSAY G. ROBERTSON

"At last a comprehensive examination of the circumstances surrounding *Johnson v. McIntosh*, a Supreme Court decision used and abused by generations of lawyers and judges. Robertson brings the case into the historical world from which it has been missing for 180 years."—Vine Deloria, Jr., Professor Emeritus of History, University of Colorado, Boulder
2005 272 pp. \$29.95

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

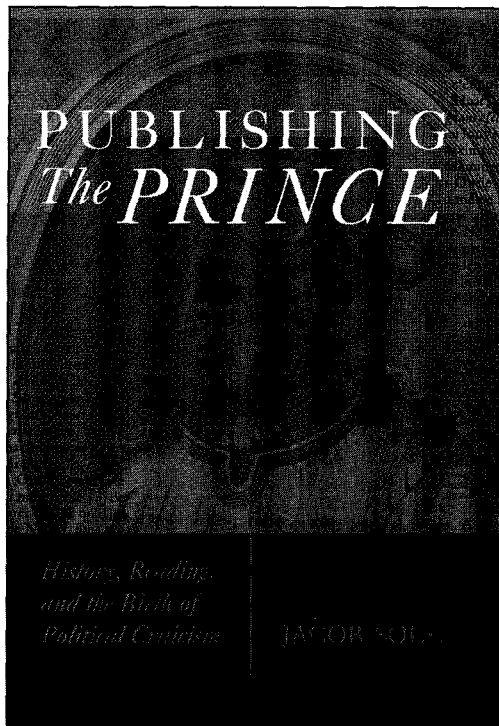
To order, call 1-800-451-7556 or log onto www.oup.com/us

new from Michigan

Publishing *The Prince*

History, Reading, & the Birth of Political Criticism

Jacob Soll



“Soll’s pathbreaking study is a ‘must read’ for all those interested in the history of political thought and early modern intellectual history.”

—Barbara Shapiro,
University of California
Berkeley

“Jacob Soll traces the origins of Enlightenment criticism to the practices of learned humanists and hard-pressed literary entrepreneurs. This learned and lively book is also a tour de force of historical research and interpretation.”

—Anthony Grafton, author
of *Cardano’s Cosmos* and
Bring Out Your Dead

“Brilliant. How the printed page changed political philosophy into investigative reporting, and reason of state into the unmasking of power.”

—J.G.A. Pocock

The University of Michigan Press

www.press.umich.edu

800.621.2736



MASSACHUSETTS



Learning to Read and Write in Colonial America

E. Jennifer Monaghan

\$49.95 CLOTH, 504 PP., 20 ILLUS.
Published in association with the
American Antiquarian Society

Stephen Decatur

American Naval Hero, 1779-1820

Robert J. Allison

\$34.95 CLOTH, 288 PP., 12 ILLUS.

The Jay Treaty Debate, Public Opinion, and the Evolution of Early American Culture

Todd Estes

\$34.95 CLOTH, 280 PP.

Revolutionary Generation

Harvard Men and the Consequences of Independence

Conrad Edick Wright

\$34.95 CLOTH, 320 PP., 16 ILLUS.
Published in association with the
Massachusetts Historical Society

The Athens of America

Boston, 1825-1845

Thomas H. O'Connor

\$19.95 PAPER, 248 PP., 17 ILLUS.
(FEB. 2006)

One Shaker Life

Isaac Newton Youngs, 1793-1865

Glendyne R. Wergland

\$24.95 PAPER, 320 PP., 24 ILLUS.
(FEB. 2006)

A Strong-Minded Woman

The Life of Mary Livermore

Wendy Hamand Venet

\$24.95 PAPER, 344 PP., 17 ILLUS.



Ralph Adams Cram

*An Architect's Four Quests—
Medieval, Modernist, American,
Ecumenical*

Douglass Shand-Tucci

\$49.95 CLOTH, 640 PP., 147 ILLUS.

Henry Shaw's Victorian Landscapes

*The Missouri Botanical Garden and
Tower Grove Park*

Carol Grove

\$39.95 CLOTH, 250 PP., 150 ILLUS.

Published in association with the Library
of American Landscape History

The Great Gypsy Moth War

*A History of the First Campaign
in Massachusetts to Eradicate the
Gypsy Moth, 1890-1901*

Robert J. Spear

\$34.95 CLOTH, 336 PP., 20 ILLUS.

Recasting the Machine Age

Henry Ford's Village Industries

Howard P. Segal

\$34.95 CLOTH, 272 PP., 25 ILLUS.

Edward Lansdale's Cold War

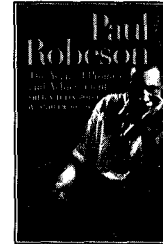
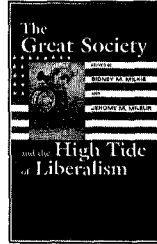
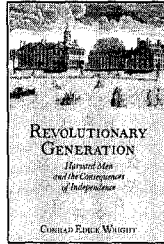
Jonathan Nashel

\$24.95 PAPER, 280 PP., 20 ILLUS.

The Great Society and the High Tide of Liberalism

*Edited by Sidney M. Milkis
and Jerome M. Mileur*

\$24.95 PAPER, 416 PP.



From Betty Crocker to Feminist Food Studies

*Critical Perspectives on Women
and Food*

Edited by Arlene Voski

Avakian and Barbara Haber

\$24.95 PAPER, 432 PP., 11 ILLUS.

NEW IN PAPERBACK

Captors and Captives

*The 1704 French and Indian Raid
on Deerfield*

Evan Haefeli and

Kevin Sweeney

\$22.95 PAPER, 400 PP., 30 ILLUS.

Inside Greenwich Village

*A New York City Neighborhood,
1898-1918*

Gerald W. McFarland

\$19.95 PAPER, 288 PP., 40 ILLUS.

Paul Robeson

*The Years of Promise and
Achievement*

Sheila Tully Boyle and

Andrew Bunie

\$28.95 PAPER, 568 PP., 62 ILLUS.

The Anxieties of Affluence

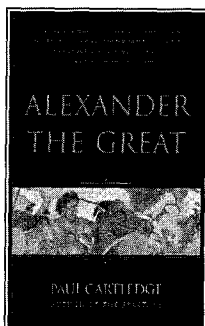
*Critiques of American Consumer
Culture, 1939-1979*

Daniel Horowitz

\$22.95 PAPER, 352 PP., 17 ILLUS.

PLEASE VISIT US AT
BOOTH #306

University of Massachusetts Press **ORDERS: 1-800-537-5487**
Amherst & Boston www.umass.edu/umpress



Paul Cartledge
**ALEXANDER
THE GREAT**

Cambridge historian Paul Cartledge brilliantly evokes Alexander's remarkable political and military accomplishments, following the geographical path of his victorious armies and charting the tremendous field of his influence. *Alexander the Great* is a hunt for a new past to counter the myths, legends, and often skewed history that have been passed down through the centuries.

VINTAGE | PAPER | 320 PAGES | \$14.95



Simon Sebag Montefiore
STALIN

The Court of the Red Tsar

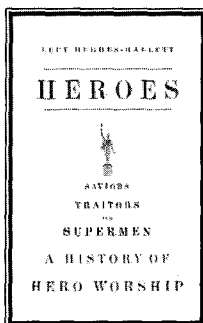
"Superb. . . No Western writer has got as close. . . A dark and excellent book."

—*The New York Review of Books*

"The first intimate portrait of a man who had more lives on his conscience than Hitler. . . Disturbing and perplexing."

—Richard Pipes, *The New York Times Book Review*

VINTAGE | PAPER | 848 PAGES | \$19.00

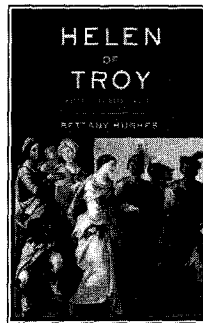


Lucy Hughes-Hallett
HEROES

Saviors, Traitors, and Supermen: A History of Hero Worship

In this insightful cultural history, Lucy Hughes-Hallett brings to life eight exceptional men from history and myth whose outsized accomplishments made them heroes of their times. This is a fascinating exploration of dictatorship and democracy, seduction and mass hysteria, politics and culture, and the eternal tension between the Achillean glorification of death and the Odyssean affirmation of life.

KNOPF | CLOTH | 512 PAGES | \$30.00



Bettany Hughes
HELEN OF TROY
Goddess, Princess, Whore

Focusing on the possibility of Helen as a creature of flesh-and-blood, acclaimed historian Bettany Hughes re-constructs the con-

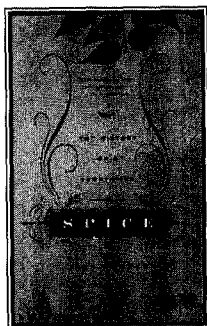
text of life in Bronze Age Greece for this elusive pre-historic princess. Hughes brilliantly unpacks the facts and myths surrounding one of the most enigmatic and notorious figures of all time.

KNOPF | CLOTH | 496 PAGES | \$30.00



KNOPF

ALFRED A. KNOPF • VINTAGE • ANCHOR BOOKS
PANTHEON • SCHOCKEN • EVERYMAN'S LIBRARY



Jack Turner

SPICE

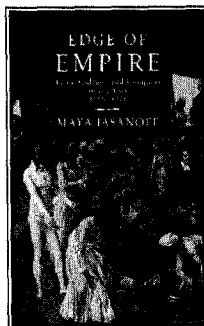
The History of a Temptation

"*Spice* is deliciously rich in odors, savors, and stories. Jack Turner quickens history with almost bardic magic, pouring his personality

into his narrative without sacrifice of scholarship." —Felipe Fernandez-Armesto

"*Spice* is an erudite and engaging account of how foodstuffs can change the flow of history." —*The New York Times Book Review*

VINTAGE | PAPER | 384 PAGES | \$14.95



Maya Jasanoff

EDGE OF EMPIRE

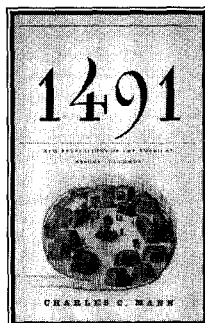
Lives, Culture, and Conquest in the East, 1750–1850

"This is a very clever and wonderfully researched and written

book, which illumines French as well as British imperial experience, artifacts and culture, and which looks at all the actors involved in a vivid and nuanced fashion. An original new voice."

—Linda Colley, Shelby M.C. Davis 1958
Professor of History, Princeton University

KNOPF | CLOTH | 416 PAGES | \$27.95



Charles C. Mann

1491

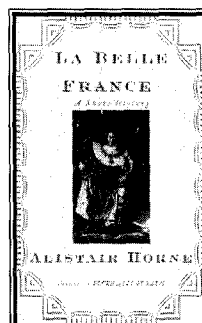
New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus

"For the last thirty years or so historians, geographers and archaeologists have built up an arsenal of evi-

dence about the residents of North America after the ice receded and before the Europeans arrived. Mann has mastered that scholarship and written the most elegant synthesis of the way we were before the European invasion."

—Joseph J. Ellis, author of *His Excellency: George Washington*

KNOPF | CLOTH | 480 PAGES | \$30.00



Alistair Horne

LA BELLE FRANCE

A Short History

La Belle France is a captivating, beautifully illustrated and comprehensive yet concise history of France. It recounts the absorbing

story of the country that has contributed to the world so much talent, style and political innovation. Its sweeping, grand narrative is written with all the verve, erudition and vividness that are the hallmarks of the acclaimed British historian Alistair Horne.

KNOPF | CLOTH | 512 PAGES | \$30.00

FOR EXAMINATION AND DESK COPIES:

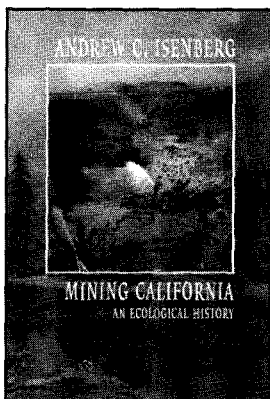
VISIT: WWW.RANDOMHOUSE.COM/ACADEMIC

E-MAIL: ACMART@RANDOMHOUSE.COM

WRITE: KNOPF ACADEMIC • RANDOM HOUSE, INC. • 1745 BROADWAY, 20-2 • NEW YORK, NY 10019

NEW FROM HILL AND WANG

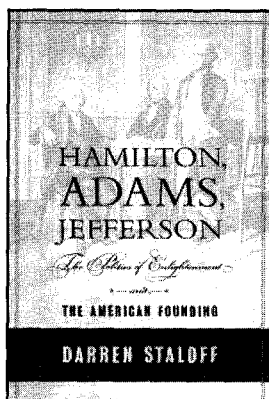
A division of Farrar, Straus and Giroux



Andrew C. Isenberg
MINING CALIFORNIA

An Ecological History

\$27.00 256 pages cloth

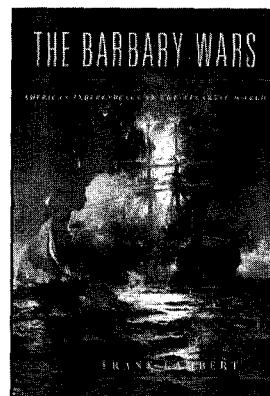


Darren Staloff
**HAMILTON, ADAMS,
JEFFERSON**

*The Politics of Enlightenment
and the American Founding*

(An American Portrait)

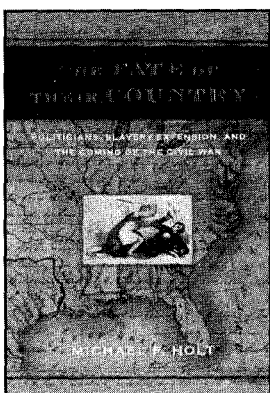
\$30.00 432 pages cloth



Frank Lambert
THE BARBARY WARS

*American Independence in the
Atlantic World*

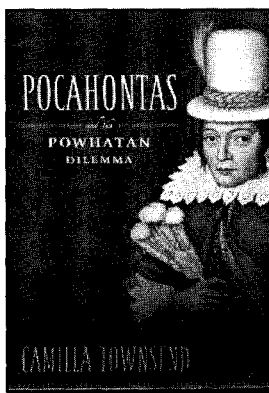
\$24.00 240 pages cloth



Michael F. Holt
**THE FATE OF THEIR
COUNTRY**

*Politicians, Slavery Extension,
and the Coming of the Civil War*

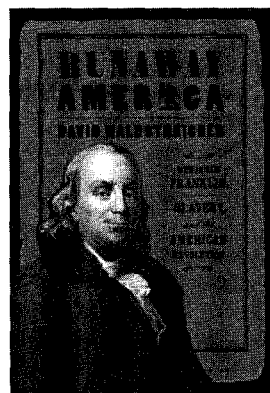
\$12.00 184 pages paper



Camilla Townsend
**POCAHONTAS AND THE
POWHATAN DILEMMA**

(An American Portrait)

\$14.00 240 pages paper



David Waldstreicher
RUNAWAY AMERICA

*Benjamin Franklin, Slavery,
and the American Revolution*

\$15.00 336 pages paper

Academic Marketing, 175 Fifth Avenue, 21st floor, NY, NY 10010 • email: academic@hholt.com

VISIT OUR WEBSITE: www.holtzbrinckpublishers.com/academic



Atlantic History

Concept and Contours

**BERNARD
BAILYN**

Atlantic history is a newly and rapidly developing field of historical study. Bringing together elements of early modern European, African, and American history—their common, comparative, and interactive aspects—Atlantic history embraces essentials of Western civilization, from the first contacts of Europe with the Western Hemisphere to the independence movements and the globalizing industrial revolution. In these probing essays, Bernard Bailyn explores the origins of the subject, its rapid development, and its impact on historical study.

new in cloth

WWW.HUP.HARVARD.EDU HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

ADAMS FAMILY CORRESPONDENCE

Volume 7

Adams Family

Edited by C. James Taylor, Margeret A. Hogan, Anne Decker Cecere, Celeste Walker, Gregg L. Lint, Hobson Woodward, Mary Claffey

This volume continues the incredible family saga of the Adamses of Massachusetts as told through their myriad letters to one another, to their extended family, and to such other notable correspondents as Thomas Jefferson and Mercy Otis Warren. The book opens in January 1786, when John and Abigail resided at Grosvenor Square in London, partaking of the English social scene, while John made slow progress on negotiations for an Anglo-American commercial treaty.

new in cloth • Belknap Press

Adams Papers: Series II: Adams Family Correspondence

BEYOND JUSTICE

The Auschwitz Trial

Rebecca Wittmann

"Wittmann's study of the Frankfurt Auschwitz trial is an excellent contribution both to our knowledge of this important trial and to our understanding of how the legal process shapes historical memory. Her argument that the trial failed to do justice to the complex history of Auschwitz specifically, and the Holocaust generally, is persuasively developed and forcefully defended."

—Lawrence Douglas, author of *The Memory of Judgment: Making Law and History in the Trials of the Holocaust*

new in cloth

AMERICANS FIRST

Chinese Americans and the Second World War

K. Scott Wong

"K. Scott Wong paints a moving but realistic picture of Chinese American men and women demonstrating their worth in war industries and in the armed services. He shows how their World War II experiences empowered them to seek a full and equal status in a post-war America."

—Him Mark Lai, Chinese Historical Society of America

new in cloth

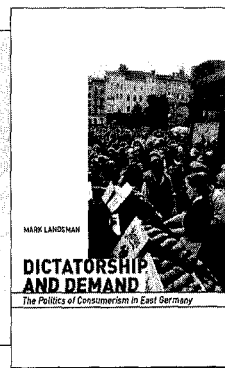
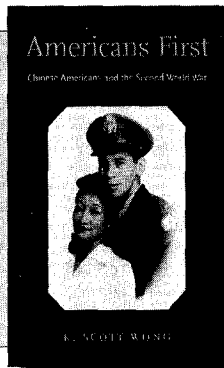
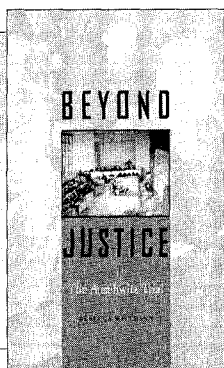
DICTATORSHIP AND DEMAND

The Politics of Consumerism in East Germany

Mark Landsman

An investigation into the politics of consumerism in East Germany during the years between the Berlin Blockade of 1948-49 and the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961, *Dictatorship and Demand* shows how the issue of consumption constituted a crucial battleground in the larger Cold War struggle. Based on research in recently opened East German state and party archives, this book depicts a regime caught between competing pressures.

new in cloth • Harvard Historical Studies



WWW.HUP.HARVARD.EDU HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

RACING THE ENEMY

Stalin, Truman, and the Surrender of Japan

Tsuyoshi Hasegawa

"*Racing the Enemy* is a tour de force—a lucid, balanced, multi-archival, myth-shattering analysis of the turbulent end of World War II. Tsuyoshi Hasegawa sheds fascinating new light on fiercely debated issues including the U.S.-Soviet end game in Asia, the American decision to drop the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and Japan's frantic response to the double shock of nuclear devastation and the Soviet Union's abrupt declaration of war."

—John W. Dower, Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*

new in cloth • Belknap Press

JEALOUSY OF TRADE

International Competition and the Nation-State in Historical Perspective

Istvan Hont

"Jealousy of trade" refers to a particular conjunction between politics and the economy that emerged when success in international trade became a matter of the military and political survival of nations. Today, it would be called "economic nationalism," and in this book Istvan Hont connects the commercial politics of nationalism and globalization in the eighteenth century to theories of commercial society and Enlightenment ideas of the economic limits of politics.

new in cloth • Belknap Press

MAIZE AND GRACE

Africa's Encounter with a New World Crop, 1500-2000

James C. McCann

"McCann's book is as amazing as its title—the botanical properties of the cultigen itself (clearly delineated for the botanically challenged), the continent's unique modern dependence on the crop, the complicated and varied political and economic histories of how it came to be that way, how his Ethiopian research partner's local knowledge connected maize with malaria, and more. *Maize and Grace* is a readable, highly original, penetrating and comprehensive study of exemplary quality."

—Joseph Miller, University of Virginia
new in cloth

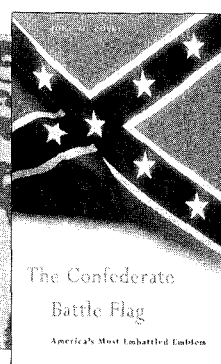
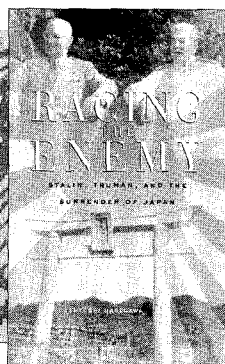
THE CONFEDERATE BATTLE FLAG

America's Most Embattled Emblem

John M. Coski

In recent years, the Confederate flag has become as much a news item as a Civil War relic. Intense public debates have erupted over Confederate flags flying atop state capitols, being incorporated into state flags, waving from dormitory windows, or adorning the T-shirts and jeans of public school children. Polarizing Americans, these "flag wars" reveal the profound—and still unhealed—schisms that have plagued the country since the Civil War.

new in cloth • Belknap Press



WWW.HUP.HARVARD.EDU HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

FROM ATHENS TO AUSCHWITZ

The Uses of History

Christian Meier

Translated by Deborah Lucas Schneider

"A daring book, wise and unpedantically learned. Meier's main concern is with Europe's 'special path,' how and why its civilization (and that of its offspring, the United States) came to dominate the world, beginning in the fifteenth century. He analyzes the elements shaping the historic process and reflects searchingly on why in some symbolic but not precise sense Auschwitz marks the end of the special path. The spirit of Jacob Burckhardt pervades this suggestive historical and philosophical meditation."

—Fritz Stern, *Columbia University, Emeritus*
new in cloth

FIGHTING THE GREAT WAR

A Global History

Michael S. Neiberg

"Neiberg melds an analysis of the strategic issues facing belligerents during World War I with an understanding of the tactical challenges of conducting war in a modern industrial world...By including appraisals of the other fronts Neiberg also shows why the western front was the crucible of victory and defeat...This book reflects the remarkable development of the historiography of World War I that has occurred over the past decade."

—Frederic Krome, *Library Journal*
new in cloth

CHINA MARCHES WEST

The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia

Peter C. Perdue

"This is a masterpiece of contemporary scholarship. Nothing like it has been published in the field of Asian studies for several decades. And no one has written about Inner Asia during the formative eighteenth century with such comprehensive vision. It covers a huge swath of place and time, has impressive intellectual reach, and speaks with a calm certainty that sustains the reader's attention for the length of the book."

—Timothy Brook, author of *Collaboration: Japanese Agents and Local Elites in Wartime China*

new in cloth • Belknap Press

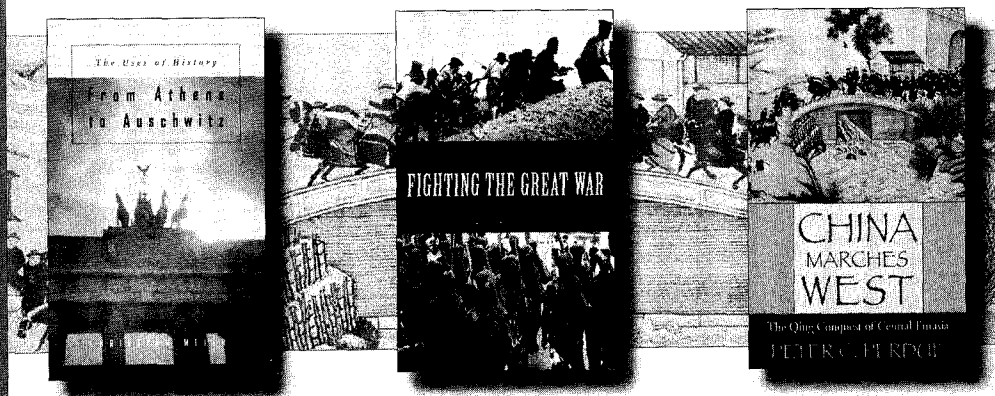
THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY SELF

Politics and Psyche in France, 1750-1850

Jan Goldstein

"A singularly lucid and original study of how public and private spheres, politics and psyche, fused in post-Revolutionary France. Goldstein shows us the micro-mechanics of how generations of educated, middle-class Frenchmen came to understand their inner life and essence in terms supplied and enforced by new institutions. This remarkable book is a model for a new kind of history which understands politics from the inside out and psyche from the outside in."

—Lorraine Daston, Director, Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin
new in cloth



WWW.HUP.HARVARD.EDU HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

FATHOMING THE OCEAN

The Discovery and Exploration of the Deep Sea

Helen M. Rozwadowski

"During the 19th century, the ocean became something more than just a body of water to be sailed over and began to be studied for itself. In this study of America's and Britain's growing public and scientific fascination with the ocean depths, Rozwadowski covers the beginnings of bathymetry, dredging, temperature and salinity measurements, current mapping, and the move from yachts to fishing vessels to large ships as scientific platforms. But this is not just an oceanographic history: the author also addresses the social, cultural, and political aspects of this newfound interest—from the development of home aquariums to the laying of the transatlantic cable."

—Margaret Rioux, *Library Journal*
new in cloth • Belknap Press

SINGING THE GOSPEL

Lutheran Hymns and the Success
of the Reformation

Christopher Boyd Brown

"All historians and scholars of music and worship will profit from the insights Christopher Boyd Brown provides into the way the Reformation affected the practice of religion in the Lutheran town of Joachimsthal: in the schools, the churches, the sermons, the homes, and the actions and convictions of specific men and women. A well-written and informative study."

—Scott Hendrix, *Princeton Theological Seminary*
new in cloth • Harvard Historical Studies

THE MIDDLE EAST UNDER ROME

Maurice Sartre

Translated by Catherine Porter,
Elizabeth Rawlings

"Histories of the Roman Empire tend to stay close to Rome, so Sartre's summation of what we know about imperial influence in the region then known as Syria is highly welcome. Sartre offers an account of major events in the region, but the real treasure is the rich detail about ancient Syria's cultural life. Drawing on archeological evidence as well as historical texts, the author sketches a thriving region dotted by cosmopolitan city-states that were in many cases governed by local rulers with Roman guidance...Vivid descriptive prose could help this excellent treatise find a readership beyond the world of classical scholars."

—*Publishers Weekly*
new in cloth • Belknap Press

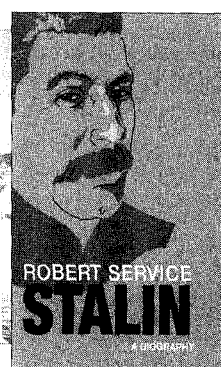
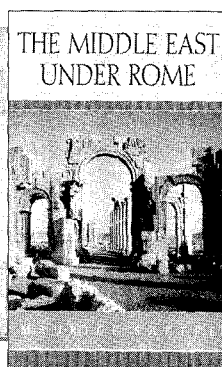
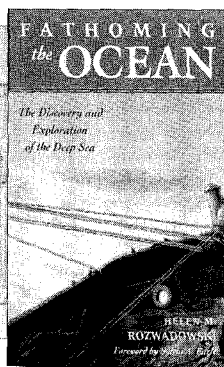
STALIN

A Biography

Robert Service

"Here is a life-and-times biography in the grand style: deeply researched, well written, brimming with interpretations...Service describes a man who was intelligent and hardworking, who learned from experience and who played an important role in the Russian revolutionary movement...By providing such a rich and complex portrait of the dictator and the Soviet system, Service humanizes Stalin without ever diminishing the extent of the atrocities he unleashed upon the Soviet population."

—*Publishers Weekly*
new in cloth • Belknap Press



WWW.HUP.HARVARD.EDU HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS



CITIES OF GOD

THE RELIGION OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNES, 1125-1325

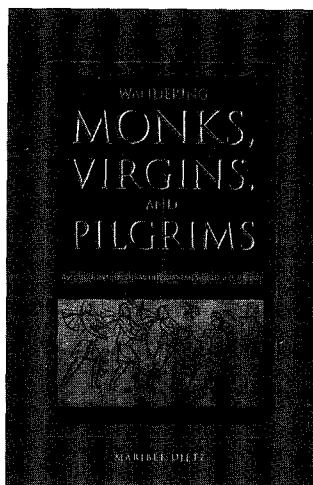
Augustine Thompson

"Thompson's stimulating and well-researched volume fills an important gap in our understanding of lived religion in the Italian Middle Ages. His style is fluid and often entertaining, and he skillfully balances comprehensiveness with evocative detail. It deserves to be widely read and debated."

—Frances Andrews,
University of St. Andrews

We know much about the Italian city states—the "communes"—of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But historians have focused on their political accomplishments to the exclusion of their religious life, going so far as to call them "purely secular contrivances." When religion is considered, the subjects are usually saints, heretics, theologians, and religious leaders, thereby ignoring the vast majority of those who lived in the communes. In *Cities of God*, Augustine Thompson gives a voice to the forgotten majority—orthodox lay people and those who ministered to them.

520 pages | 61 illustrations | \$65.00 cloth



WANDERING MONKS, VIRGINS, AND PILGRIMS

ASCETIC TRAVEL IN THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD, A.D. 300-800

Maribel Dietz

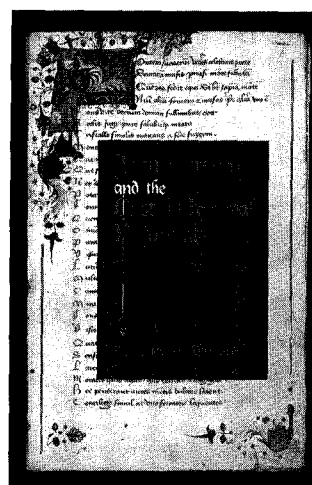
"This is a fine book and a good read. I can't think of anything else that explores in such an original way the themes of pilgrimage and early asceticism from the age of Constantine to that of Charlemagne."

—Constance Berman, University of Iowa

"Maribel Dietz has captured the religious facets of a late antique world filled with movement, where administrative, legal, and strategic expectations already depended on complex systems of lodging, supply, and transportation. The resulting scenes of bustle and fatigue, of loneliness and excitement—the indispensable basis for more symbolic and imaginative displacement—carry us from the age of Constantine through the periods of barbarian settlement and Islamic expansion. . . . To read the book is to embark on a fresh and exhilarating journey."

—Philip Rousseau,
Catholic University of America

280 pages | \$50.00 cloth



JEAN GERSON AND THE LAST MEDIEVAL REFORMATION

Brian Patrick McGuire

"There may never be a definitive study of Jean Gerson, but McGuire's book is the most comprehensive, insightful, and judicious known to me. It is the benchmark for further work on the great Chancellor."

—Bernard McGinn, University of Chicago

"Jean Gerson was an idealist, Brian McGuire writes, 'and idealists do not usually do well in the history books.' But this book is an exception, for McGuire gives us a compelling portrait of this severe and lonely man who may, nonetheless, have been his era's most effective champion of rational discourse, peaceful reform, and international cooperation. If Gerson's diplomacy and conciliar policies had prevailed, much of Europe's tragic history might have been averted. This awareness gives McGuire's account of 'the last medieval reformation' a deep poignancy that complements his learned and lucid analysis of Gerson's multifarious works."

—Barbara Newman,
Northwestern University

464 pages | 17 illustrations/2 maps | \$30.00 paper

penn state press

820 N. University Drive, USB 1, Suite C1 University Park, PA 16802 | fax 1-877-778-2665 | www.psupress.org

AVAILABLE IN BOOKSTORES, OR ORDER TOLL FREE 1-800-326-9180

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA PRESS

ELECTRIC LADYLAND

Women and Rock Culture

Lisa L. Rhodes

2005 | 328 pages | 15 illus.
Cloth | \$59.95 | Paper | \$24.95

THE MAN WHO HAD BEEN KING

The American Exile of Napoleon's
Brother Joseph

Patricia Tyson Stroud

2005 | 296 pages | 11 color, 48 b/w illus. | Cloth | \$34.95

TINKERING

Consumers Reinvent the Early Automobile

Kathleen Franz

2005 | 232 pages | 22 illus. | Cloth | \$35.00

AMERICAN BABEL

Rogue Radio Broadcasters of the Jazz Age

Clifford J. Doerksen

2005 | 176 pages | 10 illus. | Cloth | \$34.95

THE MARCH OF SPARE TIME

The Problem and Promise of Leisure
in the Great Depression

Susan Currell

2005 | 248 pages | 26 illus. | Cloth | \$39.95

HOW WE ELECTED LINCOLN

Personal Recollections

Abram J. Dittenhoefer

Foreword by Kathleen Hall Jamieson

2005 | 120 pages | 2 illus. | Paper | \$15.95

WRITING EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY

Alan Taylor

Foreword by Christopher Clark

2005 | 280 pages | Cloth | \$39.95

ENVISIONING AN ENGLISH EMPIRE

Jamestown and the Making
of the North Atlantic World

**Edited by Robert Appelbaum
and John Wood Sweet**

Early American Studies

2005 | 392 pages | 20 illus.

Cloth | \$59.95 | Paper | \$24.95

SUBJECTS UNTO THE SAME KING

Indians, English, and the Contest
for Authority in Colonial New England

Jenny Hale Pulsipher

Early American Studies

2005 | 376 pages | 25 illus. | Cloth | \$35.00

SEDUCED, ABANDONED, AND REBORN

Visions of Youth in Middle-Class America,
1780–1850

Rodney Hessinger

Early American Studies

2005 | 280 pages | 9 illus. | Cloth | \$45.00

FRIES'S REBELLION

The Enduring Struggle for the
American Revolution

Paul Douglas Newman

2004 | 272 pages | 12 b/w illus. | Cloth | \$29.95 | Paper
| \$19.95

NOT ALL WIVES

Women of Colonial Philadelphia

Karin Wulf

2005 | 240 pages | 5 illus. | Paper | \$19.95

JOURNALS

Journal subscription orders may be placed
by phone at 801-225-2103, or by email at
support@viasubscription.com

JOURNAL OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC

Roderick A. McDonald, Editor

ISSN: 0275-1275 | <http://jer.pennpress.org>

Individuals: income to \$50,000: \$40

Individuals: income above \$50,000: \$55

Students: \$30

Institutions: \$80

EARLY AMERICAN STUDIES

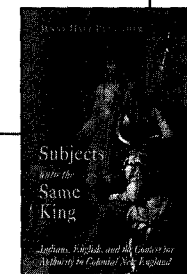
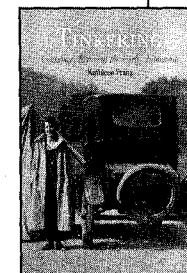
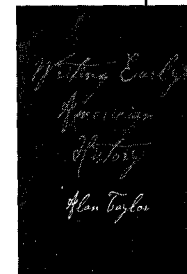
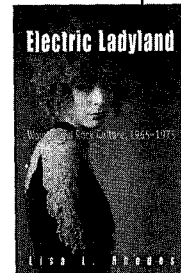
George W. Boudreau, Editor

ISSN: 1543-4273 | <http://eas.pennpress.org>

Individuals: \$30

Students: \$20

Institutions: \$60



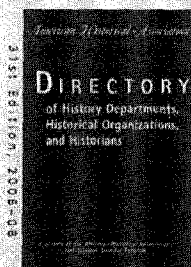
Books available from bookstores or call
800-537-5487

www.upenn.edu/pennpress

American Historical Association

Get Connected!

with **Publications from
the AHA**

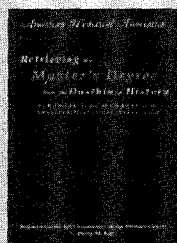
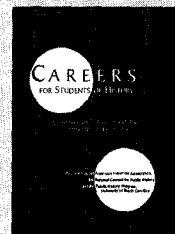


❖ *Thinking History*
by **Peter Stearns**



❖ *2005-06 Directory of History
Departments, Historical
Organizations, and Historians*

❖ *Careers for Students
of History*



❖ *Retrieving the Master's Degree
from the Dustbin of History*
Prepared for the AHA Committee on
the Master's Degree by **Philip M. Katz**

PLUS THESE EXCITING NEW RELEASES:

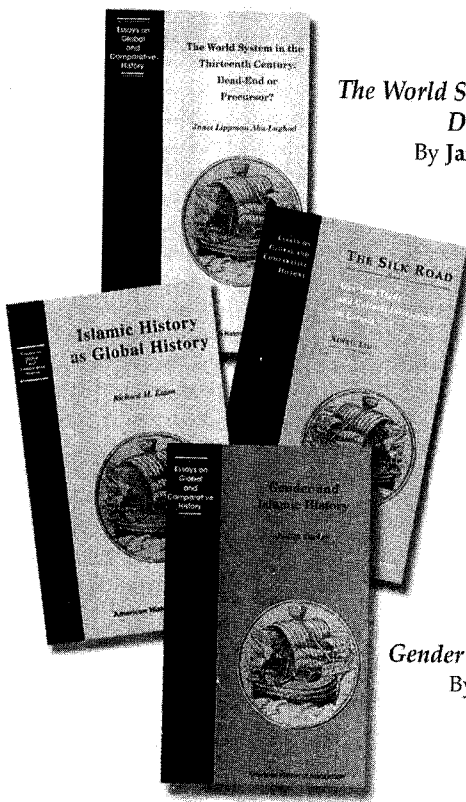
❖ *AHA Guide to Teaching and Learning with New Media*
by **John McClymer**

❖ *The Status of Women in the Historical Profession, 2005*
Prepared for the AHA Committee on Women Historians
by **Elizabeth Lunbeck**

And many more useful publications to help keep you in touch
with the historical profession!

www.historians.org

Publications on Islam and the world from the American Historical Association



*The World System in the Thirteenth Century:
Dead-End or Precursor?*
By Janet Lippman Abu-Lughod

*Islamic History as
Global History*
By Richard M. Eaton

*The Silk Road: Overland Trade and
Cultural Interactions in Eurasia*
By Xinru Liu

Gender and Islamic History
By Judith Tucker

For these and other publications, log onto:
www.historians.org

AHA SHOT

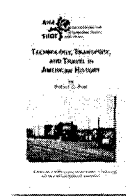
Historical Perspectives
on Technology, Society
and Culture

TITLES:



THE MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX
Alex Roland

*TECHNOLOGY, TRANSPORT, AND TRAVEL IN
AMERICAN HISTORY*
Robert C. Post



*TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER AND EAST ASIAN
ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION*
Rudi Volti

*TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIETY IN THE
MIDDLE CENTURIES: BYZANTIUM, ISLAM,
AND THE WEST, 500-1300*
Pamela O. Long



*TECHNOLOGY, SOCIETY, AND CULTURE IN
LATE MEDIEVAL/ RENAISSANCE EUROPE*
Pamela O. Long

*TECHNOLOGY AND SOCIETY IN MING
CHINA, 1368-1644*
Francesca Bray



For ordering information, visit the AHA's web site at:
<http://www.historians.org>, e-mail pubsales@historians.org,
or call (202) 544-2422.



Commemorating
**Two
 presidents**



**Two public
 servants**



The American Historical Association offers

The Theodore Roosevelt- Woodrow Wilson Public Service Award

Suggestions for nominations are invited

Members are invited to suggest names of individuals who can be nominated for the Theodore Roosevelt-Woodrow Wilson Public Service Award. Named for the two former AHA presidents who were also presidents of the United States—Theodore Roosevelt (AHA president in 1912) and Woodrow Wilson (AHA president in 1924)—this honorific award recognizes individuals outside the historical profession who have made a significant contribution to the study, teaching, and public understanding of history.

The suggestions for possible nominees can include (but need not be restricted to), for example, persons who may have made a significant contribution to the support and encouragement of history through their actions. Such noteworthy actions may include philanthropy, supporting or working for the National History Day, helping to protect and preserve a national historical monument or park, or working in the community to develop a regard for history. First presented in 2004, the previous honorees have been Senator Robert C. Byrd (D-WVA) and Brian Lamb (C-Span President and C.E.O.).

The executive director and the AHA president will consider members' suggestions and other names to choose the nominees. The AHA Council will thereupon make the final selection.

Mail your suggestion (along with a one-page note justifying the suggestion) to the Executive Director, AHA, Attention: The Roosevelt-Wilson Award, 400 A Street, SE, Washington, DC

20003-3889.

Index of Advertisers

American Historical Association 52(a)–55(a)	Rutgers University Press 12(a)
Bedford/St. Martin's Press Covers 2 and 3	Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture 24(a)
Cambridge University Press 7(a)–9(a)	Stanford University Press 30(a)
Columbia University Press 17(a)	University of California Press 4(a)–5(a)
Cornell University Press 20(a)	University of Chicago Press 10(a)–11(a)
HarperCollins Publishers 31(a)–33(a)	University of Georgia Press 21(a)
Harvard University Press 45(a)–49(a)	University of Illinois Press 35(a)
Hill and Wang 44(a)	University of Massachusetts Press 41(a)
Hofstra University 36(a)	University of Michigan Press 40(a)
Johns Hopkins University Press 37(a)	University of Nebraska Press 6(a)
Alfred A. Knopf 42(a)–43(a)	University of North Carolina Press 3(a)
Northern Illinois University Press 19(a)	University of Pennsylvania Press 51(a)
Oxford University Press 38(a)–39(a)	University of Texas Press 25(a)
Palgrave Macmillan 34(a)	University of Virginia Press 18(a)
Penguin Academic 26(a)–29(a)	University Press of Kansas 13(a)–15(a)
Penn State Press 50(a)	Yale University Press 16(a)
Princeton University Press 22(a)–23(a) & Cover 4	

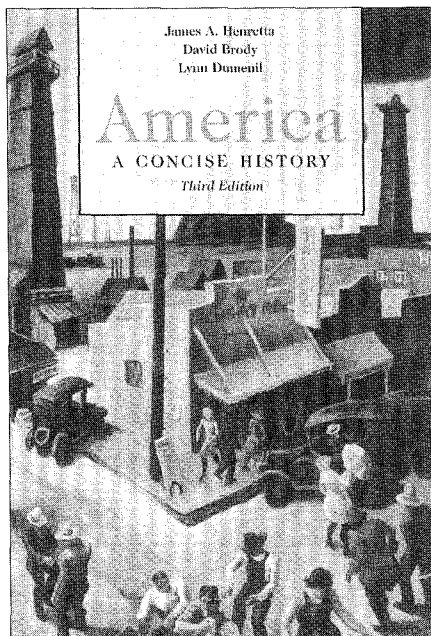
BEDFORD/ST. MARTIN'S

How do you define value?

"*America: A Concise History* offers everything I look for in a textbook: penetrating analysis, memorable details, and lively writing, attractively formatted and affordably priced.

My students *read* this textbook."

— Carol O'Connor,
Arkansas State University

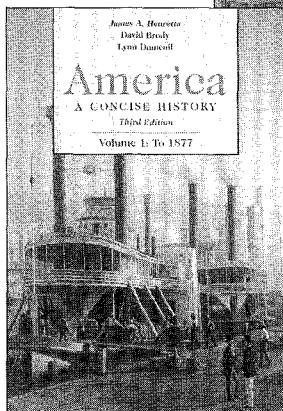
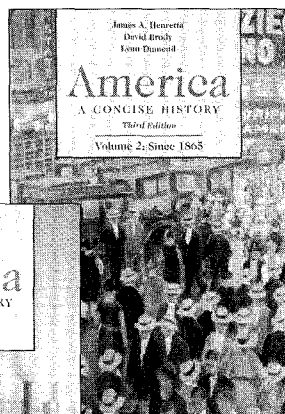


America A Concise History Third Edition

James A. Henretta, *University of Maryland*
David Brody, *University of California, Davis*
Lynn Dumenil, *Occidental College*

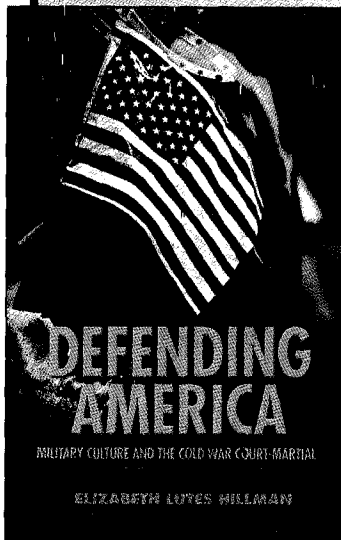
Brief, affordable, and inviting, *America: A Concise History* has become the best-selling brief book for the U.S. History survey because of the uncommon value it offers instructors and students alike. The authors' own abridgement preserves the analytical power of the parent text, *America's History*, while offering all the flexibility of a brief book. The latest scholarship, lively writing, and handy format combine with the best full-color art and map program of any brief text to create a book that students will read and enjoy.

Combined volume: 2005/paper/982 pages
Volume 1 (To 1877): 2005/paper/471 pages
Volume 2 (Since 1865): 2005/paper/540 pages
bedfordstmartins.com/henrettaconcise



For more information: bedfordstmartins.com

Writing History



DEFENDING AMERICA

Military Culture and the Cold War Court-Martial

Elizabeth Lutes Hillman

While the U.S. military fought to defend the Constitution, the Cold War court-martial punished those who wavered from accepted political convictions, sexual behavior, and social conventions, threatening the very rights of due process and free expression the Constitution promised. In examining criminal prosecutions of servicemen, *Defending America* opens a new window on American social issues after World War II, including attitudes toward class, gender, and race.

Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America

Cloth \$29.95 0-691-11804-3

PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY AND GRASSROOTS CONSERVATISM

A Woman's Crusade

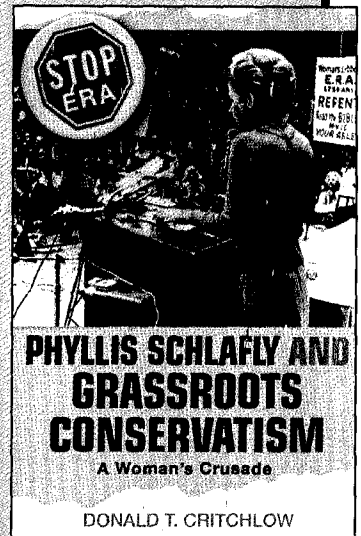
Donald T. Critchlow

Longtime activist, author, and antifeminist leader Phyllis Schlafly is for many the symbol of the conservative movement in America. In this provocative new book, historian Donald Critchlow sheds new light on Schlafly's life and on the role her grassroots activism played in transforming America's political landscape.

Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism casts a new light on a major shift in American politics, the emergence of the Republican Right.

Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America

Cloth \$29.95 0-691-07002-4



RACE after HITLER

Black Occupation Children in Postwar Germany and America



HEIDE FEHRENBACH

RACE AFTER HITLER

Black Occupation Children in Postwar Germany and America

Heide Fehrenbach

Race after Hitler tells the story of how troubled race relations among American occupation soldiers, and black-white mixing within Germany, unexpectedly shaped German notions of race after 1945. Biracial occupation children became objects of intense scrutiny and politicking by postwar Germans into the 1960s, resulting in a shift away from official antisemitism to a focus on color and blackness.

Cloth \$29.95 0-691-11906-6

Celebrating 100 Years of Excellence
PRINCETON
University Press

800-777-4726

Read excerpts online

www.pup.princeton.edu